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THE

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1894.

ART. I.—DR. BYROM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM.*

No one who wishes to study the picturesque details of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century can afford to overlook the journal and letters of Dr. John Byrom, of Manchester, whose "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn," has been a treasure of the Church for so many years. His papers lay for a long time "scattered in unarranged confusion throughout the ancient and somewhat nondescript rooms" of the two family homes at Kersall and Quay Street, near Manchester, but happily proved, on careful inspection, to be in almost as perfect condition as when the writer left them ninety years before. The friend of Bishop Warburton and Dr. Bentley, of William Law and the Wesleys, thus stood revealed "in his habit as he lived." Few men could bear such unveiling better than John Byrom. His portrait as an undergraduate, our only authentic likeness, is a fitting preface to his journals, published by the Cheetham Society. As we look at this exquisite face we understand how a man so bright and intelligent, so pure-minded and even-tempered, won for himself hosts of friends who never wearied of his company.

Byrom belonged to an old Lancashire family. He was born at Kersall Cell, Broughton, near Manchester, on February 29,

* The Bible opens with the genesis of the world. We begin a new volume of the *Methodist Review* with an account of some of the details in the genesis of Methodism, traced for us by the capable hand of Rev. John Telford, B.A., of Guildford, England, a well-known specialist in Wesleyan history, author of a *Sketch of the Life and Work of John Wesley*, *The Life of Charles Wesley*, and of *Sketches of London Methodism from Wesley's Day*.—ED.

1692, and studied at Chester under "that once eminent schoolmaster, Mr. Francis Harper." He became a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1714, and, after studying medicine at Montpellier, returned to England in 1718 with his diploma. He soon abandoned the healing art for the profession of shorthand. He had married his cousin in February, 1721, and he maintained his family by teaching an ingenious system of shorthand which he had invented. The characters were singularly elegant, but could not be written rapidly enough to win conspicuous success. His house was near the "Old Church" in Manchester, where his family had been prosperous merchants and linen drapers; but much of his time was spent in London among his pupils, who formed a kind of society. Byrom was styled "grand master," and used to open the session with an address. He was so tall that he had difficulty in finding a horse high enough for him. He was once eclipsed by a gentleman from Worcestershire "almost a head taller than I; people talk to me as if I were grown a mere dwarf." The necessities of his position as a professor of shorthand led him to move freely in the literary and clerical circles of the metropolis. The Wesleys used his system and zealously pushed his interests among their friends, so that Byrom naturally spent a good deal of time in their company after their return from Georgia and during the early days of the evangelical revival. He never became a Methodist. He had learned on the Continent to study and admire the mystics, and could not understand John Wesley's verdict that these writers made good works appear "mean, flat, and insipid." Byrom was also a devoted disciple of William Law, and warmly championed his master in the controversy with John Wesley.

Byrom was eleven years older than the founder of Methodism. He was already a man of settled views and established reputation when the two brothers John and Charles Wesley were led by their friend Peter Böhler to see their own want of living faith. The older man, steeped in mysticism, was not able to understand the intensely practical zeal of the great field preachers and often judged them somewhat harshly; but we owe to his journal many pleasing glimpses of them and their friends in London. Byrom has a touch of the genius of the great diarist Pepys, and his pages often make old scenes live again for

his readers. Byrom was a man of considerable literary power. Under the pseudonym of "John Shadow" he contributed some delightful papers on "Dreaming" to the *Spectator* in 1714. His description of the look granted him one night into the hearts of his friends, "inclosed in transparent vials and preserved in a liquor which looked like spirits of wine," is a very happy effort. Still better is the letter of September 22, which professes to chronicle the adventures in which some of his correspondents had been engaged during sleep, or, as he calls it, "that moonshine in the brain." The story of the man who fasted all day and went to bed with a handsome slice of bride-cake under his pillow in order to read his future fortunes furnishes one of his most racy passages. "In the morning his memory happened to fail him, and he could recollect nothing but an odd fancy that he had eaten his cake; which being found upon search reduced to a few crumbs, he is resolved to remember more of his dreams another time, believing from this that there may possibly be somewhat of truth in them." The whole paper, with its sketch of the havoc or deliverance wrought by some traveling tinker among the city dreamers, is excellent. Byrom's verses in praise of Miss Joanna, or "Jug," Bentley, the eleven-year old daughter of Dr. Bentley, the master of Trinity College, take high rank as an English pastoral. His contributions to the *Spectator* remind us of a letter written by the Rev. Adam Clarke to his friend Mr. Thomas Allan, a Methodist solicitor in the city of London, whose son founded the Allan Library. The original lies before us as we write. Wesley was all his life long a zealous friend of literature, and did not forget the labors of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, who, like himself, were old Carthusians.

LONDON, *December* 29, 1824.

DEAR MR. ALLAN: The anecdote concerning which you inquire stands thus in substance: One day, not long before his death, Mr. J. Wesley, discoursing with me on the origin of Methodism, so called, and the great necessity there was of a reformation in these lands when it appeared, made the following observations. During the time of the protectorate the nation got into a spiritual frenzy, many imagining that the reign of Christ upon earth would shortly commence. Several judicious and pious men in vain lifted up their voices against this delusion. Charles succeeded to the throne, and, totally void of religion himself and of all fear of God, he endeavored to destroy not only the form but the power of Christianity.

He unhappily in a great measure succeeded, and the nation went from one extreme to the other, till at last, in his court and in the kingdom, scarcely a vestige of scriptural Christianity remained. As far as it lay in his power he struggled to change the political and ecclesiastical government of the country. Absolute, despotic monarchy in the State and popery in the Church he labored to introduce. He was a worthless and a wicked king. His brother James thought he could carry into effect what Charles had begun, but was obliged to abdicate the throne before he could finish. During their reigns ruthless bigotry and a vile and cruel superstition prevailed, which afterward became replaced by irreligion and infidelity. Not only the religion, but the manners, of the country were debased. Religion was the butt against which the profane buffoon shot all his raillery, and decency and order had nearly receded from all ranks of society. William, who succeeded James II, was of a different temper to that which prevailed in the nation. But the waters had been let out and were becoming irresistible; the very being of religion had been awfully threatened. The nation was engaged in wars in the reign of Queen Anne; and at that time God raised up Mr. Addison and his associates to lash the prevailing vices and ridiculous and profane customs of the country and to show the excellence of Christianity and Christian institutions. The *Spectators*, written with all the simplicity, elegance, and force of the English language, were everywhere read, and were the first instruments in the hands of God to check the mighty and growing profanity and call men back to religion and decency and common sense. Methodism, in the order of God, succeeded, and revived and spread scriptural and experimental Christianity over the nation. And now what hath God wrought! This was the substance of the conversation.

I am, dear Mr. Allan, yours truly, ADAM CLARKE.

Such a sketch of the connection between Methodism and the *Spectator*, as traced by Wesley himself, possesses peculiar interest. No man recognized more clearly than John Wesley the power of the press; no great leader more zealously availed himself of it to supplement and carry on his own work as an evangelist.

We must not linger longer on this tempting theme. Our purpose is rather to see through Byrom's keen eyes the England of the great revival and the men who have left their mark so broad and deep on the history of the world. In the early pages of his journal we learn from Law's future disciple and champion that the great mystic "has the character of a vain, conceited fellow." Byrom talks with Mr. Rivington, the publisher, at his shop—"the Bible and Crown" in St. Paul's Churchyard—on December 31, 1734. Mr. Riving-

ton "said he was going to print a new edition of Thomas à Kempis; that Mr. Wesley and Dr. Heylin were to overlook it; that it seemed to be in little short sentences and two forms of printing; that Mr. Law was curate to Dr. Heylin and was a gay parson; that Dr. Heylin said his book would have been better if he had traveled that way himself."

The references made in the journals to Dr. Bentley's visits to London for the Westminster School election deserve the attention of students of Charles Wesley's life. Queen Elizabeth had given the school the privilege of sending a certain number of its queen's scholars every year to Christ Church, Oxford, and to Trinity College, Cambridge. A lad who took a high place at Westminster thus had his way open to the university. Dr. Bentley had to choose his boys on these annual visits. These facts explain Byrom's allusions. On April 23, 1724, we read that "Dr. Thomas Bentley came to Westminster election last week." Next year, on April 27, Byrom was himself present at the election. He gives an amusing picture of the day:

> Dr. Bentley gave me a ticket in the school, and I dined in the hall. I ate some hashed calf's head, pigeon pie, lobster. They were none of them good, nor the wine. Went to a coffee house after dinner with Ord and Gordon; two dishes, 4*d.* About five went to the school again. I sat within the bar and heard all the declamations; pretty good verses. Gave my verses about St. George and the Dragon to a lad, that is, Davis did. The subject was, *Ne sit pro teste vetustus.* They took, and the lad had some money given him.

His future friend, Charles Wesley, was present at this ceremony, for he was captain of the school in 1725, and next year was himself elected to Christ Church.

Byrom had many leisure hours in London. How he spent them a few entries may show. He speaks of a visit which "Sister Ann and I" paid to Sion College Library, then in its old home on London Wall. "It seems the books are not chained, but the librarian fetches them as anybody wants them. He spoke very civilly." On May 25, 1725, we meet a record which reminds us of the plague of highwaymen from which England then suffered, and of the wonderful work which the Wesleys did among the criminals of the day:

> Yesterday passed by our gate here [at Gray's Inn] the famous Jonathan Wild in a cart between two other malefactors, in a nightgown, without a

hat, with a book in his hand, crying. There was the greatest mob imaginable, and they hooted him along. He took opium to poison himself last night, as they say, but it did not quite take effect. He was very loath to be hanged when he came to it. The mob pelted him at the very gallows.

A few days after this scene Byrom, on his way to Woolwich with his friends, "read Jonathan Wild to them." No doubt this was the usual penny-a-liner's narrative of the highwayman's crimes and death. Two or three weeks afterward, he says, "We all took a walk to St. Pancras Churchyard, where we read the monuments and saw where Jonathan Wild was buried, whom the papists had taken up." Crime went on unchecked by the terrors of the law. In 1728 he mentions that Sir G. Heathcote had been robbed "in Paul's Churchyard, and many other street robberies committed of late—very many." "Alas, alas!" he writes in August, 1723, "I cannot meet with a steel pen no manner of where; I believe I have asked at three hundred and seventy-five places." Byrom's shorthand writing made him anxious to get a fine-pointed pen, but he met with ill success. In other entries we see him lighted from Holborn by a link-boy, to whom he gave two pence. Then he adds, "I ate heartily, having dined with Duke Humphrey." On Sunday night, November 26, 1727, as he and his friends walked home they were greatly diverted by the bellman's lines:

> If that we do believe a future state,
> Let us repent before it is too late.
> Although we now may be in health and strength,
> The life of man is but a span's length.
> Let 's make our calling and election sure.
> Past one o'clock.

What changes have come over London another quotation will show. In June, 1729, he had agreed to go out with his friends to Islington Wells at half past four in the morning, but got up too late for the walk. He went, however, to Mr. Cockayne's, who took his visitors "to his country house, just by the turnpike beyond Whitechapel, where we had cherries and a bottle of good port, the cherries very good and ripe, and I ate some off the tree."

Byrom gives some suggestive details about his native town. There were only three families in Manchester between 1720 and 1733 who kept their carriages. He pays a warm tribute

to Mr. Clayton, one of the Oxford Methodists then settled in Manchester, whose zeal had gathered seventy people, all above sixty years old, to be confirmed by the bishop at Salford Chapel in December, 1733. Three years later we find that Clayton and a young clergyman from Christ Church called on Byrom "for Mr. Wesley's letter from Georgia. I drank tea with them and Mr. Rivington in the afternoon. Mr. Rivington gave them a painful account of the spread of deism in London. He said that many of the young men of his parish had left off all public service and professed deism, and that there was a visible decline in the sale of good books."

We now reach the most valuable pages of Byrom's journals. He knew most of the friends of the Wesleys in London, so that he had access to the best sources of information about them and their work. So far back as December, 1725, Byrom had called on Mr. Hutton at Westminster with a friend and received a hearty welcome. This Mr. Hutton was a clergyman of the Church of England, who had resigned his living because he did not feel free to take the oath of allegiance on the accession of George I. He lived in College Street, Westminster, where he took in Westminster scholars as boarders. His wife also received some lady lodgers. The clergyman had heard about Byrom, and they soon plunged into a discussion as to systems of shorthand. It was at this Mr. Hutton's house that John and Charles Wesley generally stayed when in London ten years later. Young Hutton and his sister both looked upon John Wesley as their spiritual father, for it was under a sermon of his, preached in their father's house from the words, "One thing is needful," that both of them received great spiritual good. Mr. James Hutton was apprenticed to Mr. Innys, the bookseller, on Ludgate Hill, and Byrom mentions some purchases made of him there in April, 1735. Young Hutton afterward began business for himself a little to the west of Temple Bar and published books for the Wesleys and Whitefield.

In March, 1736, when again in London, Byrom quotes a remark made by Mr. John White, a member of the government and also of the board for the administration of affairs in that colony, to the effect "that they would have no hierarchy in Georgia." This significant note bears witness to the feeling roused by John Wesley's high church zeal in America. On

March 31, 1737, Byrom followed Mr. Oglethorpe, who was leaving the Pennsylvania Coffee House, and asked him about Charles Wesley, "who, he said, was in the country somewhere. Mr. Rivington's son told me when I inquired there that he was gone to Tiverton," where his eldest brother was master of the grammar school. Byrom called at Rivington's on April 22, to ask after Charles Wesley, and learned that he would be in town soon. The publisher said "that the English at Savannah were a parcel of sad people. Seemed to speak of the adventure of Mr. Wesley's as a rash undertaking, but that they had been severely searched." When Charles Wesley came to town he lodged at Mr. Hutton's in Westminster. Byrom had an interesting conversation with him on June 10. He now learned that Benjamin Ingham, the friend and companion of the Wesleys in Georgia, "had applied the universal alphabet which I had given to his brother when he was at Manchester to the Indian language; it did very well for all its letters and sounds." Charles Wesley also said "that he had several books of shorthand which had been of great use to him in America." That afternoon the friends had tea together at Byrom's lodgings. Oglethorpe, Charles Wesley said, would not allow St. Paul's remarks about celibacy "to be so much as a permission, and Charles himself talked, I thought, prettily at last." Three weeks later we find Byrom waiting for Charles Wesley at Tom's Coffee House.

From that time close intercourse was kept up between the friends. On July 2, 1737, Charles Wesley called as Byrom was shaving and brought two letters about the mystics, one from his brother John in Georgia, the other an answer to it from Samuel Wesley at Tiverton. This was a dangerous subject. Byrom thought that "neither of the brothers had any apprehension of mystics, if I had myself, which query; but if I have I find it necessary to be very cautious how one talks of deep matters to everybody." He also notes that Charles Wesley criticised Law's statement that there is no command for public worship in Scripture. Byrom himself inclines to Law's side: "I believe that Mr. Law had given his brother, or him, or both, very good and strong advice, which they had strained to a meaning different to his." But if they differed as to Law and the mystics shorthand was a great bond

between them. Charles Wesley had first learned Weston's system, and was going to teach a Mr. Hooke, a clergyman in Hertfordshire. He writes to Byrom on September 25, 1737: "An uninterrupted hurry has prevented my writing sooner. I am now forced to borrow a piece of Sunday. Next week I return to Oxford." Byrom was thinking of printing a book on shorthand, and Charles Wesley was eager to help. "By your leave and written communication, I would immediately begin to take subscriptions."

Byrom writes to Charles Wesley, in March, 1738, in shorthand, a letter marked by much felicity of style and good sense:

DEAR SIR: I take the opportunity of Mr. Chaddock's going up to London from us to return you thanks for your last letter and the good wishes therein contained. I begin to think that your brother's arrival will be the occasion of your staying some time at least in England, and especially because you say that you are going to Oxford. We are in expectation of seeing your brother in these parts, from Mr. Clayton's intimation to us that he would come hither.

As your brother has brought so many hymns translated from the French, you will have a sufficient number and no occasion to increase them by the small addition of Mr. Bourignon's two little pieces, which I desire you to favor my present weakness, if I judge wrong, and not to publish them. I do not at all desire to discourage your publication; but when you tell me that you write not for the critic but for the Christian it occurs to my mind that you might as well write for both, or in such a manner that the critic may by your writing be moved to turn Christian, rather than the Christian turn critic. I should be wanting, I fear, in speaking freely and friendly upon this matter, if I did not give it as my humble opinion that before you publish you might lay before some experienced Christian critics or judges the design which you are upon. But I speak this with all submission; it is very likely that in these matters I may want a spur more than you want a bridle.

When you go to Oxford I beg my hearty respects to all our shorthand friends and others there. I have thought often of writing to Mr. Kinchin about contractions; but the tediousness of explaining that matter by writing and the ease of doing by conversation have made me defer it in hopes of meeting with some occasion of doing it in the latter way. But as I have had the pleasure of talking with you a little upon that subject you will be able to give him some satisfaction in that particular, or anything relating to the art whereof you are so complete a master that I shame at my own writing when I see the neatness of yours.

I wish you and your brother happiness and holiness. Your most obliged and humble servant I am, J. BYROM.

This I have just writ at the library here in Mr. Thyer's room, for whom I keep it, this March 3rd, 173⅞, [he] being gone to Bagully a-walking with Mr. Greaves.

Byrom's journal becomes of still deeper interest and value as we approach the hour when the Wesleys were led into the light. To him we owe our best portrait of Mr. Bray, whose house in Little Britain plays so memorable a part in these days of grace. Charles Wesley had greatly offended Mrs. Hutton by going to lodge with Bray, although she offered him the choice of her two best rooms. It was in Bray's house that Charles Wesley was able to rest in Christ on Whitsunday. Here the poet of Methodism composed the first hymn of the revival, which was first sung on the following Wednesday, when John Wesley was brought in triumph by a troop of friends and declared, "I believe."

On June 15, 1738, three weeks after the evangelical conversion of the brothers, Byrom writes :

I lie at the Ax, but am out all day. I have dined yesterday and to-day with Mr. Charles Wesley at a very honest man's house, a brazier, where he lodges, with whose behavior and conversation I have been very much pleased.

John Wesley had sailed two days before for Germany on his visit to the Moravian settlement. Charles had been spending some time with Mr. Piers, who had formerly been curate to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Annesley, Rector of Winwick, but now "has some preferment about ten miles off, and he is to go to him again; he gives him a great character." This was the Rev. Henry Piers, then Vicar of Bexley, who, with his wife and manservant, found peace during one of Charles Wesley's visits. A week after this entry, Byrom says, "Mr. Charles Wesley is ill again in the country at Blenn in Kent,* his brother gone to Germany; so Mr. Clayton cannot write to him." He also chafes under the somewhat condescending treatment he had received from the Bishop of Ely, and adds :

I confess myself full as well pleased with the sentiments of the poor brazier whom I think I've mentioned, and with whom I have been to-day and had much talk with him. He talks more like a bishop, in one sense; but as yet I do not know whether I rightly apprehend what doctrine these

* The Cheetham Society editor says, "Blenn near Canterbury;" but this is Blendon, where his friends, the Delamottes, lived.

Moravians have brought amongst 'em which so highly delights some and displeases others.

On February 7, 1739, he put on his cloak after breakfast and went to see Bray, who was not in. When he called again, he says,

Mr. John Wesley came down to me, and I went, after some invitation, up stairs where they were at dinner, but I ate none. His brother Hall there, who talked of inward matters. Evans of Oxford, a tradesman, was there. I went with John Wesley to Islington to his brother at Mr. Stonehouse's (who paid five guineas to Mr. Lambert for learning my shorthand, but had made one of his own, a strange, ugly one, and could not be persuaded to learn ours). . . . Went with them to the church, where a fat woman was baptized. Thence came to his house, where they prayed, after a hymn, in their society room. Thence Mr. John Wesley went away, and we three went up stairs and drank tea and ate bread and butter and talked about faith.

Stonehouse, who had read the mystics extensively, thought that John Wesley spoke too severely of Tauler and other writers of the same school. Byrom's want of sympathy with the new movement appears from his next sentences:

Mr. Charles Wesley came for London about seven, and I with him, and Mr. Stonehouse hoped to see me again.

As the friends walked along they talked of the latest phases of the work.

Charles Wesley said Whitefield had discerned Mr. Clayton's spirit immediately. . . . [He] talked away in very strange terms about their success, and especially George Whitefield's, and I thought "Paul I know," etc. We parted at the end of Hatton Garden.

Later in the same month Byrom paid another visit to Mr. Stonehouse, who had much impressed him as a very agreeable young gentleman:

I walked this afternoon to Islington again with John Wesley to Mr. Stonehouse's, who came back with me to London to meet some of 'em. . . . I can talk with Mr. Stonehouse more freely than Mr. Wesley, with whom he differs in some points that he and I are more agreed in.

A few days afterward he went again with Wesley and attended Stonehouse's church. He had another talk with Stonehouse, in which the latter expressed his feeling that Wesley went too far against the mystics. He had promised to go to a meeting in Newgate Street. Byrom wished to dissuade him from so do-

ing, but he went. Stonehouse seemed to have vacillated a good deal over the matter, and gives one an unpleasant impression of his resolution. Charles Wesley read the service at Islington Church, "but I thought," says Byrom, "with an affected emphasis."

The same day our gossip is at Mr. Hutton's shop near Temple Bar, and says:

His sister came to me and asked me to drink tea, but her brother coming in I went with him into their little room, and the sister talked away as usual and then went to a raffle; and Mr. Hutton and I talked about Methodism, and he defended them and was eager to answer to the point, as he called it, having wrote to Mr. Durand, who yet threatened what he would do if he mentioned his name in print, which yet he said he had done. I endeavored to mollify his eagerness, but found that it would not do.

He had other talks with Hutton, whom he found enthusiastic in praise of Wesley. He often looked in for news, and calls him "my chief intelligencer." If his work on shorthand needed a bookseller, he wrote, "it must be Mr. Hutton, because he was a scholar, and that I would rather pay him something more than others if there should be occasion."

Another entry, in February, 1739, shows us how the gulf was widening between the Wesleys and their old friends. They were already becoming marked men:

I forgot that I saw Mrs. Rivington coming out of her shop, so I went in and had some talk with Mr. Rivington about the Methodists. He said they were all wrong; that they had left Mr. Law; that Mr. Wogan [an Ealing layman] was against them; that they would do a deal of mischief; that they thought they had more of the Spirit than anybody; that Mr. Clayton kept clear of such extravagancies. Now I remember how Mr. Hutton talked about him and said he was a good man; how that he had writ to John Wesley about his preaching without notes, which he thought was wrong to do.

Wesley returned to London from his first field-preaching in Bristol on June 13, 1739, because of the disturbances which had arisen in the society at Fetter Lane. Byrom writes to his wife next day:

Mr. John Wesley is come to this town from Bristol. Mr. Whitefield preaches away at Blackheath, etc.; he is the chief topic of private conversation. . . . He had lords, dukes, etc., to hear him at Blackheath, who gave guineas and half guineas for his orphan house. He does surprising things and has a great number of followers, both curious and real.

This field-preaching, they say, is got into France, as well as Germany, England, Scotland, Wales, etc. People are more and more alarmed at the wonder of it, but none offer to stop it that I hear of.

A fortnight later he has breakfast with Mr. Hutton, with whom, he says, "I have dined two or three times lately upon my own sort of fare." Of the previous night, he adds:

The so-much-talked-of Mr. Whitefield came in, and company with him. He stayed about a quarter of an hour, taking leave with his friends; and then the Cirencester coach called, and he went to Gloucestershire therein that night. He has a world of people that like him. I should have satisfied my curiosity a little if he had not been in haste. I am surprised at the progress which he had made, to which the weakness of his printing adversaries does not a little contribute.

Byrom was quite out of sympathy with the new movement. It did not commend itself to his somewhat mystical mind. He writes to his son on April 26:

Mr. Charles Wesley is in town, but I very seldom see him, not being quite agreed in all our opinions, though I have called now and then just to ask him how he does, because I wish him to do well heartily. . . . They have together printed a book of hymns, amongst which they have inserted two of Mrs. Bourignon's, one which they call a "Farewell to the World, translated from the French," and the other, "Renouncing all for Christ" (I think), "translated from the French."

The old friendship was not broken by their change of views. Somewhat later Charles Wesley's name appears in the proposals for printing Byrom's *Shorthand*, as one of those who recommend the system.

On August 4, 1739, Byrom is busy with a little domestic commission, and turns to his Moravian friend in Little Britain:

I called yesterday at Mr. Bray's, brazier, about a teakettle. He says round ones are the most commodious, not with flat tops, but raised a little; there are others like the shape of the old one. . . . I found Mr. Charles Wesley there and drank tea with him, and he asked me to come on Monday morning at eight, being to go out of town, and I should see him no more. I came out with him as far as Guildhall in his way to Kensington Common, where he was to go with Mr. Whitefield for the last time, Mr. Whitefield being to go abroad, etc. On Monday Mr. Wesley preaches at Moorfields, and Kensington on Sunday morning and night; he asked me if he should invite me to come and hear him. "Shall I invite you to stay at home?" said I. "No," said he. "Then," says I, "don't invite me to come." We do not agree, nor differ as to matters of doctrine that I can find, nor have I any occasion to condemn him.

On the following Monday he did breakfast with his friend at Mr. Bray's.

Byrom, as we have already stated, sided warmly with Law in his controversy with John Wesley. He visited Law at Putney, where he was tutor to the father of Gibbon, the historian, on August 27, 1739, and saw Wesley's letters and answers. Law quoted Hutton to the effect that three days before writing the famous letter Wesley had gone hastily from Hutton's, saying he must go and save Mr. Stonehouse from Mr. Law, who was bringing him over to faith without works:

> In short, it was a very strange account that he gave, and this John Wesley, who always appeared to me in a c-n-p-r-d-ling light, appeared still worse. Pray God convert him to a true faith indeed, that may show itself more faithful with regard to his neighbor.

The extract shows that Byrom was quite unable to understand Wesley's position in this matter. Law had done much for the Oxford Methodists, but he had altogether failed to teach them the great truth of justification by faith. Hence Wesley's protest. When a critic so impartial and competent as Canon Overton does ample justice to Wesley's attitude and temper in this matter we may smile at Byrom's sally. There would have been no evangelical revival had the Wesleys not found clearer and more evangelical guides than their old master William Law.

During the next two years Byrom appears to have spent little time in London. The death of his elder and unmarried brother on May 12, 1740, had made him the owner of the family estates, so that there was no longer any need for his work as a teacher of shorthand. On July 7, 1742, however, we find him among his old friends. He goes with Mr. Jacobi to the Moravian chapel in Fetter Lane.

> Mr. Delamotte read the story of the eunuch and St. Philip, and then preached. Mr. Hutton came in after us and sat down by me and squeezed me every now and then.

Still more interest attaches to a later visit. On Saturday, May 7, 1748, Byrom writes:

> I dined yesterday with Colonel Gumley and Charles Wesley, and went with them to the Methodist church, English common prayers; he preached. I met my old scholar, Mr. Erskine, there, and Lord Pitsligo's son.

This nobleman came into Manchester with the Pretender in 1745. Byrom's daughter, Elizabeth, notes, in the journal which she kept of that painful incident in the history of Manchester, that she saw his troop of horse at the "Cross" on November 28. The title was forfeited the following year. The Methodist church which Byrom attended was that interesting building in West Street, Seven Dials, which is the most venerable relic of early London Methodism.

In August of the same year Byrom describes a visit to the Countess of Huntingdon's mansion at Chelsea. He and Dr. Doddridge went together by water. They found Whitefield talking with Charles Stanhope and heard him preach to the family and friends.

> One Colonel Gumley, a convert to the Wesleys, was there; also Mr. Bateman, parson of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, who from a great enemy is likewise come over to them and preaches at their chapel, and they at his church. We left him there, and the colonel, Mr. Whitefield, and I came away in a coach that Lady Huntingdon had provided to London, about six o'clock.

The colonel got out at Hyde Park Corner; but as the man drove past Abington's (the coffee house where he stayed) Byrom went on to Whitefield's tabernacle and sat just behind him while he preached. The place, which held three thousand people, was crowded. Byrom afterward had supper with Whitefield in his apartments at the tabernacle. This was the temporary shed in Moorfields, which gave place to a new building in 1753. The tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road was not opened until 1756.

The later pages of Byrom's journal contain some particulars of not less interest for students of the evangelical revival than those already referred to. He says on May 27, 1749, that Mr. Innys, the publisher, had given him a copy of Law's new book on prayer, of which Lady Huntingdon had ordered one hundred copies to be sent among her acquaintances. He comments somewhat harshly, under date of October 8, 1757, on Wesley's critique of the work.

On April 2, 1761, John Wesley, accompanied by his friend Mr. Philips, called upon him at his home in Manchester. He came at ten o'clock in the morning and stayed until about twelve.

His brother, Charles Wesley, he said, was ill at Bristol or Bath, and had been confined by a disorder in his stomach which the doctors could not cure, and called it the gout; that Lady Huntingdon was ill, and a more charming woman than ever; that she is the lady to whom Mr. Law wrote the letters in his book. We had again the talk about his letter to Mr. Law, but to no other effect than two years ago. . . . I mentioned the six men who had been read out of his society for reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law, as one of them had told me, and had desired me to speak to him last year, but I had not then the pleasure of seeing him. He appeared to be warm on that article; said, when I mentioned their being turned out for reading, "That was because they told me lies." . . . He rejected them, not for reading the books, which was as indifferent as the color of their hair; but if they would thrust their hair into other people's eyes and trouble them with their notions, that was his reason.

Every student of Wesley's life knows that he was always faithful to this principle. He wrote to Joseph Benson as to a controversy which Benson was waging with some antagonist:

If he cites anything from me you should answer simply, "I never undertook to defend every sentiment of Mr. Wesley's. He does not expect or desire it. He wishes me and every man to think for himself."—*Works*, xii, 429.

To the Rev. James Erskine also he wrote nearly forty years earlier:

Whoever agrees with us in that account of practical religion given in "The Character of a Methodist," I regard not what his other opinions are, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother. I am more assured that love is of God than that any opinion whatsoever is."—*Works*, xiii, 162.

On July 13, 1788, he writes:

One circumstance more is quite peculiar to the people called Methodists; that is, the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinion whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be Churchmen or Dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents, it is no obstacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another, it is no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian still; the Independent or Anabaptist use his own mode of worship; so may the Quaker, and none will contend with him about it. They think and let think. One condition and one only is required, a real desire to save their soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? If it be, give me thine hand."—*Works*, xiii, 266.

It would be difficult to find a finer illustration of true catholicity of spirit. As to Mr. Law, Wesley said, "I do not treat him with contempt, as he does me." Byrom also asked Wesley his opinion about what was called the day of grace being over.

He said he believed it might be, but never met with any instances but one, in a man that was to be executed, whom he found to be perfectly unconcerned, though he knew he was going to be with devils, and described a strange case; but I could not allow that God's grace was then none, but not admitted by the man.

Another subject of much interest was broached.

[Wesley] said that all good authors might be inspired, but there was none but who mixed their own spirit; that Thomas à Kempis was next to the Bible, but in him there was transubstantiation and purgatory, and I could not get the smallest entire book that was quite through inspired.

Byrom mentioned Mr. Madan.

This Mr. Madan, he said, was a famous mimic, and came to hear him in order to take him off, but was himself taken off his deism; that his father, the colonel, was dead; had left him £1,800 a year; that he had a chapel of his own in some street; could not get ordained by the Bishop of London under pretense of want of a title, but was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly) who at ninety-three was hearty; that Madan, Romaine, etc., were half-regulars, for he divided them into regulars, half-regulars, and irregulars; that Romaine had not got a living, as I had been told.

Many other topics of conversation were discussed in this interview.

Three years before Francis Okeley, one of Wesley's traveling companions, had visited Byrom. On his return he found Mr. Wesley ready to start for Bolton. He wrote to Byrom:

I gave your love to him, as you desired, and he was glad I had been to see you; for, notwithstanding any little differences in opinion, I find he loves you sincerely, which I was glad to see.

Okeley says Byrom's warnings "not implicitly to entangle myself more than conviction of the truth will bear me out in with Mr. Wesley and his people are not lost upon me." He afterward settled in his native town of Bedford. He had caught Byrom's enthusiasm for Law and spent some days with

him at Northampton in 1760. "Dr. Byrom," said Law, "is a man after my own heart." Okeley writes:

> I have heard an anecdote of [Mr. Law] that just before his translation he rose up in bed and said, "Take away these filthy garments. I feel a fire of love within, which has burned up everything contrary to itself and transformed everything to its own nature."

Such an anecdote suggests many comparisons with John Wesley's famous phrase, "Our people die well." That secret has, happily, never been confined to Methodism. The blessed end of John Wesley's noble life of self-sacrifice for the common people, with the words, "I'll praise, I'll praise," lingering on his lips almost to the last, is scarcely more beautiful than the deathbed of the great English mystic to whom Wesley owed so much in earlier years and with whom he afterward felt that truth compelled him to cross swords.

Byrom died on September 28, 1763, at the age of seventy-two. He bore his lingering illness with exemplary patience. It is a quaint comment on last century customs to find that his family were fined five pounds because he was not buried in woolen. Ten years later John Wesley read his friend's poems as he traveled from Liverpool to Birmingham. He pays a high tribute to the man whom he had known and loved so well:

> He has all the wit and humor of Dean Swift, together with much more learning, a deep and strong understanding, and, above all, a serious vein of poetry.

He comments adversely on some things inspired by Jacob Behmen. Then he adds:

> But, setting these things aside, we have some of the finest sentiments that ever appeared in the English tongue; some of the noblest truths, expressed with the utmost energy of language and the strongest colors of poetry, so that, upon the whole, I trust this publication will much advance the cause of God and of true religion.

With that tribute lingering in our ears we may close our study.

John Telford

Art. II.—THE LOSS OF AN OLD FRIEND—PROTOPLASM.

The discoveries of science are often made in anticipation; for one of the chief guides in research is the seeming trend of scientific advance. As the scientist looks over the history of past discovery he perceives a general movement in certain directions, and then is led to expect and to plan for further advances along the same general lines. To him the trend of science is very real. In a former article in this *Review* the author pointed out that for a scientist to hold any position among his fellows it is necessary for him to accept not only all scientific facts, but to anticipate discovery by being in sympathy with the future and be able thus to plan experiments, guided by what he feels to be the trend of scientific advance. Only thus can he keep abreast of our rapidly advancing knowledge, and only thus can he plan intelligent experiments and aid science toward its final aim. It frequently happens, for this reason, that discoveries are made in theory before they are made in fact. But while this thought must be ever present in the mind of a true scientist he must also remember that in thus anticipating the future he is running the risk of making mistakes by falsely interpreting this general drift. Sometimes advance is diverted from its seemingly plain course by unforeseen discoveries; sometimes the path comes to an end before the ultimate theoretical goal is reached, and thus anticipation and prediction prove to have passed beyond the limits set by nature. It is the object of the present paper to show how this is true by pointing out how, in one of the most significant realms of scientific discovery, this tendency has seemingly been leading us adrift. Recent discoveries have demonstrated that in regard to the theories of the origin of life the conclusions derived from the trend of discovery have led us too far and must be very materially modified; and the facts given below illustrate the danger of speculating too far ahead of demonstrated fact.

Hardly a problem in science has given rise to more interest than that of the nature and origin of what we call life. Is life a special force independent of other natural forces, or is

it correlated with chemical and physical force? Can life arise spontaneously? Has it had a natural or a supernatural origin? Can we ever hope to manufacture a living thing? These are ever-present questions. Until the last half century there had been no attempt to ally vital with chemical and physical forces; but the rise of biology as a dynamical science has given us new conceptions and has led to somewhat revolutionary views. Out of the vague notions of earlier centuries there has in the last fifty years slowly crystallized what has been called the mechanical theory of life. This theory was primarily based upon the discovery of protoplasm. Some forty years ago the microscope disclosed to us the fact that the living part of all animals and plants was one and the same compound. This body, which was named protoplasm, is really the only living substance in nature, and was said to be the "potter's clay" out of which all animals and plants were molded. Chemically it gave the tests for albumen, and it was for a long time, therefore, regarded simply as a special form of albumen with peculiar properties. Hence there arose the notion that what we call life is simply a name for the properties of this substance, just as aquosity might be coined as a name for the properties of the substance of water. According to this view life is nothing supernatural, nor has it had any special supernatural origin. Just as aquosity appeared in earlier times, when conditions were such as to produce the union of hydrogen and oxygen in the right proportions to form water, so life appeared in the same natural way when the conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in the right proportions to form protoplasm. Life was thus no real thing, no distinct force, but simply a name given to the properties of the substance protoplasm. These properties protoplasm possessed simply by virtue of its chemical composition, and not by having any special force implanted in it. Every chemical compound has its own characters, and protoplasm differs from other compounds simply in having more complex properties. But it has also a more complex composition. If we do not regard water as ruled over by a special force, aquosity, it is illogical to regard protoplasm as ruled over by a special force, vitality.

This mechanical theory of life has certainly never been dem-

onstrated any more than its opposite has been demonstrated. The question of the existence of a guiding power in living nature, unique in itself, still remains an open one. The facts of nature have thus far proved too illusive to admit of the settlement of the question. Still, the mechanical theory has been strenuously held by scientists, and has certainly enjoyed in the last two decades a growing popularity. The foundation of the theory rests upon no demonstration, but rather upon a general inference from several series of facts. The discovery of the correlation between bodily heat and motion with the physical forces of nature has had great influence. The demonstration that vital motions are as truly due to transformed sunlight as those of any machine has contributed much toward uniting life with physical force. The explanation of the mechanics of the circulation and of the chemistry of digestion and respiration has contributed to the result. Above all, the advances in organic chemistry have led naturalists rapidly toward the mechanical theory of life. As the last half century has passed we have seen how advances in chemistry have been showing the possibility of making in the chemist's laboratory many compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the agency of life. We have seen that the chemist can begin with simple substances like CO_2 (carbonic anhydride or carbonic acid) and H_2O (water) and by a series of combinations and reactions, making use of known laws of chemical affinity, can manufacture many of the bodies formerly classed as strictly organic. We have learned that an increasing complexity of properties of chemical compounds accompanies the increasing complexity of composition. CO_2 is a simple substance and its properties are very simple; but proteids, with their much more complex molecule, show widely varied powers of modification and combination. It has, from such facts, been an easy assumption that when chemists do make a substance as complex as protoplasm, whose molecule must be considered the most complex one on earth, it will have properties as marvelous as those of living things, and will, in short, be alive. Now, if protoplasm is only an albumen, its artificial manufacture does not seem to be very improbable. In other words, chemists have been telling us of the probability that they would some day succeed in making a living substance by the application of sim-

ple chemical forces to matter. Acting in accordance with this prediction, many experiments have been planned looking toward the manufacture of protoplasm, and eagerly have chemists been trying to build up the higher organic compounds. Spontaneous generation, too, has been studied anew with confident expectation of reaching, if not a positive conclusion, still some result which might give an indication of the possibility of a natural origin of life. We have been told that, in spite of the fact that thus far experiments have rather opposed any belief in the possibility of the origin of life from any source except other living beings, nevertheless the next great discovery will be the spontaneous generation or the artificial manufacture of life. This has been confidently believed, and is plainly in the line of scientific advance which is everywhere learning of the efficiency of natural laws to explain natural phenomena.

Such general facts as those above outlined have gradually given us the mechanical theory of life. There can be no question that some such theory as this lies at the end of the road which we have been traveling, provided the road continues to advance in the same direction. Chemists certainly can make organic compounds, and are making those of higher and higher grades every year. Certain it is, too, that an increasing complexity of properties accompanies the increasing complexity of molecular structure of these bodies. Now, if we only admit that protoplasm stands at the top of this ladder which chemists are rapidly climbing—and this seems to be the natural conclusion from its characters—it is certainly a natural inference that some day chemists will be able to make protoplasm itself. Carry this conclusion to its legitimate end and we shall find this protoplasm to be alive.

The mechanical theory of life has been thus inferred from various lines of research. We must notice now that this theory consists of two parts. It comprises a theory of the *nature* and a theory of the *origin* of life. These two parts rest upon different foundations. The first is dependent upon the assumption of the practical uniformity of protoplasm. Living nature everywhere shows certain general attributes; and if life is simply a name for these attributes we must expect that the protoplasm must show the same composition everywhere. If protoplasm

is the physical basis of life it must be practically uniform, since life is itself everywhere uniform in its general characters.

The second part of the mechanical view—that is, the natural *origin* of life and the prediction of its artificial manufacture—rests, however, upon a different basis. The theory that at some earlier period the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen came together in such proportions as to form protoplasm, rests upon the supposition that protoplasm is a single and a definite though perhaps variable compound. The expectation which chemists formerly had of manufacturing it rested also upon the belief that it was a single chemical compound related to albumen, or at least a simple mixture of allied compounds. Formic acid, indigo, urea, and even a proteid have been made, and why not protoplasm? This would indeed seem to follow naturally, provided protoplasm were, like formic acid, indigo, urea, and proteid, a definite chemical compound with a constant molecular composition. No amount of complexity in its molecule would stand in the way of this logical position so long as its composition could be regarded as dependent upon chemical forces. If, however, it should prove that protoplasm was something more than a chemical compound, then chemical forces could not be regarded as sufficient for its synthesis. The second part of the mechanical view, therefore, rests upon the supposed definite composition of protoplasm.

Consciously or unconsciously, then, speculators have been assuming the uniformity of protoplasm, as well as its nature as a single chemical compound. But, unfortunately, such a view is no longer possible. It was the microscope which started us along this road of travel some fifty years ago by furnishing us with protoplasm to conjure with for a few years; but now the microscope is turning again and robbing us of the treasure which it allowed us to use for thirty years or more. It is the microscope, and not chemistry, which seems to bid fair to settle this question of the natural origin of life and to compel us very materially to modify the views which resulted from chemical speculation. Protoplasm is not homogeneous. The great improvements in the microscope and in microscopic methods of the last fifteen years have been disclosing within this seeming homogeneous jelly a structure which, being unexpected, is startling and even revolutionary in its significance. Biologists

have hardly realized the meaning of this change or even its extent. When, some fifteen years ago, the announcement was made that protoplasm showed a structure to the microscope it was hardly thought of as specially important. But fifteen years' accumulated discovery has made such a change that we are now just beginning to realize that our old friend protoplasm has disappeared from science never to return; or if not absolutely gone it has so changed its aspect as to be no longer recognizable. While, of course, it would be out of place to give here a detailed account of these researches in living matter, the essential facts are so intimately related to our philosophical conception of the nature of life as to be of interest to all who ever think upon these questions.

In the first place, it has appeared that there is no such thing as protoplasm in general, but only particular forms of protoplasm. There is no general protoplasm out of which different animals and plants are made, but each organism has its own peculiar kind. Protoplasm is not an undifferentiated "potter's clay" or raw material out of which to make animals and plants. This has, of course, always been known, but with a general belief that there was a great uniformity in the compound wherever it was found. But so far from being alike everywhere protoplasm in different animals is perhaps as varied as are the animals themselves. As Huxley first knew it protoplasm was a homogeneous jelly, transparent to view and with no discernible structure. As we know it to-day it is one of the most complicated bodies of which we have any knowledge; complicated not only in its chemical composition, but also in its physical structure. The microscope to-day tells us that it is made of several distinct parts. The basis of the mass, and that which gives it consistency, is a complicated network of delicate fibers, sometimes extremely minute and sometimes comparatively coarse, interwoven with each other in great confusion. The more intimate structure of the fibers, or even their chemical composition, is unknown. Giving fluidity to the mass, there is suspended among the meshes of the network a clear watery liquid of varying consistency. It is largely water, but not wholly so, and of its further composition we have little knowledge. On and among the fibers are infinite numbers of extremely minute dots or granules barely visible to the highest powers

of the microscope; and these may be seen to move to and fro, frequently traveling along the fibers almost like beads on a string, now grouping themselves in one way and now in another, and exhibiting an appearance of ceaseless activity. These bodies are so minute as to show no structure with any microscopical appliances; and yet there are strong reasons for believing that there are great differences between them, and that they are themselves made up of still more minute parts which must ever baffle the powers of optics to discern.

Nor does the matter end here. Protoplasm never exists free as undifferentiated protoplasm, but is always associated in little independent bits called cells. In such cells the structure is more complicated than above indicated, for each cell contains, besides the clear protoplasm, a specially differentiated part called the nucleus. This nucleus is in itself simply a part of the protoplasm and, indeed, as most microscopists are inclined to believe, the most essential part. In the nucleus we find a repetition of the fibers, liquids, and granules in a fashion even more complicated than in the body of the cell. In addition to these there is a new structure in the form of a compound called nuclein. This latter appears sometimes in the form of dots or rods or granules grouped in various fantastic ways. Frequently it is itself inclosed in a most wonderful body known as the nuclein tubule. Imagine a cell not more than a two hundredth of an inch in diameter, with a nucleus inclosed within it not a tenth of its size, and then conceive a long hollow endless tube snugly coiled within the nucleus, and we have an idea of a nuclein tubule. This tube, wherever present, contains the nuclein in its cavity. Now, this same nuclein, whether in the form of rods or dots, or whether inclosed within the tubule, is the most incomprehensible part of the whole protoplasm. Minute as it is in amount, the microscopist has learned that it must contain the properties of the whole protoplasm and, in many cases at least, all of the essential characters of the adult animal or plant to which the particular cell belongs. For instance, in the nuclein of the reproductive body, we have learned, are probably seated all of the hereditary characters which the parent may transmit to its offspring, as well as an unknown quantity of other characteristics which we know may be transmitted from generation to generation, remaining dormant in one to

reappear later. When in an individual there appears a trait inherited from a great-grandfather we know that this must have been handed down through grandfather and father in the reproductive bodies, and probably in the minute quantity of nuclein within the nucleus of those bodies. When we think of the complexity of the adult animal like man, and of the extremely minute size of the reproductive cells, with the still smaller proportion of the nuclein inclosed, and when we remember that this body contains potentially all of the characters of the adult man, the marvelous character which this nuclein may assume becomes inconceivable. Wonderful as it is, we must at the same time remember that it is only a part of the so-called protoplasm.

During this last fifteen years chemistry and microscopy have been combined to form what is known as microchemistry. At first chemists tried to get protoplasm in quantity for study; but now they are trying to study it in microscopic bits by microchemical tests. This new method has disclosed wonders from the chemical side. We can no longer regard protoplasm as a chemical compound related to albumen. Instead of this we have learned that there are many different compounds existing side by side to make up what we formerly supposed to be one distinct substance. It is impossible, as yet, to form any idea of the number of these compounds. Certainly the fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein are chemically, as well as physically, distinct. Nor does the matter end here. A dozen or more compounds have already been discerned in the mixture, and no one would pretend that we have reached the limit. Our methods of separating them are as yet only the crudest. To-day we call nuclein a single compound; but no one knows what it is, nor can we doubt that this, too, will sometime be analyzed into others if we ever succeed in refining our methods sufficiently. Chemical study of the different parts of protoplasm has only just begun, and new compounds are constantly appearing. Protoplasm is thus becoming, in our minds, a more and more complex mixture of chemical compounds as we learn more of its nature. The old conception that it was an albumen has quietly dropped out of existence, so quietly, indeed, that many chemists hardly realize that it has so completely vanished. Having lost our idea of protoplasm as an albumen, we are

now slowly learning new facts of its chemical nature. Protoplasm alive and protoplasm dead have always been regarded as different; but now some of the chemical differences are becoming visible. Hardly a week passes that something new is not learned, and more wonderful does this body become as it is studied. Bold, indeed, would be the microscopist who would claim that we have yet reached the end of the analysis of a single factor.

Still further ideas of complexity arise when we try to study the activity of this protoplasm. We find that the fibers are themselves wonderfully fashioned structures with special powers; that the granules show marvelous properties. The nuclein, whether in the tubule or free in the nucleus, undergoes curious changes in the life of the cell. The tubule breaks into fragments, it splits longitudinally, the fragments separate into groups and unite together again. Sometimes they break off pieces of themselves, which are then thrown away and thrust out of the cell entirely; and sometimes the fragments receive pieces of the nuclein tubule from another cell, fusing with them to form a new nuclein mass. A ceaseless activity is going on, and the nuclein seems to preside over it all. In short, the nature of this substance, formerly regarded as a single definite compound, has been in the last ten years becoming a study of wider and wider import, till a new branch of science has arisen, called cytology, a science whose field is simply to study cells and protoplasm.

We say the study of protoplasm. But in the light of the facts mentioned what is protoplasm? What part of this wonderful complex should now be regarded as the physical basis of life? Is it the liquid? or the fibers? or the granules? or the tubule? or the nuclein? None of these plainly can deserve the name protoplasm. The word originally applied to all the parts together, and if it is to be retained at all it should plainly apply to the whole compound. But if so it is still more plain that protoplasm has ceased to hold its former position as a factor in the life problem. We can no longer regard it as the simple potter's clay out of which different forms of life can be molded. In itself, in its simplest form, it already shows the work of the artisan's hand. In this new science of cytology we scarcely ever hear of protoplasm. Its meaning is too vague and it in-

cludes too much. The word has almost disappeared from the cytologist's nomenclature, and its place is being taken by a host of new words given to the various parts of which the former substance, protoplasm, is composed. We hear of nuclein and paranuclein, of pyrenin and amphipyrenin, of karyoplasm and nucleoplasm, but seldom of protoplasm. This word promises soon to remain only as a matter of historic interest and as marking a prominent step in the analysis of life; a step, indeed, of special significance, since it stimulated thought in the new direction of studying the mechanics of the life process.

Protoplasm is thus not a simple substance, and, indeed, is not a substance at all, but rather an abstraction from a series of structures each built of many different parts. It exists as a distinct substance no more than mankind exists as a distinct entity. *Men* exist, *mankind* is purely a thought. In the same way granules, nuclein, etc., exist, while protoplasm is a thought only. And thus it follows that the famous title, protoplasm, the physical basis of life, has lost all of its former significance.

But we may now ask whether in this analysis, which must have brought us nearer to the basis of life, there has not been found something which can take the place formerly held by protoplasm in the minds of biologists. Such a result has certainly up to the present time not been reached. The significance of the discovery of protoplasm lay in the fact that all parts of all living things, however unlike they seemed, were found to be made of one and the same compound, with supposed definite character and definite chemical composition. This body, everywhere found and everywhere alike, showed in itself the essential characters of living things. It at once united plants and animals on one common foundation, and for the first time made possible a science of biology in distinction from botany and zoology. It was, indeed, the one living thing in nature, and animals and plants were only products of its activities. But its significance in the life problem lay in its being regarded as a single definite compound, and now that it appears a complex in itself we must look deeper for the ultimate life substance. But such a body does not appear. Nothing has been found within protoplasm that bears the same relations to this body that it was supposed to bear to animals and plants. We find nothing more simple which exhibits the essential

characters of life. To fill the place formerly occupied in our thoughts by protoplasm some body should be found within it, present in all forms and all parts of protoplasm and having all of the essential characters of this body, and thus forming its physical basis. But we know of none. There is no uniting bond for the different parts of protoplasm except that they are probably all composed of the same chemical elements. Whether the granules, the liquids, the nuclein, or some other part should be regarded as the most fundamental is not decided, nor is there any consensus of opinion that there is any one part really more fundamental than another. The chemical elements alone appear fundamental, and our search for the primitive life substance to-day appears to take us down to the very chemical elements themselves; and thus all significance in a physical basis of life is lost. Cytology, having robbed us of protoplasm, offers nothing in its place.

The significance of all this in regard to the mechanical theory of life must be clear to every one. Cytologists and chemists have hoped to be able to make protoplasm. The chemist has learned that he could make synthetically compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the direct agency of the life essence, and he has found more and more complicated bodies appearing in his retorts every year. Hence he supposed he was getting nearer to protoplasm. This body he regarded simply as the final round in the ladder of which the lower rounds were being rapidly surmounted. It was a simple and logical conclusion that some day the whole ladder would be climbed, and if protoplasm were at its summit that, too, would be seized as a final glorious prize. The logic of the position cannot be gainsaid. But while the chemist has been climbing this ladder the microscopist, quietly and unperceived, has shown that protoplasm does not rest at the top of the ladder, and does not, indeed, belong to the series of chemical compounds at all. Chemical compounds, of howsoever great complexity, chemists can hope to make at some time; but even the most sanguine chemist, the most extreme adherent to the mechanical theory of life, must be appalled at the task of manufacturing a bit of the simplest protoplasm, with its fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein inclosed within a special nucleus. So far as our knowledge goes all of these structures are necessary that there

be even the simplest form of life. We know of no living matter simpler than protoplasm, and no protoplasm simpler than the above-described structure. Plainly, then, we must abandon the hope of making life. It is as hopeless to try to crystallize a man out of an organic solution. Seemingly, too, we must give up the expectation of discovering any evidence for spontaneous generation. As easy to imagine a steam engine to develop spontaneously from an iron mine. We know of forces which can produce chemical compounds; and so long as the life substance was supposed to be a definite chemical compound we might hope for its manufacture. But we know of no natural forces which can produce physical structures with complex internal relations. Chemical forces may produce chemical compounds, but never machines. The microscope thus seems to have set a limit to the tendency of scientific advance in this direction. Having given us protoplasm to think over for fifty years, it has now taken it away from us and offered nothing in its place. Our experiments and speculations must now be turned in a different direction.

It cannot be questioned that the study of cytology has given a serious blow to the mechanical theory of life. But we must not imagine too quickly that these discoveries prove fatal to that theory. It is still possible to hold the mechanical theory with certain modifications. Our biologist, in spite of the facts outlined, will still believe in the natural origin of life, though he may acknowledge the impossibility of his ever obtaining an explanation of such an origin. The mechanical theory of life, it will be remembered, involves two questions. So far as the view that life is simply a name for the properties of the substance protoplasm is concerned, it is left unaffected by these new facts. Or rather it is perhaps somewhat strengthened. A complicated machine is capable of exhibiting varied powers, and the greater the complexity the greater the diversity of powers. It takes a complex machine to perform complex actions. The water wheel is a simple machine and has very limited powers; but a modern printing press, which regulates its own motions, performs many simultaneous duties, corrects its own errors, and stops voluntarily when out of adjustment to its conditions, is a marvel both of function and complication of parts. It is the marvelous variety of the properties of living nature which

has separated it in our minds from inanimate nature and has led us to believe that some special force is needed in explanation. But, having now proved protoplasm to be such a complex machine, it is easier for us to suppose that its properties are the result of its structure than it was when we looked upon it as a simple, definite, homogeneous compound. It is easier to believe that motion might result from the activities of the *machine* protoplasm than from a homogeneous jelly.

But while this may simplify one side of the problem it only renders the other more difficult of solution. The greater the complexity of protoplasm the greater the difficulty of imagining its production by natural means. How came this marvelous machine to be first built? When we thought of it as a single compound we could suppose that at one time in the earth's history conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in such a way as to form it; for chemical forces are sufficient for the manufacture of chemical compounds. We can no longer make such a supposition, for we are dealing, not with a chemical compound, but an intricate machine.

But even with this view there is still a solution of the problem for those who look for it. A few years ago the structure of the animals and plants offered the same problem, and no one could comprehend how natural forces could have produced such complicated organisms as our higher animals and plants from the simplest forms of living matter. But our evolutionists have studied this problem until they have shown how this result was accomplished. They have shown, at least, some natural forces which go toward the building of *structure* by development. This same general view they can now apply to protoplasm by assuming that it is not the simplest form of living matter, but has itself been produced by the processes of evolution from simpler compounds. They may tell us that the first step in the life process was not the production of anything even approaching protoplasm, but of some simple chemical compound, which by the long, slow processes of natural selection or other natural laws was gradually evolved into a living mass of what we now call protoplasm. The passage from the elements to the simplest form of protoplasm was perhaps as long and complicated as the passage from the simplest form of unicellular animals of early

ages to the higher orders of animals and plants. But if natural forces could produce the evolution of the higher orders of animals from the lower it may logically be imagined that they would also be sufficient for the evolution of protoplasm from simpler forms of carbon compounds and their accidental mixtures.

Such a view as this is certainly a logical one, and will doubtless be held by biologists. But it must be admitted that the whole history thus imagined has left absolutely no trace. The process of evolution of animals has left its record in the rocks; but the passage from the elements to protoplasm is a complete blank. It must, therefore, be a matter of mere speculation, and one which takes us further into the regions of the unknown than any earlier view held concerning the origin of life. We cannot as yet even make a guess as to the nature of these steps. They could not have been chemical changes, and we cannot conceive what physical forces could have produced such organization as is shown by protoplasm. But we must, at least, admit that the view is a logical possibility, and thus recognize that the mechanical theory of life, while necessarily much modified by our new knowledge, is not disproved. But the manufacture of a bit of living protoplasm, it will be admitted by all, is as hopeless as the artificial manufacture of a fully developed man. The forces which produced it are not within our control.

In conclusion, then, we see that here, as elsewhere, the nearer we get to what seems to be the solution of nature the further that solution is removed from our grasp. The physicist explains optics only to find that his explanation has involved him in inextricable difficulties. The chemist solves many of nature's problems only to find his chemical forces and atoms utterly incomprehensible to him. The astronomer explains the origin of a solar system only to find that the matter and forces out of which he formed it are as unfathomable as ever. And so the biologist, while bringing more and more of living nature into the realm of chemistry and physics, only finds his solution of the life problem retreating further and further into the shadows of speculation.

Art. III.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.*

"Every man's power is his idea multiplied by and projected through his personality." This is Phillips Brooks's statement of the law of influence. A still better statement of a preacher's power is found in the three divisions which Dr. Brooks makes in his *Lectures upon Preaching.* In that volume he advances the idea that a preacher's power consists in the truth which he gives to the world, in the art with which he adapts the truth to the audience and to the age in which he lives, and in the personality which lies back of his truth and wings it with the power of conviction. Let us see how these three principles are illustrated in this prince of modern preachers.

1. Let us learn, if possible, what was the fundamental idea which molded his character and projected itself through his personality. The inspiring thought of his life was, in his own words, "the fatherhood of God and the childhood of every man to him." Dr. Brooks gladly acknowledged his indebtedness for this idea to Frederick William Robertson, who presented it with perhaps even greater distinctness than did his American brother. But plainly both Brooks and Robertson owed their inspiration upon this theme to St. John, and through St. John to Christ.

Although not a theologian in the ordinary sense of that word, Dr. Brooks might be said to be in hearty sympathy with evangelical theology, especially of the broad Arminian type. While a hundred preachers worked in conjunction with Mr. Moody in Boston, in 1877, Dr. Brooks was the only one who could hold the immense audiences and continue the work on Monday evenings, while Mr. Moody was resting. But even on such occasions his conception of man differed slightly from Mr. Moody's. We well remember his marvelous sermon on one such Monday evening from the text, "I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." Mr. Moody had presented man as the prodigal and Christ as the Saviour. Dr. Brooks presented man as primarily, or by creation, a child of God, and Christ as the "firstborn among many brethren," whom he must bring to perfection. The preacher produced all the more

* The substance of this article was delivered as an address at Chautauqua, N. Y., July, 1893.

pungent conviction in sinners through his conception that originally they were not sinners, but children of God. The substance of his reasoning was:

> If God had made you to be a sinner, if by some shameful decree he had made you for punishment or had left you helpless, there would be some apology for evil; and the responsibility might at least be divided with your Creator. But God made you to be his child; he constituted you a member of the divine family. God so loved you that he sent his only begotten Son into the world to save you after you had fallen into sin. Hence your sin is without excuse, and becomes a thousandfold worse because it brings disgrace to the heavenly family and is a stab at the very heart of God. The very height for which God destined you only emphasizes the distance of the fall.

Dr. Brooks knew how to appeal to sinners, but the appeal was based upon the essential nobility of man. Man's original sonship to God and the necessity for his return to the Father in order to realize the highest possibilities of manhood were the ideas which inspired Phillips Brooks's utterances and made him the prophet of a new humanity.

It must be admitted that Dr. Brooks did not carefully elaborate and present in a systematic form the truths which seemed to him vital. He was preeminently a discoverer rather than a scientist, a voyager upon the ocean of life rather than a maker of charts or a classifier of specimens. He was to the end of his life a great reader of good books. At college, notwithstanding his magnificent physical proportions, he was not fond of athletic sports, but was called an omnivorous reader. His library, as we recall it between 1880–84, impressed us as the largest pastor's library we had ever seen. But he was never content to read and to elaborate truth at second hand. Most persons will remember that he was a great traveler. For the last thirty years of his life he was accustomed to spend a summer vacation every other year in Europe. This love of travel grew upon him, and he spent an entire year in the Old World, chiefly in Asia, not long ago. The trip was significant for two reasons: (1) it enabled him to reaffirm from observation his lifelong conviction that, while God has not left himself without witness among the nations, yet that Christianity is the absolute religion; (2) it illustrated the growing habit of his mind to gather materials for his thinking from life at first hand rather than from

books. In this regard he resembled Darwin. In fact, he seems to the writer to have been gathering materials for a great spiritual science, but never to have elaborated them. So his sermons impressed hearers with their originality rather than with their scholarship or art. Those who stood close to him felt, not simply that there was more in his character, but that there was more in his mind, than his sermons revealed. Professor A. V. G. Allen says that Brooks has contributed more material than any other man of his age to what, for lack of a better name, we may call the new field of spiritual psychology. Had Darwin died when he had amassed all of his materials, but before he had fully elaborated the doctrine of evolution, Brooks might be compared with the great scientist and called the spiritual Darwin.

2. Let us learn, if possible, the art with which Dr. Brooks adapted his truth to his audiences and presented it to the age in which he lived. In one sense Phillips Brooks was entirely devoid of art. Certainly he never cultivated art for its own sake. He had none of the studied graces of his noble kinsman, Wendell Phillips, the prince of the American platform. Born and bred in New England, a child of Harvard University, he was apparently uninfluenced by the studied eloquence of Sumner or the polished periods of Harvard's most cultivated president, Edward Everett. He did not live in the senses or in practical affairs. This was a partial advantage and a partial defect. It was one source of the rare strength of his sermons; yet it gave rise to limitations in his church activity. He believed so strongly in character and so little in environment that he thought the former would always shape the latter. In this regard he followed Christ's example, but followed it perhaps too literally. Dr. Brooks thus describes the Master's method:

> The Master never cared to reshape circumstances until he had regenerated men. He let the shell stand as he found it until the new life within could burst it for itself. Almost instantly, as soon as the disciples began their work, they seemed to have been filled with a true conception of the divine message—that, not from outside, but from inside, not by the remodeling of institutions, but by the change of character, not by the suppression of vices, but by the destruction of sin, the world was to be saved.

So Dr. Brooks chose the spiritual, to the neglect of the materialistic, view of man. Modern science lays stress upon envi-

ronment. M. Taine attempts to rewrite the history of literature by making environment explain Milton and Shakespeare and account for the writings of Pascal and Corneille. Upon the other hand, Brooks's life, hid with Christ in God, led him to pay too little attention to surroundings and institutions. He had not the constructive ability of Spurgeon, who established a newspaper, an orphanage, and a college. He had not Chalmers's talent for organization, or Beecher's talent for agitation, or the intuitive power of reading human nature and of adapting means to ends which made Bishop Simpson the greatest administrator, as well as the greatest preacher, of his Church for the generation in which he lived. Nor did he feel that interest in public problems which made Wendell Phillips a reformer and swayed Whittier and Beecher and Lowell from their chosen fields in order that they might mold public opinion upon the slavery question. The period in which his activity fell was slightly unfavorable to the development of a talent for public affairs, provided it existed in him. He was not quite old enough to take part in the antislavery contest, and he died too early to become a leader in the coming battle of the home against the saloon. But his instinct and his philosophy alike made him a preacher to individuals, and not a reformer of society.

In a word, Dr. Brooks was by nature a preacher rather than a teacher. There is a subtle difference between the two professions. The teacher imparts information characteristically, although the great teacher gives inspiration to the life as well as truth to the intellect. The preacher, upon the other hand, imparts truth incidentally, but must bring life and inspiration to dead souls. It is possible to enlighten the mind so that it shall see more clearly all its daily duties without imparting specific information. Dr. Brooks's abandonment of teaching as a profession shows that he wisely recognized his limitations as an instructor. Even his sermons seem to us to be wheels with lines of thought running out like spokes from his central truth rather than pyramids built up layer by layer upon an established foundation. In hearing him preach and in reading his sermons the writer has often thought of Ezekiel's vision of the wheel with the spirit of the living creature in it and the glory of God above it. Perhaps a better illustration of his sermons is the sun, pouring out light and warmth, but

never showing its foundations or revealing the method by which it is built up. We incline to think there was a limitation to his nature on the practical side. Protestantism in its revolt from an external spiritual authority lost the vision of a kingdom of heaven upon earth. It is just regaining this truth in its crude attempts at applied Christianity. Brooks was the spiritual product of Protestantism. He furnished the inspiration and the ideals for individuals, rather than methods for reform or laws for the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

Again, it must be confessed that Dr. Brooks not only lacked somewhat in knowledge of practical affairs, but that he was an optimist by temperament, that he was spared by circumstances close contact with the most sinful and degraded classes, and that he saw the glory of manhood rather than its shame, and dwelt upon the privileges of sonship more than upon its duties. Some of us recall, in one of his sermons, the reference to the coarse caricature of Christ as a winebibber and a glutton. He said that there was just enough truth at the bottom of this caricature to give us an insight into the healthy, bodily life of Jesus. "That physical pleasure should be the accompaniment of spiritual joy, Jesus accepted as a part of the harmony of the universe." So Brooks's optimistic philosophy, his lack of any large knowledge of the deceitfulness of sin, and his belief in the appropriateness of the physical appetites led him to indulge in two habits which are common to our age, but which a more scientific study of dietetics will condemn. In the use of wine he did not feel that he was going a hair's-breadth beyond the example of his Master. In this view and practice he was in the company of such men as Godet and Spurgeon in our generation and a host of saints in all ages. But Brooks was remarkable for his common sense so far as he was brought in contact with practical problems; and the fashionable society with which he was surrounded thrust upon his notice the fearful problem of intemperance. He seemed puzzled at first; for the example of his Master, as he understood it, seemed to him safe. But he later reached a conclusion on the subject alike creditable to his head and heart and abandoned the use of wine entirely, not because he felt that there was a precept in the New Testament against it, but because the spirit of his Master forbade the use of that which was harming his fellow-

men. So for the last few years of his life this great, good man threw the influence of his powerful example upon the side of total abstinence.

For ourselves, we wish he had given the tobacco problem equal consideration. There is universal agreement among scientists to-day that nicotine is a poison. Law is no respecter of persons, and tobacco in some measure injured Brooks as it certainly injured Grant. Sincerely do we wish that he had not impaired his strength and set a dangerous example to the young by the introduction of that poison into his system; but no one who knew him or listened to his preaching ever dreamed that he violated his own conscience upon this question any more than Stonewall Jackson violated his conscience by fighting for his native State. But while we insist that Brooks was not consciously doing wrong, yet his lack of insight on these points shows that his knowledge of men and of practical affairs was defective. He was, therefore, lacking in one element of a great teacher.

But before deciding hastily that Phillips Brooks was destitute of art one other important fact must be considered. The basis of all real and genuine art is love of the truth one preaches and of the people to whom he preaches. If a preacher loves truth for its own sake he will constantly cultivate the best form of presenting it, and so grow in art as the ideal form of truth. If he loves the people he will surely find access to their hearts. So a preacher or reformer who seldom thinks of the graces of rhetoric or the arts of oratory will, through his love for others, cause his truth to have all the weight, and perhaps even more weight, than it inherently deserves. In this respect Dr. Brooks displayed the highest art. His life was remarkable for its unselfishness and its love for others. When he was preaching at Trinity Church, Boston, on a salary of ten thousand dollars, he was offered twenty thousand dollars to serve another church. He declined the call because he could not seem to preach for money, and because he felt that his labor in Boston was not done. Later Trinity Church raised his salary to fifteen thousand dollars a year. We may know that he was a generous helper of all good causes because, despite his large income as a preacher, at his death he was found to be worth little aside from his house and his library. But one may be unselfish and still

lack influence, because his unselfishness springs out of his indifference to life, his lack of interest in himself or in others. But Brooks's unselfishness sprang from no such weak and unworthy motive. Surely he never could have developed so Christlike a character had he not recognized himself as a child of God, a prince in the King's household. His appreciation of his own spiritual worth was swallowed up in his love for others. His secretary says that he never talked about himself, and apparently never thought of himself. Dr. Brooks speaks in one of his sermons of Jesus's "discovering an interest in people whom the world would have found dull. And this same habit, passing over to his disciples, made the wide and democratic character of the new faith."

Phillips Brooks's freedom from fastidiousness, his breadth and sympathy and hope, gave a largeness to the life of the great preacher which everyone who knew him recognized. He showed all the warmth and directness of personal affection without its distortions and partialities. The wideness of his friendships redeemed his mind from narrowness, while they kept it eager and intense. Who will forget the picture of this giant, weighing nearly three hundred pounds, bounding up four flights of stairs and slipping a twenty-dollar bill into the hands of the foreman of a printing office as his contribution toward sending a consumptive printer to a health resort? Who will forget this popular idol walking with two fashionable young ladies of his congregation across the Boston Public Garden until he meets two servant girls who also belong to his church, and then excusing himself from his delightful companions and turning back to speak a few words of encouragement to those faithful toilers? Who will forget the picture of the poor woman grasping the hand of her boy, pressing in with the great crowd to catch a last glimpse of the face of the dead man, and telling the policeman as he thrusts her back, "My boy must see him; he paid for the operation which gave my son his sight?"

But aside from his unselfishness and his interest in other people this man carried about with him a strange sense of the presence of God. This was the chief source of his influence over others. What wonder that such qualities made a success out of even the dull administrative office of a bishop! His brief episcopate is the most brilliant in the history of the diocese

over which he presided. If God intended him, as he doubtless intended Chrysostom, for the pulpit rather than the episcopate, there was yet so much manhood in him that he could not fail even in an uncongenial office. Indeed, we incline to think that there was so much humanity at its best wrapped up in Phillips Brooks that he would have made a great statesman or a great business man had occasion demanded it. We believe, therefore, that his love for others, trained by his practical experience in the bishopric, would have made his administration the most brilliant and helpful which his Church in America has thus far known had his life been spared a quarter of a century longer. His large unselfishness and love for others, combined with the presence of God in his soul, enabled him to adapt his truth to the people to whom he ministered and to the age in which he lived.

3. But, whatever our views of the truth which Phillips Brooks taught or of the art with which he influenced his generation, all unite in bearing witness to the majestic personality of this princely man. His conception of man's sonship to God was not simply a theory; it became the controlling thought of his life, a fact of consciousness ever present with him. The power of Emerson consisted in his intellectual apprehension of man's divinity. Accordingly he sings:

> So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
> The youth replies, "I can."

But Brooks applied Emerson's philosophy far more personally than did the sage of Concord. He loved communion with God. When Horace Bushnell was an old man he was asked one morning how he had rested through the night. He replied that he had not slept much, but had enjoyed a delightful visit with God. So we imagine Brooks enjoyed many a delightful visit with the heavenly Father. In speaking of the night which Jesus spent with God before calling his disciples Dr. Brooks insists that Jesus did not spend the time in begging the Father to furnish him the best twelve candidates for the apostleship. He thinks the night was spent chiefly in communion, and the decisions upon the persons for the apostolate occupied a comparatively short time near the dawn. The speculation throws light upon Dr. Brooks's habits. He probably did not spend

many nights wrestling with God for external blessings, like Jacob and Elijah. His praying was rather such a communion with Christ as St. John must have enjoyed after the ascension of the Master. Dr. Brooks fully believed that he was a son of God, and his life was as fully controlled by his consciousness of such a relation to God as a prince's life is controlled by the consciousness of his relation to the royal family. It was this which made the life of Phillips Brooks so dignified and yet so attractive. He was certainly one of the most lovable men on the globe. At the center of his being he was not primarily an ecclesiastic or even a preacher. The core of all was manliness. But manliness with him was not simply earthly. At the center he was consciously the child of God. Better still, he claimed the same privilege of divine fellowship for every other human being, and was himself, therefore, simply the representative of our humanity at its best. So we love to call him Phillips Brooks, just as we love to call our great martyr President Abraham Lincoln, because each represented manhood in its grandeur and its simplicity.

It was this blending of truth and of love for others, with his noble personality, which made Dr. Brooks one of the greatest preachers of his age. Surely his cultivation of spiritual vision by obedience to the light, his humility in not even asking to know everything and in not aiming to frame a philosophy of the universe, and the harmonious blending of his intellectual and emotional and moral life produced a great preacher and remarkable sermons. The sermons were written almost spontaneously. His thought in them flows with the swift rush of Niagara between Lake Erie and the falls. What largeness and breadth and sympathy and insight, what discernment of the principles of spiritual life and growth, and what vital truth he preached his sermons reveal in part, but only those who heard him can fully know. His consciousness of God, his insight into spiritual truth, and the atmosphere of the other world which he carried with him made him essentially the prophet of his age. It has been the writer's privilege to hear, aside from the leading preachers of his own Church, Beecher and Talmage and Moody and Storrs in America, and Spurgeon, Farrar, George MacDonald, Père Hyacinthe, and Canon Liddon in Europe. Liddon was a greater logician than Dr. Brooks, although he did not see such

great spiritual truths as Brooks beheld. Beecher was a greater master of the art of oratory, but was not so inspiring a preacher as Brooks. Spurgeon was a man of greater practical knowledge, but did not impress one so fully as did Brooks as a man sent from God to bear witness to the truth. In this respect Bishop Simpson most nearly resembled him. Both were prophets, seeing visions and revealing the mind of Christ. Simpson sometimes caught visions of the third heaven, which transcended the experiences of Brooks. But Brooks dwelt far more constantly in the atmosphere of the first heaven than did his great compeer. As a preacher he will probably exercise a wider influence upon thoughtful ministers in the twentieth century than Beecher or Simpson or Spurgeon or Liddon, or perhaps than all of them combined. But posterity will never see his princely form, towering six feet and a half in height, and his majestic face, combining the thoughtfulness and fire of Webster with the sweetness of Fénelon or Fletcher, and his massive frame, impressing one at first as a giant, yet so filled with light and life that he seemed as radiant as an angel.

We are all disappointed that just as his long years of communion with God were blossoming into fruitfulness, just as all America was learning to love him and Europe was beginning to recognize him, just as the material philosophy of our nineteenth century was becoming leavened by his spiritual thought, projected through his consecrated life, while the problem of his success as an ecclesiastical statesman was unsettled, and when his own Church so greatly needed him, this great, good man, without a family and without a sympathizing word from friends who did not dream of his danger, and with his great tasks apparently unfinished, was suddenly called away. But perhaps it is well. Every life has its Gethsemane and its Golgotha. His great work and his sudden death will hallow his life and place an aureole around his brow. Like Enoch "he was not; for God took him." So passed the Chrysostom of America, the St. John of the twentieth century. "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

J. W. Bashford

Art. IV.—THE ORIGIN OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE.*

There is an ever-growing interest in Egypt. The land itself becomes yearly more accessible to tourists from Europe and America, whose interest in its history is stimulated and satisfied, not only by a sight of its monuments, but also by the books of modern scholars. Every year the number increases of those who go to the Nile, not for one visit only, but to spend successive winters amid "such weather as cannot be found anywhere else in the world."† Those who go annually—happy opportunity—become, perforce, scholars in greater or less degree, and by letters or addresses, or even by papers of scientific importance, awake new interest in the old cultureland of antiquity. Scholars (in the strictest sense of that word) multiply whose lives are given to the study of Egyptian texts and to all that history, religion, and art which are found in those texts or buried with them. Other scholars also, whose days and nights are devoted to the Greeks, to the Hebrews, to the Phœnicians, and to yet other peoples of antiquity, find necessary for their special work more or less knowledge of Egyptian language or literature or history or art. All these classes have been contributors to a knowledge of Egypt, either by their own work or by the work of those whose interest they excited. Egyptian studies have also been fortunate in the aid received from successful fiction; and Ebers and his imitators and successors have given many their first impressions concerning the "black" land. From travelers and scholars and novelists the presses are ever teeming with new books concerning Egypt.

This widespread interest has had great influence for good, not only in the culture disseminated, but also in that it has induced gifts of money for archæological research and for the establishment of museums. It has at times perhaps worked ill; for untrained men have been led by it into the production of books and papers written to satisfy the popular demand, but

* *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur nachgewiesen*, von Dr. Fritz Hommel. München, 1892. Price, 5 marks (circ. $1.25).

Das Verhältniss des ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen, von Adolph Erman. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xlvi, pp. 93, *ff.*, 1892.

Ueber den Grad der Verwandtschaft des Altägyptischen mit dem Semitischen, von F. Hommel. Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ii, p. 342, *ff.*, 1892.

† Professor Sayce, in personal letter to the author.

serving only to perpetuate errors or to popularize impossible theories. To day the curiosity awakened and maintained by these various means is in every land where books are read and lectures heard. There is, indeed, in some quarters a feeling so strong and an interest so deep that other races of the ancient world are counted of little moment. These students find in Egypt the home of every great discovery and of every great idea of antiquity. The alphabet was there invented; God was there cognized as one; sculpture had there its birth; writing was there first practiced; and so on through an imposing, though for the most part erroneous, list.

Within the last few years there has been growing a new department of archæological study—Assyriology. Its progress has been rapid beyond precedent. It numbers to-day more active scholars in the great universities of the world than does Egyptology. It has devoted its energy to the study of the monuments found in the great Mesopotamian valley—monuments left by the Assyro-Babylonian people and containing their vast and important literature. The new science has fought its way to recognition with many difficulties and with but little assistance; were it not for the fact that Assyrian scholars have produced from the newly found treasures some valuable illustrations of the Old Testament their department would have received less public favor. Assyriology can to-day report that it has successfully deciphered the Assyrian and Babylonian languages; that it has constructed a grammar more accurate and detailed than is possible to-day for Egyptian; that it has made a number of special vocabularies to portions of the literature, and has well advanced larger lexicons to the entire published body of inscriptions; and, finally, that it has contributed part of the material for, and much of the inspiration toward, the construction of a comparative grammar of the Semitic languages.*

For some time there have been indications that Assyriologists would soon claim more for their science and for the fields to which it is devoted. The claim is now definitely made, and if granted it will revolutionize the study of comparative language,

* By this latter statement the writer does not intend to imply that Assyrian holds the place among the Semitic languages that is rightly held by Sanskrit among the Indo-European. He does not consider that analogy a true one, for the reason that Assyrian does not hold the same relative position of age to the sister tongues that Sanskrit does in the other family.

literature, art, and religion in the ancient world. It is briefly this: that the culture of Egypt was not a native product—that it was, indeed, derived from Babylonia. It would be difficult to imagine a more revolutionary hypothesis than this. The popular writer has long pointed to the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization and the fact that a noble culture there held sway when all Europe was in barbarism. The statement now made is that the hoary dates in Egyptian history are much later than the early dates in the history of Babylonia, and that all the glory of Egypt's superb civilization finds its roots in the land between the rivers.

This claim has had precursors in various attempts to find some connection between the Egyptian language and the Semitic family of human speech. One of the earliest advocates of this relationship was Benfey,* who endeavored by arguments chiefly philological and lexicographical to show that the Semites are but one branch of a greater family which includes Egyptian and all the other languages of northern Africa. Benfey went much too far in this theory, the logical outcome of which would be to deprive us of the classification of the Semitic group altogether and leave us with a group as absurd as the Turanian.† Benfey's theories were adopted by Bunsen, who made them thoroughly absurd by adding a new hypothesis, that Egyptian was the link which connected the Indo-European with the Semitic family, forming a transition between them.‡ Ernst Meier§ and Paul Böttticher‖ also attached themselves to the original theory, and partly also De Rougé.¶ But though these were great names in support of Benfey, yet greater names were arrayed wholly or partly in opposition, especially Pott,** Ewald,†† and Renan.‡‡ These men made short work of

* *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm.* Leipzig, 1844.

† Comp. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 33. Cambridge, 1890.

‡ *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, i, pp. xi, xlii, 328, *ff.* (Hamburg, 1845), and v, second part, p. 69, *ff.* (Gotha, 1856).

§ *Hebraisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Anhang über das Verhältniss des ägyptischen Sprachstammes zum Semitischen.* Mannheim, 1845.

‖ *Wurzelforschungen.* Halle, 1852.

¶ *Memoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmès*, p. 195. Paris, 1851. On De Rougé's attachment to this theory comp. Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 82 (Paris, 1878), with W. Wright, *Lectures*, etc., p. 33.

** *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 1838, p. 461.

†† *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1845, p. 1964. So Renan.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 85, *ff.*

Benfey's extravagant theory; but the really central truth was still a truth, and that would not down.

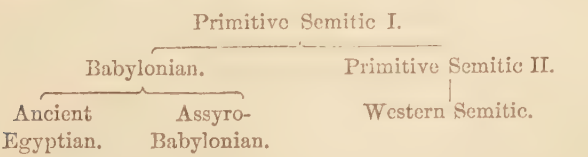
There was a close relation of some sort between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages, and that fact found increasing recognition among scholars in both departments. Plain evidence of this relation is, for example, seen in a comparison of the personal pronouns in Coptic and in Hebrew, Arabic, and Assyrian, a comparison whose effectiveness is somewhat lessened by the proof that the Coptic use of those forms as real pronouns is of relatively recent date.* But this proof is supplanted by a better one. The pronominal suffix in the pyramid texts, used to indicate the possessive relation in the noun and the subject (not the object) in the verb, is exactly the same as in the Semitic languages, save only in the third masculine singular. Here is proof enough of some relation. It is better proof than a list of words, the same in both Egyptian and Semitic, would be, for the simple reason that words may often be borrowed by one language from another; but the borrowing of a set of forms is highly improbable. Such a list requires careful sifting to eliminate the words which are surely or even probably loan words.

Here now is some relation made out between the language of the Nile valley and its northern neighbors. Whether that relation is close enough to warrant our placing Egyptian among the Semitic languages is quite another and much larger question. But even if answered in the affirmative we have not made a very important assertion to any but the philologist. The ethnologist is not greatly moved by it; for it is now admitted on all sides that language is no proof of race. When the barbarous Teutons from the depths of primeval forests in northern Europe poured into Italy and overturned the Roman empire they soon abandoned their Teutonic language and adopted Latin, from which, in their speaking of it, Italian was ultimately developed. In their case surely the use of a Romance language was no proof of Romance race. In like manner the Goths in the Iberian peninsula adopted a Romance tongue; while the Kelts in Cornwall abandoned their own speech for English. The religion of Mohammed has driven out the ancient Coptic speech of Egypt and supplanted it with Arabic.

* So Sethe, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, xxix, 121. Comp. Erman, Z. D. M. G., xlvi, p. 93.

And everywhere in the world the Jew has abandoned his own language for the language of the nation or people with whom he lives. Speech proves nothing concerning origin, but gives proof only of social contact. In every instance above cited social contact explains the change in language, and the same explanation will suffice for many other instances not here cited.*

Now, there can be no doubt that there is a strongly marked resemblance between ancient Egyptian, on the one hand, and the Semitic languages, on the other. This resemblance is found to be marked in the lexica of these two groups, and long lists of words have been collected which are identical in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages. If these words were few in number or confined to one class of ideas they might be called loan words, and it might be said that the Egyptians had borrowed them from some Semitic people with whom they had been in contact. But they are so numerous and so varied that this explanation is impossible, and it must be admitted that there is a closer relation to be found than this of mere borrowers and lenders. When to these lists of words there is added the great resemblance in pronouns and the marked resemblance in some of the verb forms we see at once why Hommel regards it as certain that Egyptian is to be placed in the circle of the Semitic languages. He notices that the resemblances between Egyptian and Semitic are found most clearly when Egyptian is compared with Assyro-Babylonian, and not quite so markedly when the comparison is made with Syriac, Arabic, or Hebrew. He therefore makes the genealogical tree in the following manner, connecting Egyptian closely with the languages of Nineveh and Babylon:



We have, therefore, swung round the entire circuit of views concerning the relation of Egyptian speech to the Semitic languages. We have seen how Benfey put not only Egyptian but

* For a thoroughly admirable statement of this truth, see Professor A. H. Sayce's valuable little book, *The Races of the Old Testament*, chap. ii (London, 1891), and the same author's *Principles of Comparative Philology*, pp. 175, *ff.* London and New York, 1893.

also the dialects of northern Africa into the Semitic group. We have followed the various denials and disproofs of his theory, some of which went so far as to deny that there was any connection between Egyptian and Semitic. We have now reached the state of investigation where the connection may be said to be proved, and where Hommel claims that it is sufficiently close to prove that the Egyptian language is a sister to the Assyro-Babylonian. Hommel may have gone too far and too fast in this conclusion. It is, perhaps, not yet demonstrated that Egyptian is Semitic. It may yet be demonstrated, but we must go slowly in such investigation.

For our present purpose it makes no difference whether Egyptian is a Semitic language or not. We have already secured all the proof that is needed for our argument. We have shown that the entire body of Egyptian and Assyrian scholars are agreed that Egyptian is closely related in some way to the Assyro-Babylonian language. Now, *language is proof of social contact.* If, therefore, Egyptian is closely related to the Semitic languages that is proof positive that at some period in their history the Egyptian people must have been in close social contact with some Semitic people. But it has also been shown that the forms and words in Egyptian which are most like the Semitic are to be found in early Egyptian, and especially in the pyramid texts, and that the Semitic forms and words which they most closely resemble are to be found in Assyro-Babylonian. It follows, therefore, that the Egyptians were in contact with the Assyro-Babylonian people, and that the period of contact was prior to the pyramid period, that is, before 2700 B. C.,* and the contact sufficiently close to have a deep and abiding influence upon the Egyptian tongue. A further proof of this fact is found in a comparison of the ancient hieroglyphic signs of Egyptian with the most ancient forms of the Babylonian characters. It is impossible to expound satisfactorily here this relationship, for that would necessitate the use of Egyptian and old Babylonian founts of type. It must suffice to say that the Egyptian ideograms for many of the most common words are the same as the ideograms in old Babylonian, such, for example, as the signs for land, city, right,

* The date is almost certain to be earlier than this. This is the latest possible date for the end of Dynasty V, according to Eduard Meyer and Adolph Erman. Wiedemann would say that it was about 4600 B. C.

woman, house, day, fish, etc.* These resemblances are so great that they can only be explained as having been taken outright from the Babylonian syllabary by the Egyptians. But if the Egyptian language and writing were either identical with those of Babylonia or were borrowed from them or influenced by them it is *a priori* probable that the Egyptians borrowed something else from the Babylonians. That they borrowed also the fundamental elements of their culture we shall now attempt to prove.†

One of the most ancient cities of Babylonia was Eridu. The name *Eridu* in Babylonian was originally composed of two words, *Urru-Dugga*, which are found in a still older form as *Gurru-Dugga*, which means "city of the good (god)." In very earliest times the name was *Nun-ki*. This city of Nun-ki or Eridu was the center of the worship of the god Ea. The early literature of Babylonia is full of allusions to this city and to the worship of Ea which it represented. Ea was the "good god," who drove away from his people the demons of darkness and death and disease. The old incantations address him, and the very oldest of them mention Eridu as the place of his worship and, indeed, as his home. These indications point to a great antiquity for the city. It becomes plain, indeed, that it was the oldest religious center of Babylonia; for, no matter how far back we go in the tracing of religious ceremonies in Babylonia, we shall always find that behind the usage in Ur and in Babylon and in Larsa there lurks always in the little clay book a reference to Eridu. But there is still further proof of the antiquity of this city. Before there was any kingdom in southern Babylonia there were little confederacies clustering about Ur, Larsa, and other places. The earliest of these little political centers was Shirpurla.‡ The first ruler of Shirpurla known to us was Nina-ur. Several inscriptions of his were found by M. de Sarzec at Telloh, and have since been published in Paris.§ After this king there is a line of kings and rulers of considerable length before the well-known name of Gudea is reached.

* For long list see Hommel, *ibid.*, pp. 61, *ff.*

† The main lines of this proof are Hommel's. The exposition of them, as well as their supplementing and sundry translations, are the present writer's.

‡ The reading of this name, on the tablets, is very uncertain. I follow Amiaud (R. P., new series, i, p. 40, *ff.*). Jensen reads Shir-bur-la, but thinks that this is only an ideographic writing for Lagash (K. B., iii, p. 2).

§ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884–1887.

Now Gudea ruled about 3000 B. C. The origin of his city goes back far beyond that day, for he is one of the later rulers in the dynasty whose earliest representative was Nina-ur. That gives to Shirpurla great antiquity. But Eridu is older than Shirpurla, for on these very inscriptions it is referred to as a religious center of great importance which must be older than Shirpurla itself. The city of Nun-ki, Urru-dugga, or Eridu, the "city of the good (god)," is therefore the oldest Babylonian city known to us.

One of the very oldest cities in Egypt is Memphis. Memphis is celebrated not only in history but in fable, and these two unite in representing it as of great antiquity. Herodotus says that Memphis was founded by Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, who had himself come from Thine, near Abydos. We are not able to trace the city back to Menes by any Egyptian documents, and we must leave that to stand with Herodotus as sponsor for it. But we have clear Egyptian testimony concerning it at an early date. Pepi I, a pharaoh of Dynasty VI, made Memphis his residence and built there his pyramid, with the name *Mn-nfr*, that is, *Men-nofer*, or Memphis; and the date of that building was about 2500 B. C., or perhaps somewhat earlier. We cannot establish any historic foundation for Menes, but we can trace Memphis back to Pepi I; and it probably goes back somewhat earlier than that. There is, however, nothing to make us believe that it is as old as the Babylonian Eridu, "the city of the good (god)." It is now a noteworthy thing that Memphis also means "city of the good (god)," or in other words that *Mn-nfr* is an Egyptian translation of the Babylonian *Urru-dugga*. As Eridu is older than Memphis we are at once inclined to say that the people who built Memphis named it after Eridu, especially as we have already seen that these same Egyptians had been in social contact with the Babylonians. But it might be objected that this name, "city of the good (god)," is just the kind of appellation that might have originated in two places without either being copied from the other. Let us then see if there is any other connection between these two cities than their names.

We turn back again to Eridu and the Babylonians. The Babylonian creation stories represent a great chaos of waters as existing before the creation of the earth. When the earth was

created there was stretched above it a great firmament studded with stars. Between this firmament and the earth was the air, the home of the god In-lilla or Bel. Above the firmament were the waters, the "ocean of heaven," and beneath the earth were also waters, called by the Babylonians *apsu;* hence ἄβυσσος, and the English word *abyss.* But the waters above the firmament were in connection with the waters beneath the earth, the whole forming a great ocean somewhat similar to Homer's ὠκεανός. The Babylonian name for this ocean was *anum* or *anun*, and in a still shorter form *nun.** But we have said above that Eridu was also called Nun-ki. In Babylonian *ki* means place; hence this old name of Eridu means simply *ocean-place*, a place so called, we might say, because it was the place of worship of Ea, the god of the earth and of the waters under the earth. But there are other connections between Nun-ki and Ea. The three great gods of Babylonia were Anu, the god of heaven, Bel, the god of the air, and Ea, god of the earth. There were other gods, as we shall see, but in the earliest times they were held to be subordinate to these three gods. Anu—exactly the same word as *anum*, *anun*, or *nun*—is the god of the heavens and of the great heaven ocean beyond the firmament. Bel, or In-lilla, is the god of the air or of the space between the heavens and the earth; while Ea, or In-ki, is the god of the earth and the waters under the earth. These are the fundamental relationships of the gods of the earliest Babylonian mythology.

If now we turn back again to Egypt we shall find that in the early pyramid texts there were three chief gods venerated: Nun, heaven's ocean; Shu, god of the air; and Qeb (written *Seb* by some), the god of the earth. In other words, we find the same order of deities in Memphis as in Eridu, and one of them has the same name in both places. That can hardly be accidental. But the parallel goes still further. By the side of Nun the Egyptians placed a feminine personification called Nut (probably pronounced originally *nunit*), while the Babylonians did exactly the same, calling her Anunit. Now, in Egyptian this goddess Nut becomes the wife of Qeb, the earth

* Practically the whole of this view of the Babylonian ideas concerning the waters of heaven's ocean was made out by Lenormant from Diodorus. But he failed to see its great applications to Assyrian and Egyptian mythology. Comp. Lenormant, *Magie der Chaldaer*, Jena, 1878.

god, and in Babylonian Anunit becomes the wife of Ea, the earth god. There are still other relations. In Babylonia Bel is the son of Nun or Anum, while in Egypt Shu, who corresponds to Bel, is the son of Nun. In Babylonia Ea is the son of Bel, and in Egypt Qeb is the son of Shu, the god of the air.

This is certainly sufficient to show that the genealogical tree of the gods of Memphis is the same as the genealogical tree of the gods of Eridu. But we can go still further in our comparison of these two mythologies. In Babylonia Ea had a son, Marduk (the biblical Merodach), and in Egypt Qeb had a son, Osiris. The names Marduk and Osiris certainly do not sound alike, but in the two languages the ideograms for these two gods are exactly alike. In Babylonian the sign for Marduk is composed of two elements, one meaning dwelling, the other meaning eye; and in Egyptian Osiris is represented by the same ideographic values. Further than this, these two gods have closely corresponding qualities and powers. Marduk is the creator of the world; so also is Osiris. Marduk is the friend of men and Ea's interpreter to them; Osiris is a god friendly to mankind. Marduk has as his sister and wife the goddess Istar, Osiris has as his wife Isis; but Isis is written also Ist, or Wst, and that is apparently the same word as Istar. Marduk slays the great dragon Tiamat, Osiris slays the great dragon Apep; but Apep is the Greek Apophis, with which we may compare the Babylonian *abubu*. In one word, these two gods of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond in every essential particular. In order to see at a glance their correspondence let us set down side by side the genealogies of the great gods of Babylonia and of Egypt:

These correspondences are so close, so definite, that they must remove all doubt of accidental correspondence. Memphis spoke a language which had been influenced deeply by the language of Babylonia; Memphis was named after the oldest city of

Babylonia; Memphis borrowed from Babylonia its greatest genealogy of gods, and adopted for its reverence these Babylonian gods with their characters and works. This is certainly a long step forward in our attempt to find the source of Egyptian religion in Babylonia. But we can go still further.

In very early times there was in Egypt a city which is known to us by the name of On, or by its Greek name of Heliopolis. Now, On is called in the pyramid texts 'Innu, which is only another writing of Nun, just as 'Itum is another form for Tum. We have, therefore, presumptive evidence that the earliest settlers of On named their city after the Babylonian Nun, or Nun-ki. This presumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the gods who were worshiped in On. They were Tum, Shu, Tef-nut, Qeb, Nut, etc.; that is, the very same gods which the people of Memphis borrowed from Eridu, with this exception, that Tum takes the place of Nun. This is easily explained. It was customary in Egypt for cities to place first in the list of gods that particular divinity who was the special protector of their city. Tum was the patron god of On, hence his position here. To our collection of material we may, therefore, add On as an evidence of the borrowing of the Egyptians from the Babylonians. We have, therefore, shown that in two of the oldest cities of Egypt the deities of highest rank came from Babylonia.

Let us turn for still further evidence to some of the minor deities. The moon god appears in Egypt in two forms, named Dehuti and Chonsu. The Babylonian moon god bears the names of Sin and Enzu, or in its older form, Gunzu. Gunzu is evidently the same word as Chonsu. Further than this, Gunzu means lord of knowledge; but the Egyptian Dehuti (Thoth) is the lord of knowledge. In name and in character the moon deities of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond. Among the Babylonians Istar is the goddess of that great star which we call Sirius; and in Egypt the corresponding goddess, Isis, mentioned above, is also the goddess of the same star. We saw above that in On the god Tum took the place of Nun. In Babylonia this very name Tum appears in the form of *Dun*, and one of the Babylonian syllabaries shows that Dun was another name for Anu, or Anum. And so we might go on to identify one god after another, in name, in character, or in

ideogram, or even in all three of these particulars. But we rest this portion of the case with only one little added touch of tone-color.

In early days, in the far-off Mesopotamian valley, when the people sang praises to Ea and Marduk they used certain words in the psalms in their liturgy which were maintained centuries later in the worship of the Semitic Babylonians. In Egypt, in those splendid and stately temples, down through the ages a few of those same old pre-Semitic liturgical words were still in use. We have shown that in two great branches of their culture the Egyptians owed much to the Babylonians. Their language, in its form and content, was either borrowed outright from Babylonia or was deeply and forever influenced by the Babylonian language. And we have shown that the religion of Egypt, in its fundamentals and in its externals of worship, was borrowed from Babylonia.

In still another branch of their culture, neither linguistic nor religious, we find a little hint of Babylonian influence. We have recently grown somewhat accustomed to academic and ecclesiastical jubilees. The jubilee among us means commonly the celebration of a period of fifty years. The pope celebrates the jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood, and Professor Max Müller celebrates the jubilee of his doctorate received from the University of Leipsic. In Assyria and Babylonia the period celebrated was not fifty, but thirty, years. But this same period exactly is found to be celebrated in early times among the Egyptians. As Tiele has noted, Usertesen celebrated a thirty-year jubilee of his coronation as King of Egypt. This fact by itself would have little weight; but as one feature of a long series of cumulative evidence it adds considerably to the proof of Egypt's dependence upon Babylonia.

Finally, the most thoroughly characteristic form of Egyptian architecture is borrowed from Babylonia. The pyramid looms up before every visitor to Cairo as the most genuine product of the soil. There are about seventy-five pyramids in Egypt, and besides that the pyramid form appears constantly as the top of tombs and of obelisks. But before Chufu (or Cheops, as he is called by Herodotus) built his pyramid in Egypt the pyramid was represented in numerous enormous temples and

other buildings in Babylonia. So that even the pyramid, which seems at first blush to be so thoroughly a product of the Nile valley, is rather to be ascribed to the land of the great river, the River Euphrates.

As in language, in religion, in customs, and in architecture the Egyptians have been shown to be borrowers rather than originators, so could we also show that they borrowed from the same source the fundamentals of their plastic art. But we forbear, with this word of warning. We believe it has been shown that in all these things Egypt borrowed from Babylonia; we believe that the culture of Egypt had its origin in Babylonia; but we do not deny or even imply in any sense that the Egyptians were not a great culture people. They did borrow the foundations of their culture, but they built on those foundations a splendid superstructure. We have still much to learn from them and about them. Our investigations, and especially that part of them in which we have been following the learned and brilliant Hommel, have served chiefly to push still further back the origins of the culture of Egypt, and to remove them from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates.

Robert W. Rogers.

Art. V.—THE ALLEGED ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES.

It has come to be understood or, at least, currently reported in some quarters that "the masses" are estranged from the Church, if not also from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That this witness is true in so far as it is therein implied that the masses are not in love with the Church, are neither members of it nor regular attendants upon its services, common observation must affirm; and it is allowed on all hands that this regrettable fact constitutes one of the gravest problems of our times.

If writers upon this subject were content in general with this putting of the matter, or were in the least enthusiastic over the ever-multiplying efforts of the modern Church to reach and save the masses, this article would have remained unwritten. It is undeniable, however, that a majority of current complaints concerning the estrangement of the masses are pervaded with the idea that the problem is new; that in some strange way it has been generated in the alembic of our modern life—an uncanny sprite never seen by our fathers, and begotten only in the decay and feebleness of the Church and as the progeny of its marriage with the spirit of this lower world. We are asked to believe that the masses are now estranged in a sense and to a degree unknown a generation, a century, or a millennium gone by.

It is in no captious spirit that we venture to raise the question whether this indictment of the modern Church is sustained by the facts. He must be strangely unmindful of the past who suffers himself to imbibe the notion that opposition from without or sharp, biting criticism from within are new facts in the history of the Church. Yet because of certain manifestations of opposition and estrangement on the part of "men of corrupt minds," and also of sincere though misguided people, it is latterly assumed that the Church has, in some sinister way, trespassed against the common people, and that it should forthwith apologize and proceed to amend both its doctrines and its methods, so as to render itself more acceptable to men "who mind earthly things." Adverse criticism of the Church on this particular line is just now a favorite pastime with the

many. No modern "fad" is more prevalent. Many who yesterday were busy with evolution, the mistakes of Moses, and the intricate questions involving the authorship of various books of the Old and New Testament Scriptures are finding it possible to make rather more noise, and with less expenditure of the gray matter of the brain, by joining in the hue and cry against the Church for its alleged neglect of social problems in general and of the common people in particular. This popular vein is, however, already well-nigh worked out, and will probably ere long be abandoned for another. But these questions, or rather the unwarranted handling of them, "overthrow the faith of some," and others, devout souls, are to-day in perplexity and trouble on this account. It may be serviceable, therefore, to keep certain facts steadily in mind:

1. The Church is not a machine ordained and warranted to operate unfailingly upon mankind, everywhere converting sinners into saints with or without their consent. The Church itself is made up of those who have yielded themselves to God. The masses, in these Christian lands at least, have had in general the same opportunities as those who are now in the Church. Some writers seem to have forgotten that the crime which Stephen charged upon his murderers, "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost," is still possible in the nineteenth century, and that the same class whom Jesus charged with loving darkness rather than light are with us still. Of all the vagaries put forth in recent years the notion that the opposition or indifference of ungodly men amounts to final proof of the Church's culpability is one of the most transparently unsound, and particularly in a period when the opposition is tempered from the ferocious and blood hostility of earlier times to mere estrangement. Yet here and there a really able man tumbles into this pit with all the awkwardness of an unwary bear.

Those who heard Dr. Rainsford's address on "City Evangelization" at Chautauqua, last summer, will recall the incident which he narrated of his walking one evening close behind two men on their way home from work. Passing by a church edifice, one of the men looked up and uttered a common and vulgar oath against the Church. "Why should a workingman damn the Church?" asked the doctor; and his treatment of the inci-

dent was to the point that if the Church were what it ought to be the workingman would be in love with it and would extol rather than anathematize it. Here, then, you have a principle, announced by a school of modern apostles of reform, as follows: Whatever a profane man sees fit to damn is thereby proven to be wrong, and must be reconstructed to suit the profane swearer's notions of things. Dr. Rainsford then proceeded to recommend the reconstruction of the Church so as to include the dramshop (admitting that he did not expect to carry his audience with him), as well as the reading room and gymnasium. His picture of the working-girl, coming out of the factory in the evening weary with her day's work and needing the dance hall rather than the church prayer meeting, is suggestive of much that is now challenging the Church in the name of "reform."

Another bright and piquant writer of national reputation, a woman, proposes that the Church shall win the public by devoting itself to the servant-girl question. She wants the preachers to stop preaching about the life to come and turn the churches into training schools for hired help, and the "sessions" and "official boards" into agencies to secure the needed relief for overburdened and well-nigh distracted housekeepers. Others are equally confident that the Church will neither conciliate nor win the masses until, by some magic influence, it brings about an equality of social condition between rich and poor, vicious and virtuous, industrious and idle. In short, their name is legion who kindly offer to point out the mistakes of the Church and to give inerrant advice as to its proper reconstruction.

It might be a sufficient answer to many complaints to say that the world is wide, and if the case of the Church is as bad as is sometimes reported it is the solemn duty of these clear-eyed censors to unite, go among the masses, and form a Church which shall more fully represent modern ideas and keep abreast of modern progress. This should be a matter of easy accomplishment, since only a small proportion of the population are now members of the Church, and of these an overwhelming majority are women and children. Upon the authority of the complainants themselves there must be a vast preponderance of the world's intellectual and moral force

unable to cooperate with the Church as now conducted, but anxious to fall in with a live, progressive Church in which "the religion of humanity" is taught and practiced.

It is worth while for those who make so much of the matter of estrangement to inquire whether the indorsement of the unregenerate masses can ever be given to the true Church of Jesus Christ in the sense which is deemed so desirable. "The disciple is not above his master. . . . If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" We almost feel like apologizing to the modern critics for quoting another text which they do not like to mention, because it seems to leave an unpleasant taste in some mouths: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." Many are willing to admit that the carnal mind now and then behaves badly—for the want of proper education; but what a shock it gives their sensibilities to be told, and by divine authority, that the carnal mind is enmity against God. Every movement that has aimed at bringing the apostate race back to God has encountered, in some of its myriad forms, the clash and collision of this enmity—none the less enmity because, owing to its insidious nature, unperceived and, therefore, in general denied by fallen man himself. It was this enmity which led the masses in olden time to kill God's prophets and stone the holiest men sent as messengers of mercy among mankind. It was this enmity which led the masses to give only a doubtful hearing to the Son of God himself, and eventually to reject and put him to death.

But "the common people heard him gladly." Yes, for a short time; but they soon wearied of him, and their merely curious interest turned to indifference, so that the chief priests and rulers no longer had occasion to fear the people and encountered no opposition in putting him to death. It is an amazing perversion of the gospel narrative to represent the common people as uniformly in accord with Jesus of Nazareth in the days of his flesh, and only alienated from the modern Church because of its unlikeness to its Lord. The estrangement of the multitude from Jesus—if there can be estrangement where there has never been loyalty and love—began during his own personal ministry. Witness his treatment on the occasion of his visit to Nazareth, the home of his boyhood.

Here, if anywhere, he might have looked at least for toleration; but even this was denied him. He was not allowed to finish even a single discourse. For a while "they wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth;" but presently as the preacher reaches the heart of his sermon the scene changes, "and all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong." Granted that this was done at the instigation of the leaders, yet "all they in the synagogue" rose up against him. Another sad instance of estrangement is furnished in the narrative of the erring woman brought to Jesus for judgment. It was not the length or tediousness of the sermon nor any unwisdom of method on the part of the preacher that presently left him no audience but the woman to preach to. The common people and the rulers were alike in this, that neither class heard him gladly when he rebuked their sins and demanded repentance and amendment of life. There were very few, indeed, of any class who consented to take the yoke of Christ upon them and to learn of him. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." His doctrine did not suit them. Yet his disciples were taken in general from the common people.

Nor was Jesus deceived as to the nature of his short-lived popularity. A large measure of it was due to the superhuman wonders which he wrought and the expectation of present temporal benefit. "Ye seek me, . . . because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." The estrangement of the multitude could go no farther than to choose Barabbas rather than Jesus, and to demand the death of him who was "full of grace and truth." Why should it be thought so marvelous a thing that Barabbas is still the choice of at least a proportion of the multitude? The personal history of Him who "went about doing good" stands as a perpetual protest against the much-vaunted notion in these latter days that the world needs only to see goodness and benevolence illustrated in human character in order to be won to God thereby. If this assumption were founded in truth Jesus would have had no occasion to weep over the doomed city, already drunken with the blood of proph-

ets and not to be appeased until his own had been poured out with every humiliating circumstance which implacable hostility could devise.

2. Emerging from these dark and dismal shadows cast by the awful spectacle of depraved nature spurning the Saviour whom it so sorely needs, a ray of light darts through the gloom as we behold Mary, out of whom the devils were cast, worshiping her Lord with tears of gratitude, and the penitent Zacchæus hastening to restore his ill-gotten gain and to henceforth consider the poor. It is instances like these, repeated over and over again in history, of personal choice of Jesus rather than Barabbas, which vindicate God's remedy for sin and prove that Jesus is the all-sufficient Saviour of them that believe. It is not given to mortals to estimate the work of the Redeemer upon the earth, it was so vast and varied; but as a winner of men to his standard, peerless preacher though he was, his success was not conspicuous. Many a modern apostle is now winning in the slums and highways and darkest depths of sin more souls than did the Master himself. It is worthy of note also that these wise winners of souls are not the men who complain about the estrangement of the masses. Statistics can only inadequately measure the progress of the kingdom of God; but nevertheless they are indispensable. They serve to show that the kingdom gains ground at a more rapid rate than ever before. Protestant Churches in this country made a gain of fifty per cent in actual communicants during the last decade, while the proportion of communicants to the whole population has advanced from one in fourteen at the opening of this century to one in five at the present time. Does this prove estrangement as a distinguishing feature of our times?

3. But it is charged that the Church is unfaithful to her true mission, and is drifting away from the poor. Sad, indeed, if true. Yet common observation, reinforced by careful examination of the facts, must dismiss the complaint as, in the main, groundless. Sporadic cases of various evil diseases may be found even in periods of general healthfulness; but it is neither just nor wise to cry "epidemic" on that account. Whatever may be the regrettable history of a few exceptional societies the Church in general continues, as in former times, to make her converts chiefly among the common people. Of our own

branch of the Church it may be questioned whether the proportion of conspicuously rich men is relatively larger than among the first generation of Methodists. It was not without reason that a paper read a short time ago upon a public occasion bore the suggestive title of "The Neglected Rich." If the Church fails at any particular point in these later days it is rather in reaching the hearts and consciences of the wealthy class. From the altars of our churches and our modern training schools we are sending out a hundred devoted workers, courageous and skillful in dealing with poverty, rags, filth, and the commoner vices, for every one who is either qualified or willing to invade palaces of luxury and win the rich to Jesus Christ. That there is here and there a "rich man's church," which in its exclusive spirit and aristocratic methods is a discredit to the general Church, cannot be denied. So also a wart or mole or other blemish is liable to fasten itself upon the fairest human body without being in any sense an essential or representative part of it. The rich man's church is rare in proportion to the millions who constitute the strength and conserving force of the Church of Jesus Christ. If all the church organizations in Christendom which refuse to welcome the poor were to-day eliminated the general Church would hold on its way as aforetime, with very slightly diminished numbers and no enervating sense of loss.

"Our people are mostly poor, a few only in comfortable circumstances," was remarked to the writer recently by the pastor of a congregation which, after heroic struggles, was about to dedicate a new church. Is not this, except in a few favored localities, the usual testimony which greets the great body of our pastors on going to assist their brethren with dedications, reopenings, etc.? Candidates for the gospel ministry are admonished by bishops and presbyters that their work will be mainly among the common people. The pillars of their various congregations, the aggressive and managing forces which are a pastor's right arm of strength, as well as the people whom he is expected to reach and save, are by overwhelming majorities those found in the common walks of life, including the poorest of the poor. This fact must not be lost sight of by those disposed to complain of the Church's lack of large expenditure in dealing with the poverty that is all around it. Is it

nothing that there is a vast amount of poverty within the Church which is taken care of by the Church, and that everywhere the Church is gathering more and more of the world's poverty and want into its own bosom? The writer of this article, on assuming the pastorate of a church in a large city, had among his earliest converts two people fairly representative of a numerous class which enters the Church in all large cities every year. One was a drunkard whose family was upon the verge of starvation. The man was saved and remained faithful, while his sick and helpless family became the care of the church. The other case was a woman burdened with a worthless though not intemperate husband. The little furniture had all been seized for rent, with the exception of a cook stove and a couple of washtubs. The woman had recently cut off and sold her hair to buy bread for her two little children. When the writer visited the family they could not offer him a chair to sit down on, only one of the tubs turned bottom upward. Kindly Christian hearts and willing hands not only furnished this desolate home with food and necessary articles of furniture, but the man was coaxed into making an effort to earn something. It was a revelation to discover what a vast amount of this same sort of work the city churches in general were doing. Who can estimate the number of sick, destitute, and aged people supported in whole or in part out of the funds of the various religious congregations, and the number of orphans and other young people assisted to an education or placed in positions to earn their own living, to say nothing of the hospitals, asylums, schools, and colleges erected and in great part maintained by the contributions of God's people. If the Church at large did nothing for the next five years for the outside poor the care of those recently gathered into her communion from the ways of sin and poverty would be in itself a mighty work of benevolence and tax her resources to the utmost.

4. One more complaint only can now be noticed; and this, for want of space, though the subject is most alluring, can be but briefly touched upon. In the present period of unrest in the industrial world it is asserted that the sympathy of the Church is not as fully on the side of the wage-earner as it should be. This would be a strange fact, if fact it could be shown to be, since wage-earners constitute the bone and sinew of the Church

itself and easily govern this most democratic of all organizations by reason of their vast numerical preponderance. The Church, in standing for law and order and for rational and peaceful methods of adjusting the differences between employer and employed, is the true friend of the workingman, and on this account has incurred the resentment only of the thoughtless and reckless class, whose counsels of bloody riot, poison, and dynamite are at this day the most serious menace to the workingman's cause.

Which of the numerous and oftentimes mutually antagonistic expedients for the abolition of poverty put forth so confidently by their various champions shall the Church adopt? Can it indorse any of them without at the same time injuring the wage-earner's cause and forfeiting the right to his esteem? "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" was the Master's reply to one who, as others do now, misapprehended the true function of the religious teacher and the Church. There are economic questions upon which the Church, as such, can pass no authoritative judgment. In a community where the greenback heresy ran riot for a time we were importuned to preach this new evangel of deliverance for the oppressed multitudes, and, upon refusal to convert the church into a greenback club, were solemnly admonished by good citizens that the church which refused to espouse the cause of the poor was doomed to perish. Those men have, for the most part, changed their views, and no longer believe that greed is to be restrained or poverty abolished by the unlimited issue of fiat money.

That there is dissatisfaction with present industrial conditions is certain; but is this a new thing? When was that golden period vaguely hinted at nowadays when labor and capital were alike satisfied with the share assigned to each by the then existing plan of distribution? "Be content with your wages" was John the Baptist's earnest exhortation nearly two thousand years ago to men who believed then, as others believe now, that the wage question is the one which must be allowed to dwarf all others; while at a still earlier day God's anger is kindled, and he promises to be "a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages." Happily, it is easy to demonstrate that the modern tendency is toward a shortening of the hours of labor, an increase of wages, and a consequent mul-

tiplication of home comforts for the workingman and his family. In all this the Church rejoices, and she may justly congratulate herself that these results, though only the beginnings of better things, are mainly found where the Gospel has been the most widely preached and the most generally accepted.

But is there not a widespread demand for some new adjustment of the relations of employer and employed? Undoubtedly. Strikes and uprisings are unfortunately numerous; but history is witness to the fact that disturbances, revolts, and even gigantic rebellions are not always either rational or born out of real grievances. It will not do to make too much of "tendencies." There are tendencies which require to be watched, restrained, and, if need be, put down by force. He is only poorly acquainted with human nature who has not discovered that there is a kind of restlessness, not to say recklessness, which is born of prosperity. Is the millionaire satisfied with being a simple millionaire, or any the less keen or more law-abiding in the pursuit of his second million? It is not poverty which goads him on in a career which, in many instances, is nothing short of criminal. Why should the wage-earner be supposed to be exempt from this general passion for acquisition? Why should he, or any friend of his, put forth the claim that he is capable of making disturbance and defying law only when his rights have been invaded? This is to claim for the workingman a kind of virtue which does not reside in human nature in general. Common observation the country over teaches us that the man who yesterday was glad to earn a dollar a day is to-day easily made dissatisfied with twice that amount or more under the sinister teachings of certain would-be reformers. Prosperity has its dangerous tendencies no less than adversity. That genial old angler, Izaak Walton, speaks of a time when "the nation [England] was in peace and happy, though inwardly sick of being well." Many a man has had to lament with bitter, unavailing tears his own inability to perceive when he was doing well.

That anarchistic and socialistic tendencies are rife among us is not a matter of question. That the former are to be resisted by force, if need be, is agreed by good citizens in general. But are not also the socialistic and semisocialistic agitators among us culpable in this, that they seek to trade upon the anarchistic clamor against law and order and to sow the seeds of disaf-

fection among contented and quiet people? In the controversy now pending it is worth while to note that the God of the Bible has no quarrel with rich men as such nor with the relation of employer and employed. The whole issue must turn upon the question whether the wage-earner is receiving his due proportion of the joint earnings of labor, enterprise, and capital. Cooperation promised a few years ago to be the equitable and satisfactory policy of industrial effort in the future; but the general failure of those enterprises in which the workingmen have had the gains, as well as the losses, to divide among themselves is a fact of great significance. It may be questioned whether the industries of the country can be so managed as to yield a larger percentage of earnings to labor in the aggregate than it is now receiving. While in some instances the lion's share of profits is carried off by capital, it is a demonstrated fact that a large majority of all ventures which employ paid labor result in positive loss, and very many even in bankruptcy to their projectors, the wage-earners being the only parties who derive any financial benefit from them whatever.

Nor is there the slightest hint in the word of God that individual ownership of land is wrong, or that the Creator ever intended absolute equality of worldly substance, any more than of brain power or physical stature. The community of goods attempted at Jerusalem is mentioned as an interesting incident in early church history, but nowhere is it commended and nowhere is it prescribed as the duty of the Church. For aught that appears in the record, this incident may be intended to serve as a beacon of warning, lest unnatural conditions of life should put needless temptation in the path of weak disciples to repeat the crime for which Ananias and Sapphira suffered death. Furthermore, there is nothing new in the schemes of socialistic and semisocialistic agitators for leveling human conditions; they have been tried over and over again and found wanting. The Christian minister will best serve his fellow-men by preaching the divine Fatherhood and insisting on a recognition of the human brotherhood in all the relations of life.

There are morning stars big with prophecy of a better day for the industrial world already appearing above the horizon. It is good, wholesome, soul-refreshing exercise for ourselves, as well as mightily helpful to our fellow-men, to direct the

common gaze upon the all too few, but luminous, instances of men who stand here and there in modern business life as witnesses for God and righteousness and the human brotherhood, undismayed and uncorrupted by the spirit of greed and turbulence raging woefully all about them. The proprietor of a great daily newspaper in Philadelphia, whose varied and ingenious philanthropies on both sides of the sea are well known, represents the typical Christian employer of labor. He pays his men more than the market price of labor; the sick are cared for and the aged veterans pensioned. Other examples of the brotherly treatment of employees might easily be given. Instances now and then occurring of the unsolicited increase of wages on the part of corporations have also in them elements of hopeful prophecy, and the long-suffering patience of the many delights to hear of them.

The following instance of what is occasionally taking place in the business world was narrated at the session of the Evangelical Alliance held in Washington, D. C., the writer being present and noting the effect of the incident on the great audience: A manufacturer, embarrassed by debt, urged an acquaintance in the same line of business to relieve him by buying him out. He was willing to sell for fifteen thousand dollars, though his factory was well worth twenty thousand. The gentleman thus appealed to consulted his wife about the matter, and returned the next day with the following answer: "I am ready to buy your factory, but I agree with my wife, who says I must pay you the full price for it. It is a settled principle with us never to take advantage of another's necessities to get property at less than its actual value. I think your factory is worth twenty thousand dollars, and I am willing to pay you that amount for it."

The sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty are still among us. Let us make their acquaintance.

Robt. F. Bishop

Art. VI.—CREED AND HOME OF THE EARLIEST ARYANS.

Few investigations are more fascinating than that which by purely scientific methods attempts to determine the ideas, language, location, and life of the prehistoric community from which the Indo-European peoples are descended. Priceless results have already been achieved by these studies, but even greater are sure to follow. In the present paper it is proposed to call attention to certain new books in this field and to their teachings. Several of these publications seem not to have been noticed as yet in any of the reviews on this side of the Atlantic.* The first, by Alexander William, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Lindsay), is a privately printed work for which the present writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Dowager Countess of Crawford. Its title is as follows: *The Creed of Japheth, that is, of the Race popularly surnamed Indo-Germanic or Aryan, as held before the Period of its Dispersion: ascertained by the Aid of Comparative Mythology and Language.* The volume is a stately octavo of pp. xlvii and 829. Only one hundred and fifty copies were printed, and these for private circulation only. Within the limits of this paper it is difficult to characterize this learned work as it deserves. It differs almost *toto coelo* from the mass of recent treatises on the subject. Without showing traces of having been influenced by such older writers as George S. Faber, the author reaches conclusions almost identical with theirs touching a positive primeval revelation of God to the first fathers of the human family and touching the promise of a divine-human Redeemer. The traces of these and other revealed truths discovered by the author in the oldest Indo-European myths, rites, symbols, and institutions are at the close of the book woven together into an articulated Proto-Aryan confession of faith startling in its definiteness, in its extent, and in its agreement with fully developed Christian theology. Whatever final verdict scholars may

* The uninitiated reader will find the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the literature of all questions in this field, to the year 1890, in *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, by Dr. O. Schrader, translated by F. B. Jevons, London and New York, 1890. Part First, chapter iv, reviews opinions as to the original home of the Aryans, and Part Fourth, chapter xiv, gives the author's own conclusions. Chapter xiii treats of Proto-Aryan religion.

pass upon the work—which, though only lately printed, was written more than ten years ago and appears under the disadvantages of posthumous editing—it is refreshing to the reader to encounter so bold and able and learned and modern an advocate of a theory of mythology now wholly unfashionable. The unexpected defense of the same general theory of primeval monotheism by Walter Bradford Woodgate, M.A. (Oxon.), barrister of the Oxford Circuit, in his just published book entitled *A Modern Layman's Faith concerning the Creed and Breed of the "Thoroughbred Man,"* despite its very curious associated speculations, suggests the question whether, after all, the time-honored biblical conception of the primeval religion and of the origin of the various ethnic paganisms is forever shelved.

The latest and one of the most significant of German works upon the religious ideas of the Proto-Aryans and their implications is *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*, by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne), Glogau, 1893. This is an octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-two closely printed pages, with twenty-six illustrations. In a previous work, *Tuiskoland, der arischen Staemme und Goetter Urheimat*, Glogau, 1891, Dr. Krause had set forth an astonishing array of facts and combinations of facts going to show that all Indo-European mythologies and symbolisms and forms of worship point back to a primeval cradle-land high in the north of Europe. Of course in this view there was no striking novelty, as nearly all recent writers have abandoned the old theory of an Asiatic Aryan cradle-land in favor of one in Europe. As long ago as 1884, in preparing the third edition of his *Principles of Comparative Philology*, Professor Sayce remodeled his book in such wise as to conform it to the new view, one consequence of which is that the Sanskrit and Old Persian, instead of being, as nearest the old home, the best representatives of the primeval Aryan tongue, must, as farthest removed from the original home, be considered as the worst representatives of that primeval language. In *Tuiskoland* Dr. Krause argued with great force that the language, myths, legends, sagas, etc., of the Germans best represent the ideas and beliefs and habits of the primeval Aryans, and that as between a Greek or Latin form of an ancient myth or custom and a German form preference is always to be given to the German as truer to the original from

which both proceeded. Even the sacred *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were made to submit to this canon of judgment. In this new and supplementary work, *Die Trojaburgen*, after replying in a lengthy introduction to some of the critics of the first treatise, the author presents another mass of most singular and out-of-the-way facts and considerations illustrative in fresh and striking ways of his original thesis. The number of Troy towns, or Troy fortresses, or Troy labyrinths, etc., which he finds in the northern regions of Europe is certainly surprising, and the indications furnished that the Asiatic Troy of Homer was only a late copy—one of many copies—of a far older cosmical one common to the undivided Aryans in the high North are full of interest to every student of the past. The superiority of his interpretations to those of Sir George W. Cox on this head is striking.*

In London, recently, appeared the first volume of a still more remarkable work by Mr. John O'Neill. It is entitled *The Night of the Gods*. Its sub-title reads, "An Inquiry into Cosmic and Cosmogonic Mythology and Symbolism." The book (a large octavo, pp. 582) is a marvel of learned research and of scholarly insight. It is not written to support any preconceived theory as to the cradle-land of mankind or of the Aryans. Indeed, it rigidly rules out all philosophizing as to prehistoric migrations and all inferences as to the bearing of the collected facts on biblical conceptions of human origins, human history, or human character. In a purely objective manner it investigates the mythologies and the religious symbolism of all historic nations and brings together whatever can throw light upon the cosmogonical and cosmological ideas of the early men. The result is a work which no future student of mythology or of the philosophy of mythology can safely neglect. Its fundamental thesis is that the visible revolution of the heavens

* Since this article was sent to the printer we have received from Dr. Krause a new work entitled *Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella, eine dritthalbtausendjährige Urkunde*, Glogau, 1893. This is an interesting supplement to the above mentioned *Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*. In the year 1877, at Tragliatella, in Italy, among other relics of ancient Etruscan art, a remarkable pitcher was found. Expert archæologists date it as far back as the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The decorations upon the surface of the vessel are very curious, and in one of them our author finds so remarkable a confirmation of his views of the origin and cosmical significance of the labyrinth, or "Troy-town," in ancient thought that he compares it to the Rosetta stone in the decisiveness of its testimony. All teachers of Homer should certainly read it and the work to which it serves as a supplement.

around the axis of the universe and the primeval worship of a supreme, almighty, world-directing God enthroned at the summit of this axis in the northern celestial pole furnish us a more effective key to all the great mythologies than has ever hitherto been applied to their interpretation.

Learned opinion touching the quality of the religious beliefs and rites of the primeval Aryans has seemed of late less positive than it was twenty-five years ago. Then the view generally prevalent was substantially that presented by Pictet in his monumental work, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, namely, that while comparative philology shows that before their dispersion the ancestors of the Indo-European peoples were polytheistic it also shows clear indications of a faith on their part in a supreme God—a heaven-God, father and lord of all lesser divinities, father and lord of men. This was the view of Max Müller. As late as 1883 it found expression in J. Darmesteter's *Le Dieu Suprême dans la Mythologie Indo-Européenne.* Since that time writers have in many cases, like Schrader in 1890, expressed themselves very cautiously and obscurely on this point; or, like Professor Rhys in 1886, expressly denied to the primitive Aryans anything more than a theology of the type usually found among modern savages. In Professor Rhys's case this teaching is the more noticeable, as ten years earlier he had expressed himself in a very different way. His own explanation of the change is that in the meantime he has read Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth* and learned to apply to all myth-products the generalizations of anthropology.* Unfortunately for this defense, the generalizations of anthropology, as represented by Mr. Lang, are not likely to be very long-lived, particularly those that relate to the gifted spirits who created the primeval arts and myths and symbolisms of humanity. Current writers may speak less confidently of the religion of the primitive Aryans than did Pictet; but if the progress of recent study has brought to light a single fact that clearly invalidates the general representation given by him more than thirty years ago the present writer must confess that he knows not where to find it.

Coming now to the authors immediately before us and to their relation to the standpoint occupied by the readers of the

* *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 110. London, 1887.

Methodist Review, it seems evident upon a moment's reflection that Lord Crawford's view of primeval Aryan belief is by no means the only one compatible with the biblical account of the world's history. While the Bible teaches that the earliest men were monotheists it nowhere states or implies that the postdiluvian ancestry of the Indo-European nations were so. Indeed, according to the biblical account of the origin of nations, from acts of human depravity the speedy loss of the knowledge of the one true God would naturally follow the dispersion of the race and the loss of its common tongue. The author of *The Creed of Japhet* seems, therefore, quite unnecessarily anxious to vindicate to the primitive Aryans a high and directly revealed knowledge of God and of his redemptive purposes.* The works of Krause and O'Neill do not attempt to determine the precise grade of primitive Aryan ideas relative to a monotheistic standard. Still less are they concerned to take into account any bearing of their discussions upon the Bible or upon its representations of ancient history. As between the two, it is evident that Mr. O'Neill makes the nearest approach to an ascription of monotheistic ideas to the authors of Aryan and of all the primordial mythologies; but it is not clear that his supreme, world-directing Deity is to be conceived of as possessing creative or ethically absolute powers.

As to the part of the world in which the oldest myths of the Aryans originated there cannot long remain a serious doubt. It is, indeed, conceivable that these myths antedate the rise of the Aryan stock, and hence that they do not necessarily fix the birthland of the Aryan peoples; few, however, seem as yet inclined to take such a view. One thing, however, is constantly coming into greater and greater prominence, to wit, the fact that circumpolar phenomena of nature are clearly discernible in the oldest of the myths preserved to us in the Aryan tongues. In 1886, in attempting to interpret the Celtic myths, Professor Rhys found it necessary to recognize this fact.† A few pages later he expresses his belief that the cradle of the Aryans will have

* It is not without significance that, while Earl Crawford did not question the traditional view respecting the Asiatic birthland of the Aryans, he yet considered the religious faith of the western or European Aryans as far purer and less adulterated than that of the Asiatic branches. Had he lived till the date of the publication of his work one can scarcely doubt that he too would have advocated the now current view touching the common mother country.

† *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 632, 633.

to be located at some spot "within the Arctic Circle." Then, referring in a foot-note to a book entitled *Paradise Found* and to a paper therein quoted, he argues that no fatal objection is likely to be brought against the view that within the same circumpolar district is to be found the cradle of the entire human race. The recent treatises advocating the European origin of the Aryans are now so numerous and so much in demand that the Boston Public Library two years ago printed the extended list of their titles for public use. See *Bulletin*, vol. ix, pp. 130–134. Among the authors there cited many recognize with more or less distinctness the Arctic character of essential features in the Aryan myths. Several base upon them arguments of no small cogency relative to the primitive Aryan habitat. Penka anticipates some of Krause's insights, just as years ago Wolfgang Menzel in other instances anticipated Penka.

The above-named works by Krause and O'Neill are certain to concentrate attention for some time to come on these geographical birthmarks traceable in the oldest traditions of the Indo-Europeans. Dr. Krause's championship of *Tuiskoland* is so able, and Mr. O'Neill's accumulations of Aryan and extra-Aryan facts are so abundant and significant, that neither can be ignored. To a believer in the origin of the human race at the North Pole the issue of the debate over the location of the cradle of the Aryans is not material, for the reason that the origination of the Aryan stock was postdiluvian, and hence subsequent to the period when the polar region was habitable. It would interest him, however, should the final verdict of science be that the invention of the zodiac was antediluvian, and that the elaborate primeval astronomy and cosmology of which it is a part were constructed from a polar standpoint. Such a conclusion would not only settle the long-mooted question as to the location of the cradle of mankind, but would also demonstrate the supersavage endowments of quaternary or tertiary men. Moreover, it is perfectly safe to say that the reaching of this conclusion was never so strongly probable as it is to-day.

William F. Warren.

Art. VII.—CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY.

No picture is ever hung on the walls of the Louvre, in Paris, until the artist shall have been dead at least ten years. It is supposed that an artist's real worth cannot be estimated while living. So, it is claimed, the true character of a great man and his work can never be ascertained while living, and that posterity alone can judge of the value of his life to the world. While this is doubtless true in the main it must be confessed that very great difficulty attends the effort of one who attempts to analyze the character and weigh the work of a man who has been dead nearly sixteen hundred years; for, while in some respects the passage of years brings out more clearly the intrinsic value of a man's life to his own and to succeeding generations, the motives that inspired him, the prejudices that warped his judgment, the ambitions that impelled him can only be understood by putting one's self, as far as possible, into the midst of his environment. The critic should never forget that he is himself the creature of educational surroundings and the product of the generation in which he lives, as well as is the character that he may attempt to criticise. The influence of environment, therefore, at both ends disqualifies one, to some extent, to give an impartial and just estimate of a man's character and work who lived and wrought at so great a distance in the past as Constantine the Great. Ruter says:

> No character has been exhibited to posterity in lights more contradictory and irreconcilable than that of Constantine. Christian writers, transported with his profession of their faith, have perhaps magnified his abilities and virtues to excess and thrown an almost celestial splendor over every part of the portrait; while pagan historians have spread their gloomy shades upon the canvas and obscured every trait that was great and amiable.

Constantine was born at Naissus, in Mœsia, A. D. 274. His father was Constantius, a general in the Roman army, who was promoted by Diocletian "to the dignity of Cæsar, a sort of lieutenant emperor," and assigned to Britain, Gaul, and Spain. Helena, the supposed discoverer of the real cross on which our Lord was put to death, was his mother. Both his parents were friends of Christianity, while in later life his mother became a

most enthusiastic, if not a superstitious, follower of Christ. In his early life Constantine was a pronounced pagan. At thirty-one he joined his father in Britain. Upon the death of Constantius, at York, his soldiers immediately declared Constantine his successor. Two years later, in A. D. 308, there were five emperors of Rome besides himself, each being assigned to a department of his own.

Three things at this time were manifest: (1) that the Roman empire could never be restored to its former glory while divided into so many fragments; (2) that paganism was tottering to its fall and rapidly losing its hold upon the people; (3) that despised and persecuted Christianity was multiplying its adherents with marvelous rapidity and was on its way to the throne of the Cæsars before Constantine blessed or cursed it (a matter still in question) with his toleration and subsequent support. He therefore at once addressed himself to the herculean task of uniting the empire under one head, and that head himself, by dethroning his rivals. In six years he had conquered four of them, leaving the empire to the joint rule of himself and Licinius. It was when on his way into Gaul, and when he was in doubt as to whether he should accept Christianity or continue a pagan, that he claimed to behold in the clear sky, shortly after noon, a vision of the cross bearing the inscription, "By this conquer." This vision was related by the emperor himself to Eusebius, the historian, confirmed by an oath, and was received with implicit confidence during many ages of Christianity. But the more critical investigations of modern historical inquiry have almost destroyed its authority with rational men. "His vision," says Bishop Hurst, in his *Short History of the Early Church*, "though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support." The probability is that the emperor saw a remarkable natural phenomenon, and that his lively imagination gave it the form of a cross with the accompanying inscription. His succeeding dream, in which Christ, as claimed, appeared to him and ordered him to make a banner in the shape of the celestial sign, under which his army would be crowned with certain victory, can easily be accounted for without admitting a divine revelation. Certain it is, however, that Constantine believed in both the vision and the dream, and therefore proceeded to make the

famous *labarum*, a shaft encased in gold, bearing the image of the cross and the name of Christ, together with the bust of the emperor and his family, which was ever afterward carried at the head of his army. Says Milman:

> And so for the first time the meek and peaceful Jesus became a god of battle, and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of bloody strife. This irreconcilable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgment, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction.

But this circumstance created boundless enthusiasm among the soldiers, and at the battle of Milvian Bridge Maxentius went down in the Tiber, leaving Constantine and Licinius joint rulers of the empire. Following this victory came the edict, bearing the names of the two emperors, granting toleration to all religions, including Christianity, of course, and ordering the restoration of all Christian churches, giving as a reason for the issuance of the same the manifest favor of the Christian's God to the army. It is worthy of note that this was not the first edict of the kind emanating from a Roman emperor. In A. D. 260 Gallienus, when he saw that his father prospered as long as he favored the disciples of Christ, declared Christianity to be a lawful religion, and ordered the restoration of all confiscated churches and property to their rightful owners. This first edict of toleration was revoked by Aurelian in A. D. 275.

Licinius soon became jealous of the growing fame and power of Constantine and returned again to the old method of persecuting the Christians, who had universally rallied to the support of Constantine. The lines were now drawn more distinctly than ever between paganism and Christianity, and a war, virtually between the two systems, but involving the unity of the empire, was carried on by the respective leaders. In the year 324 Constantine conquered his last rival and was left the sole emperor of the Roman world. Christianity soon became the state religion, though paganism was tolerated and to some extent supported by the emperor.

Following his successful enthronement as sole emperor came domestic crimes that seriously becloud his name. Suspicious of his son Crispus, born of his first wife, Minervina, he condemned

him to death. Then Fausta, the empress, for no better reason, was sent to the same fate. Crime followed crime until the mind of Constantine was haunted day and night with bloody specters. A bold satire privately circulated, and also posted on the walls of the royal palace, compared the splendid but bloody times with those of Nero. The populace of Rome became indignant, restless, and threatening, and the emperor, in punishment of the Italians, and doubtless also to protect his own person, removed from the city on the Tiber to the city on the Bosporus, where he established the new capital of Constantinople. After a reign of several years of great worldly show and extravagance, which cannot be followed in this paper, Constantine died, aged sixty-three years, having been emperor thirty-one years. He was not baptized and formally received into the Christian Church until a few days before his death. After his baptism he laid aside his imperial purple and dressed in white, which he wore until his death. He was interred in Constantinople under a church of his own construction.

Constantine was a shrewd political trimmer. I have already said that when he first came into power, as one of the six emperors of Rome, he found paganism falling to pieces, and the empire with it, under the leavening power of Christianity. It did not require a very great mind to forecast the future of Christianity. Galerius had forced Christians into the army, and his generals ordered them to adore the image of the emperor and sacrifice to the gods. The one act was blasphemy, the other idolatry. A young Numidian sublimely refused and was slain. When the army was honoring Cæsar in pagan style at Tangiers, Marcellus, a centurion, rose from the camp table and flung down his belt and sword, saying, "From this moment I cease to serve as a soldier. I despise the worship of your gods." He was executed. The word of God was ordered to be burned. Diligent search was made in every house to find and destroy this precious treasure. An African bishop said, "Here is my body; take it, burn it; but I will not deliver up the word of God." A deacon said, "Never, sir; never! Had I children I would sooner deliver them to you than the divine word." He and his wife were burned together. But in the midst of all this Christianity marched on toward the throne. It could not be stamped out or burned out. He must have been

dull indeed who could not see its superiority to paganism, and that a restored empire, to be permanent, must have a better religion than paganism. It is quite evident, therefore, from a calm survey of the environment and character of Constantine, that his conversion to Christianity was from state or political considerations. In his real life for the most part he was nearly as much a pagan as a Christian. He rebuilt and refurnished pagan as well as Christian temples. He is charged with sacrificing to pagan gods, while he certainly consulted their oracles. He accepted and held the office of pontifex maximus—high priest of paganism—all his life, while he assumed to be father and head of the Church. His edict concerning the general observance of Sunday (*solis dies*), day of the sun, was quite as acceptable to the pagans as to the Christians, since under the new paganism the day among the heathen corresponding to the Christian's first day of the week was the sacred day of the sun worshipers. So feeble was his personal faith in Christianity that his more pronounced successors hesitated not to enroll him among the divinities of paganism.

That he was by nature tolerant is admitted by most historians.

> Let all enjoy the same peace; let no one disturb another in his religious worship; let each act as he sees fit; let those who withhold their worship from God have their temples of falsehood if they think right.

So he wrote in one of his edicts, according to Eusebius. This is carrying toleration almost to excess. He was so anxious for the peace of the Church, and so indulgent in his nature, that he thought secret impunity to sin was better than public scandal. Gibbon says:

> The Nicene Council was edified by his public declaration that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner.

But in his generous sentiments of religious liberty and freedom of thought he is worthy of commendation and imitation in these times, with the single qualification that no religion should be tolerated that interferes with the duty of the citizen to the State or to his home or with the peaceable enjoyment of the right of religious discussion and worship by others. In this age it ill becomes us to exhibit a spirit of intolerance

and bigotry that was condemned by a Roman emperor so far behind us in culture and civilization.

The union of Church and State, however, as far as accomplished by Constantine is not a matter of congratulation. Freeman says, "The Church conquered the State." Bishop Hurst says:

> This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the state religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State thus early begun produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy, and the ignorance of the masses.

Neander says:

> The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it, with whatever virulence.

The lesson to us is absolute separation of Church and State, with pronounced and perpetual independence of the one from the other. While the sphere of each, when rightly interpreted, is not antagonistic to the other, they should not encroach upon each other's territory. The demand for religious instruction in the public schools, the appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools, even among the Indians, the affiliation of the Church in her official character with any political party or civil administration, are all matters to be deplored and condemned. Even the appointment of chaplains by government and the payment of their salaries out of public funds is thought by some to be a matter of questionable propriety still open for debate. This is a relic of the times of Constantine, and is claimed to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to every man the right to choose his own method of religious worship, to select his own spiritual guide, and to be exempt from all governmental tax for the support of any system of worship. Absolute independence of all legislative control, with absolute voluntariness in all religious thought and worship, is unquestionably the best and safest maxim for both Church and State.

While Constantine as a soldier was a man of war, as a statesman, or rather as a churchman, he was a man of peace. He desired the unity of the Church quite as much as the unity of the empire. Indeed, to his mind the one seemed to require the other. He was therefore greatly disturbed by the doctrinal divisions and disputations of the theologians.

Considering the age in which he lived, the condition of the Church, and the gravity of the questions involved at that time, it must be admitted that one of the best acts of his life was the convocation of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325. It is easy for us, living under such different circumstances, to criticise this act and the proceedings and results of that council; but if we had been living in that day we would doubtless have been in the debate, and most probably on the emperor's side. The divinity of our Lord was seriously doubted, and by many denied. While with our advanced knowledge we may object to some parts of the outer clothing in which the Nicene Creed comes down to us, yet who can estimate the influence of those formulated doctrines? They have been accepted in the main for nearly sixteen hundred years "as the standard of the orthodox faith in both Catholic and Protestant Churches;" and, while the debate did not stop with the decision of the council, the creed stood and "was the anchor of religious faith in the Middle Ages." Whether with the greater knowledge of the future, and in the exercise of that liberty of thought and criticism which is the admitted right of every man, there shall be any serious modification of this creed remains for some unborn historian to record.

The civil administration of Constantine was, without doubt, a great blessing alike to pagan, Jew, and Christian. Many of the laws enacted by him have come down to us and to all the people of Europe. He separated the military and civil departments of government and introduced many reforms and humane laws, that were followed by other rulers and will doubtless endure as long as civil government shall last.

Constantine was a man of providence. If God could use Moses, who in his haste killed an Egyptian, and David, who in his lust killed Uriah, and Solomon, who numbered his wives by the hundred, why could he not use Constantine, who had but two wives when it was the fashion for kings to have as many

as they desired, even though he had caused one of them to be suffocated in the bath? In his day and according to his light was he not as much the "man for the place" as was Abraham Lincoln?

I will close this imperfect review with a quotation from Dr. John Lord's *Beacon Lights of History:*

No emperor has received more praises than Constantine. He was fortunate in his biographers, who saw nothing to condemn in a prince who made Christianity the established religion of the empire. If not the greatest, he was one of the greatest, of all of the absolute monarchs who controlled the destinies of over one hundred millions of subjects. If not the best of the emperors, he was one of the best, as sovereigns are judged. I do not see in his character any extraordinary magnanimity or elevation of sentiment, or gentleness, or warmth of affection. He had great faults and great virtues, as strong men are apt to have. If he was addicted to the pleasures of the table he was chaste and continent in his marital relations. He had no mistresses, like Julius Cæsar and Louis XIV. He had a great reverence for the ordinances of the Christian religion. His life in the main was as decorous as it was useful. He was a very successful man, but he was also a very ambitious man; and an ambitious man is apt to be unscrupulous and cruel. Though he had to deal with bigots he was not himself fanatical. He was tolerant and enlightened. His most striking characteristic was policy. He was one of the most politic sovereigns that ever lived, like Henry IV of France, forecasting the future as well as balancing the present. . . . He tried to do right, not because it was right, like Marcus Aurelius, but because it was wise and expedient; he was a Christian because he saw that Christianity was a better religion than paganism, not because he craved a lofty religious life; he was a theologian after the pattern of Queen Elizabeth, because theological inquiries and disputations were the fashion of the day; but when theologians became rampant and arrogant he put them down and dictated what they should believe. He was comparatively indifferent to slaughter, else he would not have spent seventeen years of his life in civil war in order to be himself supreme. He cared little for the traditions of the empire, else he would not have transferred his capital to the banks of the Bosporus. He was more like Peter the Great than like Napoleon I; yet he was a better man than either, and bestowed more benefits upon the world than both together, and is to be classed among the greatest benefactors that ever sat upon the throne.

W. K. Marshall.

Art. VIII.—ANTISEMITISM IN AMERICA.

Ever since Abraham went out from Ur of the Chaldees under the banner of God's covenant, the Hebrew has trod the path of history. The force of the early command, "Get thee out of thy country," has been perpetuated through all the years; and the seed of the high father has been literally "Hebrew" (wanderer). He never held but a few acres of the earth as his own, and then only for a little while and with but a feeble hold. He has moved among the nations, mingling with, but not assimilating, the foreign blood, and in his wanderings has found America. His vitality has confounded the wisest students of men. Nations have arisen, declined, and passed out of history; but he is here still with his original force unimpaired. The evolution of other races has obliterated the ancient distinctive marks; but the Jew remains a Jew. Without a country or a language peculiarly his own, suffering for generations the most bitter and persistent persecutions, resisting the attrition of the centuries, he lives "a miracle of history." Many and varied have been the efforts to account for this exhaustless vitality. We believe it to be found in his providential destiny, as expressed in the original covenant, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The God of history raised up this people and endowed them with a great idea which it was their mission to give to the world. A great truth can take the place of country, speech, friend, and preserve for a final conciliation any company of men who have the strength and courage to suffer, to be misunderstood and contemned, until at last they will be lost in that conciliation. Other peoples have lost their individuality, either because they had completed the articulation of their thought or because they had forgotten it. Israel has done neither. Its work is unfinished, nor has its great idea yet vanished from its heart, namely, one God and Father of us all; one world-wide brotherhood.

But those whose mission is to bless the world are predestined sufferers. The world's saviours are familiar with Gethsemane's shadows and Calvary's horrors. Israel's pathways have been stained with blood. Even in America, which in many respects

has been the wanderer's Canaan, there lingers toward the suffering race a hostile spirit unworthy of a people which affirms in the charter of its liberties that all men have "certain inalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." A Jewish lawyer of great ability once startled the author of this paper by saying:

> You ask me when I expect the Messiah? He has come. He is right before you in my people. Your Christ is only a mere fragment of the sublime whole. My race is the Messiah. He gives to you your God, your divine truth, your salvation. But you despise and reject him. You crucify your Saviour; yet he lives. You lay him in his sepulcher; but the miracle of his resurrection is ever before you.

Antisemitism in America is as yet only a sentiment, and not, as in Germany or Russia, organized with a definite purpose, political or otherwise. But it is a sentiment that is dangerous, partly because it is the gnarled growth of a prejudice which has continued for eighteen centuries or more and, therefore, not easily eradicated, and partly because the policy of other countries to rid their lands of "the pestiferous race" is bringing to our shores a people with an education and genius alleged to be foreign to true Americanism. We need only refer to the single fact that the Jewish population in New York city increased from eighty thousand in 1880 to two hundred thousand in 1890 to convince ourselves that the Jewish question will necessarily become entangled with the emigration problem. Nor will we be able to dissociate it from its religious bearings; for, however the Jew may account for his singular individuality, the Gentile believes that it is his faith that makes him a Jew. It will be a sorry day for American liberty when religious questions are suffered to agitate it. But sorrier far will it be, when this cruel sentiment crystallizes into a definite political doctrine, for that people whose destiny is to be misunderstood and to suffer. Before this impending calamity the thoughtful Christian is impelled, by motives both patriotic and religious, to study this Jewish question, learn if possible the source and significance of the existing prejudice, and so in some measure eliminate its dangerous elements.

The antisemitic feeling in America is certainly not in any large degree due to an instinctive racial antipathy. Too many bloods commingle in this land and too many nationalities jostle

each other to admit of any physical revulsion from a race so closely akin as the Jew. Personal antipathies will doubtless arise, but, as in the case of other races, they are individual, and not racial. Indeed, it can be shown that the best specimens of physical manhood and womanly beauty are found among the rejected race. Dr. Guthrie pronounces the ideal head to be that of the Jews. There is in the very physiognomy of the choicest of the Hebrew race the unmistakable mark stamped by divinity. In all art centers, as Florence, Munich, Rome, Jewish models are at a premium. Many of us remember Joseph Cook's description of the light which shone from the face of certain Jews like a light from behind thin, translucent marble, and which he never saw in any other race. The absurdity of the so-called racial repugnance is evidenced by frequent intermarriages, and that in spite of the fact that the genius of the Jewish economy antagonizes such unions with the fury of religious conviction. The strain of Jewish blood in the Gentile races has improved the stock. In addition to this, art and fiction have thrown a glamour about this singular people and created for them in many minds a magnetic charm. Many of us go in and out among them as in story-land.

There are doubtless multitudes of Jews, like those recently exiled from Russia, who are repulsive indeed to the native American; but are the repulsive features essentially Jewish, or are they the marks of shame with which a foreign superstition and despotism have defaced an otherwise noble personality? The children of the wilderness were so spoiled by their Egyptian slavery as to be unworthy of the Lord's land. Nevertheless, in their loins were kings, psalmists, and prophets—aye, the Christ in whom civilization has its divinest thought. It is not given to many to see the noble side of the vulgar; and when vulgarity has foreign mannerism the task is yet more difficult. But his vision must be dull indeed who cannot see a splendor of promise in the most repulsive children of the wilderness who are unable yet to grasp the spirit of the promised land. What manhood is that which has impelled them to spurn all hope of material advancement, to renounce the soil on which they were born, all hallowed associations, and the graves of their dear ones, to brave exile, and all to remain true to a religion which had been to them only a precious burden? How

shall we characterize that spirit which, under an intolerable distress, remains strong in the joy of a deathless hope—"In the name of our God we will set up our banners?" Surely he is a poor lapidary who cannot see the latent fires in the uncut diamond.

The most recent mode of accounting for the baneful antipathy to the Jew is the one from which its victim revolts with a strength of protest which is really startling. It is, as stated by an English antisemite, that "the Jews are a parasitic nation. Detached from their own country, they insert themselves, for purposes of gain, into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellant nationality of their own. The Jew is detested because he eats out the core of nationality." The vehemence with which the Jew, especially in America, repels this charge is due not merely to its falsity, but to the ardor of the love he bears the land which has given him such unequaled opportunities in the fight of life. It is not the untruthfulness of the charge that so stirs him, but the insult it offers to a holy sentiment—the profanation of the inner sanctuary of his soul.

His appeal to history is, or ought to be, a complete vindication of the charge. He has shown that the characteristic of his race is to cling to the soil of the land in which it has been planted, and that patriotism is a passion which neither his own resentment nor the persecution of his Gentile countrymen can eradicate. In Germany, up to the time of the establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia, the Jews had been oppressed with such social and political restrictions as would naturally alienate them forever from their German oppressors. Napoleon was the first to give them equality of civil rights in their native land. Yet when Germany rose against the great emperor these Jews remembered only that they were Germans, and took the field for their German fatherland. It is familiar history which a recent Jewish advocate states in language as forcible as it is beautiful:

> Had the Jews eaten out the core of the nationality of Spain when they drove the Moors forth from the city of generations—the Jerusalem of the West—and established the throne of Alonzo *el emperador?* Where had been the deathless glory of the Cid but for the Jews of Toledo? What Spaniards did Spain better service in that marvelous twelfth century than Spanish

Jews, who laid the pavements of La Blanca in soil from Mount Zion and who framed of cedar wood from Mount Lebanon that lofty and noble ceiling which still delights the artist and the architect?

It has been proven beyond dispute that the policy of representative Jews, such as Moses Montefiore and Nathan Mayer de Rothschild, has been to cultivate among their people the national feeling, to persuade them to use the tongue of their several countries, and, where possible, to purchase land and identify themselves with the great national institutions. In America it is a shame to insult this people as a drain upon the national life, when so many battlefields of American liberty are stained with Israel's blood. Patriotism arrays Jew against Jew. Can we so easily forget Lyon, who supported the government with his sword, and the Belmonts and Seligmans, who supported the national credit with their gold in the hour of peril? And when we remember that on the other side of that dread war the Jew stood shoulder to shoulder with the men of that section to which they owed allegiance, we have a proof positive that the passion of country is not lost in the stronger passion of the Jew.

It is an oft-repeated statement that the Jew is peculiarly a money-getter and, as the dominant power in the financial world, menaces the peace of the country. But how much of truth is in this statement? Doubtless there have been and there are Jews of immense wealth; but we have yet to learn instances in which their wealth was used to embarrass the governments under which they lived. Certainly we would not name as instances governments which, with military force, imprisoned the capitalist and confiscated his millions. Was Russia menaced by the millions which M. Samuel Solomonowitz put into the railways and educational institutions of his land? Did Rothschild embarrass the English government by loaning it $200,000,000? The Jew has proven himself a competent tradesman by introducing a principle of keen competition, which cuts down prices and profits to the advantage of the consumer, but not to the advantage of the commercial classes who are set against him as rivals. Does this fact menace the country?

But, aside from all this, we candidly ask, Is the money power peculiarly Jewish? Certainly in America it is not. *The New*

York Tribune a short time ago published a directory of the millionaires in all the States in the Union. Gould, Vanderbilt, Astor, Huntington, Stanford, Crocker, Garrett, Mills, Carnegie, and probably a hundred or more others were ranked as possessing more than ten millions. We do not remember that a single Jew was named in this class. It is surprising how few of the so-called money-getting race were in the whole list. The writer could not identify more than one who reached the five-million mark. Considering that a large body of Jews have enjoyed American citizenship for more than fifty years—fifty years in which such fortunes have been accumulated as the world has not in the same space of time seen gathered in any other age or land—it is strange that these tradesmen, with equal opportunities, have been left behind in the race.

Is it true that the Jew wields the scepter in England? The landed aristocracy there, the great brewers, distillers, East Indian merchant princes, the great banking houses, the owners of shipping lines, the Cunards and Inmans, all combine to send "British gold" to the four corners of the earth. There are Jewish bankers also; but what we call the money power of to-day is not Jewish, but it is English and American. Freedom and a higher Christianity prevent its being confined to a class of citizens. Competition distributes this power without respect to blood or faith. It is despotism and a lower Christianity that, by persecution and uncertainty in the tenure of one's possessions, compel an oppressed class in any land to seek advantage solely in the power of wealth. This Saxon race of ours, that has outstripped in fair competition all other men in wealth-getting, has many Jewish qualities. This race takes life seriously, industriously, zealously, pertinaciously; by much study of the Bible the Saxon has made to a large degree Jewish conceptions his own. When the Anglo-Saxon shall emulate the Jew's temperance he will outrival the Jew in genius, power, wealth, and every other quality. In fact, he has done so already. So long as there is to be a *Judenhetze* there will be men who, by iteration of a trite untruth, will lead other men to believe it who have not the time, in the midst of ardent daily duties, to investigate. But if we listen to passionate Jew-baiters, like Treitschke, Stœcker, and Drumont, fidelity to truth demands that we give equally careful

audience to such scientific searchers as Virchow, Mommsen, and Leroy-Beaulieu.

Another thing affirmed as a peril to the nation is that the very soul of the communistic movement of the day is the Jew. In an article in the *Methodist Review* a few years ago we were misled by the following:

> The socialistic and communistic movements originated in 1848 with the Jews, Karl Marx and Liebknecht, who initiated the crusade against existing social order and the relations of capital and labor. "Capital is robbery" is the fundamental principle of Marx. Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded what is now the German Socialistic party, was a Jew. The members of the Kagal, a Jewish secret society in Russia, show themselves to be the most radical of nihilists. Ten times as many Jews as Russians, Poles, or Germans recruit the nihilist ranks.

We deplore the false impression made by this statement. When men speak generically of "the Jews" they frequently attribute to all the shortcomings of some. That there are some Jews who threaten governments we concede. So there are some Christians; and the Jews supply no larger proportion of the ferment than the Christians. A moment's reflection must show that such statements are assertions so broad as to slander more Jews than they truthfully picture. Marx and Lassalle were Jews, but Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Owen, Henry George were not. All of these cooperated in the holy cause of speaking for the oppressed, of compelling attention to the degradation and sufferings of the poor, of bringing about better conditions in all civilized lands. This much we say without subscribing to the philosophical premises on which they based their doctrine. When the pulpits of the world had no better remedy for the wrongs of men than that those who suffer shall have faith, these men, like the American abolitionists, by a line of writing, by the pen, not the sword, awakened the slumbering conscience of mankind. Soon the pulpits responded, and to-day Christian socialism has enlisted in its ranks the eloquence and the power of countless eminent divines, the cardinal in Baltimore, aye, the pope in Rome.

Many are the ministers who have echoed in sympathy with this modern spirit and have felt every place sacred where they could stir hearts to humane regard for the abstract rights of men. These socialists were Christians and Jews, extremists

sometimes, but never more extreme than One whose words are still a test of hope to the downtrodden, one who said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." If there are elements of danger for States from such philosophies, these elements are not Jewish. They are not Gentile. They lie in the weakness of wrong, in the strength of right; for so far as a government is in the wrong it will break down, and so far as its opponents are right they will prevail.

But even in the midst of social philosophy the Jew is a lover of order. Johann Most is not a Jew; but if he were, and if all his followers were Jews, they are altogether so few that it would be injustice to condemn the thousands of conservative, law-abiding Jews because of these. We have heard of only one Jew who belongs to this outcast section of society. None were prominent in the leadership of the Paris commune during the dreadful days of 1871, and none stood on the scaffold with the anarchists in Chicago. In Russia, where any man who dares protest against governmental crimes is called a nihilist, it is quite likely that Jews are numbered among them; yet who would not rather be one of those "nihilists" whom Kennan visited in furthest Siberia, the possessor of manhood and love for fellow-men, than the despotic author of their sufferings in his winter palace? It is worthy to note, however, that the founder of the nihilist school of thinkers was Michael Bakunin, of the high Russian aristocracy, who, by reason of his extreme views, was expelled by the party of Karl Marx from the International Society at its congress at The Hague in 1872. Even among socialists—we cannot forbear the repetition—the Jew is representative of law.

The limits of this paper prevent a review of all the alleged causes of the antisemitic feeling in America. We believe it to be an inheritance, begotten in distant ages and for reasons which do not here exist. It has been so inwrought into the selfishness of national politics and the cruelty of church theologies as to acquire an age-defying strength, transmitting a deadly hatred from generation to generation. If at times it disappears in any measure, like the disease of an ancestor which overleaps a generation or two, it is sure to return and poison a later age. The latent evil is awakened by the most trivial occa-

sions. The reciprocal principle of exclusiveness between Jew and Gentile, now already continued as a living force for many centuries, combined as it often is with an irritating intrusiveness on the part of some Jews who have acquired a degree of wealth without a corresponding degree of education and social refinement, has depopulated many a fashionable hotel and ruined the social tone of many an elegant avenue. And this purely personal and social irritant has been enough to rouse the ancient and slumbering antagonism. Such is the atavism of prejudice. When such trifles can produce such results, how portentous must be the consequences of the fiercer antisemitic discussions now waging in Europe! Unless suppressed by an intelligent Christian conscience the morbid sentiment will stain American liberty with mediæval intolerance; and there will be another chapter to write on Israel's sufferings.

But by the will of God there is a divine future, foretold by prophets, for these wanderers of the weary centuries. It is a future for which they have never despaired and which they believe is even now dawning. We believe that the Christianity of America will hail its coming, seek to cast off the sins of the fathers which have blighted the growth of souls, and "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

A. H. Tuttle.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

By a blunder in the press-room an imperfect table of contents for the volume of 1893 was appended to the November-December number of the *Review*. All subscribers who desire to bind the volume for the year will be furnished, on application to the publishers, with a correct table of contents to preface the bound volume.

Several changes in the typography and general arrangement of the *Review* will be noticed in this number. We hope they may commend themselves to our readers as improvements. The scope of the *Review* is widened, and we trust its value increased, by the introduction of two new departments, one of which will report whatever is most significant in the progress of Christian missions, and the other the discoveries and developments in the intensely interesting, as well as vastly important, fields of archæology and biblical research.

The following item of discovery in Egyptology was presented in a paper before the London Society of Biblical Archæology by the Rev. Camden M. Cobern, Ph.D., Pastor of First Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan; and its value may be judged by the fact that it was reprinted by that society from the report of its proceedings by its own option in June, 1893. It shows that the Egyptians in ancestor worship avoided the use of the most sacred posture, reserving it for the worship of their deities. Its significance lies in its "important bearing upon Mr. Spencer's theory of primitive ancestor worship."

The writer, a few winters ago, while in the Ghizeh Museum, made the observation that the typically sacred posture of the uplifted empty hands, which was used in innumerable instances where men appeared before the divinities, was carefully avoided in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and very rarely used in the New Kingdom, when they appeared before their ancestors. This observation was afterward confirmed by a visit to the British Museum and the Louvre, and by an examination of the plates of Rosellini, Lepsius, etc. That this posture was a peculiarly sacred one is proved by its use from the very earliest times in the hieroglyphic "to worship." Thus also the gods adored the supreme divinity:

"Hail to thee, Râ! . . . thy mother Nut presents her hands to thee in the act of homage." (Ani Papyrus, Plate I.) This attitude is of all others the most common one taken by the worshiper when he enters the presence of his god; yet almost universally is it avoided when the relatives gather to reverence their ancestors.

It cannot be denied that there are a few exceptions to the general practice, but in almost every case the exception proves the rule. Hate and Kheti do stand in the sacred posture before Usertesen and Mes-en-hotep, who are figured as little creatures standing on top of the table of offerings; but the inscription is one distinctly addressed to Osiris and Anubis. (Louvre C. 19.) Another significant exception is that of Khent-Khat-ur, who stands before his ancestors in this sacred posture, but stands with his face turned from them and his hands uplifted toward the unseen. (Plate 109, Eg. Inscrips., British Museum, London, 1837.) There can be no doubt that this habit was too universal to allow the possibility of its being accidental. That there was one special attitude saved for the deity proves how greatly elevated were the gods above the deceased, and would seem to have some bearing upon the theory of the origin and meaning of ancestor worship which is now generally accepted by non-Christian philosophers.

This theory, invented by Herbert Spencer, is that all religion is an evolution from man's fear of ghosts. Through dreams, etc., the original savage caught the idea that he possessed a double self, which could wander away from the body and return to it again. The resemblance between death and sleep was such that this primeval savage began to suspect presently that the dead man's second self might be near the body, ready to avenge any insult paid to it. This fear of ghosts gradually led to offerings of food and drink and to praises of the dead or petitions that the spirit of the departed would not harm the living. From this to ancestor worship was only a short step. But, as the spirits of dead men were thought of as taking possession of birds, animals, and trees or flying to the stars, in course of millenniums polytheism with all its various forms of worship arose, and finally, after many centuries of philosophizing, monotheism. The bearing of Dr. Cobern's discovery upon such a theory is plain; for if there was one posture, and that the most sacred of all, which was invariably reserved for the worship of the gods and never used before the ancestors, it would indicate that a radical distinction was made by the ancient Egyptians between deity worship and ancestor reverence. Thus in the oldest worship known to man a relation exists between ancestor worship and god worship the exact opposite of that which would seem to be required by the evolutionist theory.

Is it possible to give a good education to our sons without sending them to the institution having the best record in boating,

in baseball, or football? Is it a proof of deficient paternal affection to send our sons to colleges devoted to and excelling in certain literary and scientific studies? These questions are not asked altogether in a sarcastic vein. The athletic demand has risen to so high a pitch that we really need to estimate its claims. If they are to be conceded without deduction, then a good father will inquire into the athletic record and prospects of the college asking his patronage. If the record is good and the present "team" a promising one a good father will not ask any foolish questions about the other and minor parts of the college. This may seem to some of the older brethren a mystery—possibly a mystery of iniquity. But they and we belong to a past which did not know the value of a football college course; and we must try to understand the lads who are treading on our heels. They value the college for its athletics—at least many of them do—and they are our successors in American citizenship. We must reject the claims they make, and give our reasons: (1) There is no sufficient proof that the battles which these games have become are ministrant to physical perfection; there is much proof of the contrary. Good physical development must be attained by more sober and more regular and constant exercise. Physical contests are not the best, they are probably the worst, method of bodily culture. (2) The American people will be too far gone in decadence for any hope of salvation when they come to prefer a physical contest to an intellectual one. Roosters and wild bulls will furnish necessary "sport," and if men must be used the Sullivans will always be numerous enough to meet the demand. The coarse tastes to which a combat ministers will, if they master us, require something more brutal than a set-to of college boys; but we believe that the nobler instincts of the people will survive and that the better mind of the rational public will retain its preference for intellectual superiorities. (3) The immoral environment of the conspicuous physical contests of college boys has become so clearly visible, so obtrusively active and destructive, that it cannot be ignored any longer. Athletic barbarity and gambling—and worse things—thrust themselves into our faces and force us to approve or condemn. Keep the athletic exercise; let our lads play and wrestle, under limits of safety: but abolish the battlefield. The prudent and affectionate father will keep his son as far as possible from a college having a high athletic record. That record has cost blood—and character; and it is a menace, not a promise.

SECTIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

The danger of sectional antagonism has come up for discussion in connection with the silver purchase debates in the press and in Congress. Some ill-advised persons went so far as to suggest a sort of commercial divorce of the West from the East. The proposed convention to consider the matter will not meet. The good sense of the people promptly rebuked the begetters of the scheme. We are still too near the civil conflict for any sectional movement to gain much favor; it is certain that the majority of the people of any State would reject any such plan. Still, the danger is thought of and sometimes spoken of as one of the disagreeable possibilities, if not probabilities, of the not very distant future. The matter is therefore worthy of some consideration.

It must be assumed at the outset that in our country antagonisms in the interests of different sections is the only possible cause of sectionalism. Differences of race do not exist in a sectional sense; nor do differences of religion. These are usually the two chief causes of sectional feeling within a nation. The sectional conflict which ended in the civil war was a very peculiar one; and such a one can never again arise. The conscience of the North after the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law created "an irrepressible conflict." Slavery was undoubtedly a question of interest at the South; but it was not such at the North. If it could have been reduced to a matter of dollars and cents there would have been no attempt to secede. Questions of sectional interest can be compromised; doubtless many such will be compromised in the next half century. Something of this nature may be found in the legislation of every Congress. Fiscal measures and appropriations are, in minor details, modified by the diverse interests of the several large sections of the Union; and the anti-Chinese legislation has been from the first a concession by the rest of the nation to the Pacific slope, not without some conscientious scruples not yet silenced or satisfied.

Are there likely to be opposed and irreconcilable sectional interests? Do such antagonisms now exist? Apparent or professed antagonisms there are; but are they real and uncompromising? We think them to be rather sentimental and temporary than real and permanent. The silver question stands now just where the protection question stood for half a century. The South opposed protection, just as the West, or a part of it, opposes a gold stand-

ard. But no one now seriously considers the tariff a sectional issue; the difficulty has been completely overcome, and no kind of a tariff will arouse sectional animosity. The silver question is a more temporary matter than the tariff. There are possible events which might swiftly settle all disputes. And there are possible settlements of the controversy which would remove the subject from the field of discussion; for example, an international agreement adjusting the two money metals to each other. Opposition of interests between creditor States and debtor States furnishes matter for considerable newspaper comment and epithet. The "money shark" is an ugly creature supposed to be an eater of Western men. "There be land sharks and there be water sharks." No section can ever have a monopoly of bad men, of grasping and cruel men. Some Eastern people of small means think they have reason to regret their relations to "sharks" of the far West; and honest farmers of the prairies have unpleasant emotions when they think of a "shark" supposed by them to swim in "Wall Street" —a term very confusingly employed in sectional literature. But all these are relations of individuals, and not of great sections of our common country. Nor is there anything new in this experience. There has long been a lending East and a borrowing West; nor is there now any dangerous acuteness in these relations.

Doubtless there are people who think there is a real antagonism in creditor and debtor sections of the nation. But in this case thinking does not make it so. If the antagonism were necessarily a menace to peace every town in the land would be a scene of conflict, for every village has creditors and debtors. There is certainly a considerable difference of opinion about silver, and in a measure this difference is sectional. But the difference is one about facts, and there is a strong presumption that the facts will be so well known on both sides long before any conflict arises that a settlement satisfactory to all reasonable persons will be made. They are few in any section who desire to pay less than they borrowed or to receive more than they lent. Most borrowers and lenders are honest people. The question of silver may not be settled for some years. It is a very novel one, and it has come to us through an extraordinary and sudden increase in the supply of silver and an equally strange and sudden decrease of the demand for it. It would be strange if such an experience did not very seriously disturb currencies and perplex politics. But there is every reason to believe that the wisdom of the commercial nations will solve this problem in an equitable

way. There is no excuse for the belief that it will set great sections of the United States by the ears. There is a common interest and a sturdy belief in a sound and stable money. The honest people are a large majority, and they are evenly distributed over the whole Union. Pending a settlement of this serious question patriotic men of all sections will have need of a more praiseworthy temper and a larger measure of reasonableness than the demagogues and sensational newspapers ordinarily display. But in no possible contingency could the controversy have enough explosive power to rend the Union.

It must not be forgotten that the Union is a common blessing, and that to keep this good our citizens are sure to make some necessary sacrifices. Sections at outs in feeling will bear with each other for the sake of the Union. Let a difference become grave, and immediately patriotism will revive in force and heal the breach. A sudden and fatal madness lighting the conflagration of a civil war is not among the possibilities in an intelligent country bound up in one by so many common interests. The tendencies which attract most attention are not toward conflicting interests. Manufactures are moving West and South. No large region—large enough to revolt—can have more than temporarily its peculiar pursuits to the exclusion of those followed by other regions. Railways and trade bind us together more and more closely; we know each other better across the whole continent. Interminglings of every social description tend to make us more united and to arrest the growth of sectional sentiment and politics. Before we can forget the awful years of our one civil war we shall be a much more compact, homogeneous, and fraternal people than we were in 1861. Common laws, common recollections, common speech, and common religion will unite with the common elements of our social life to make the Union indissoluble. Hot controversies, yes. Disunionism, no.

SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND LIFE.

That is a dangerous period in the history of thought when investigation is beginning to reveal new facts in any department of physical inquiry. Such discoveries are usually the result of some one particular line of investigation, and bear a strong generic resemblance to each other; and they appear, therefore, to point in the same direction and to the same conclusions. They come slowly, too, with perhaps long intervals between them and with an air of

finality about them, so that any deductions based upon them seem to be enduring and unchangeable. Theories are adopted often destructive of the old systems of thought and opposed to all the formulas of logic. Assumptions are made often unwarranted by any facts yet known to science. In the haste to arrive at the very secret of mysteries which have ever baffled explanation, desire outstrips achievement, and logical chasms are left unbridged and still unfathomable. Missing links in the chain of reasoning, it is claimed, will be supplied by the next new discoveries. It is assumed, without proof, that whatever new facts remain to be yet revealed by science will eventually only strengthen and support theories which have been hastily constructed and so far imperfectly furnished. Thus elated by new knowledge, partial though it be, the ultra apostles of science demean themselves with haughty contempt or worse indifference toward the old truths of revealed religion; and religion itself accepts the defensive, its disciples, overwhelmed with the clamor of empirical science and rash philosophy, assuming an apologetic air which ill becomes their professed faith in the God of the Bible and the Christ of the New Testament.

It is embarrassing, however, when the missing facts obdurately remain undiscovered, or when new facts are brought to light which overthrow the theories so loudly and triumphantly proclaimed. Then logic begins to assert its supremacy. Then science becomes modest, recognizes its limitations, and confines itself for the time to the strict region of fact. Then believers in the Christian religion regain their courage, and revelation reappears as unchangeable as ever. It is such a period of reaction against the overconfidence of science which seems to be about to dawn with the dawning of the coming century.

It is well, therefore, to glance anew at certain radical differences between science and religion. They occupy entirely separate planes. The sole business of physical science is to deal with facts which can be perceived and tested by the senses. The sphere of religion comprises mental, moral, and spiritual conditions which are above the apprehension of the senses, but which constitute the most important elements of human happiness or misery. Both exemplify God's power and embody the results of his will. Hence they cannot contradict one another or be mutually discordant or repellent; yet any attempt to "reconcile" the two, in the ordinary meaning of the term, must terminate in failure. That God should have enforced certain methods in the material

world does not interfere with the truth that he enacted other and different and higher laws in the moral and spiritual realms. Science and revelation are not coincident or coextensive; they cannot clash or intercept one another; they are complements each of the other, and products of the same divine mind, working in different channels, it is true, though to the same distant and ultimate end. Neither can be explained by the other; yet both are essential to the supreme purposes of God.

Science has not so far discovered any fact which fails to fit into the system of revelation. She has, indeed, compelled new revisions of traditional interpretations of a few scriptural texts; yet the fault is seen to have inhered in the old interpretation and not in the original message. Nor has she attained one whit nearer to the solution of any of the mysteries of existence. In the discussion of all organic data, for instance, she must begin with an acknowledgment of the fact of life. She cannot explain why a seed of corn, lying dormant for years, should retain its latent life, and then, by being planted in the earth, become capable of producing not simply one but many multiplications of itself. Nor can the cause or the method of either the origin or the reproduction of human life be discovered or accounted for by any experiments or investigation which science may institute. When, deserting her own province and invading that of philosophy, she attempts to force her way to the citadel of life she loses herself in dark and unknown regions, and either travels in an unending circle to arrive again and again at the point of departure; or else, after a mighty battle of unwieldy and unmanageable words, resulting in much smoke and obscurity, she retreats at length, baffled and defeated, to her own peculiar territory.

Revelation, on the contrary, starts with the only conceivable and consistent explanation of the cause of all the varied phenomena of the universe—the existence of a personal, intelligent, and all-powerful Creator. It does not, indeed, present all the steps in the methods of creation. The full understanding of the age-long and world-wide designs of God will be occupation for eternity, and the continual wonder and admiration produced by our ever-fresh advances in the knowledge of his works will be the spontaneous and unceasing incentive to the praise which we shall ever offer him. It is enough that he has revealed himself as the one sufficient and only possible explanation of all things; that he has taught us, not only by example and precept, but by the actual evil results of transgression, the path he has intended

for us; that he has revealed not all the minute details, but the simple and essential statement, of his design in our creation, the only statement of design which satisfies the apparent inconsistencies and wrongs of human existence; that he has given us, by his promises of future happiness, every motive to comply with the conditions he has marked out as best serving his far-reaching purposes.

Philosophy, in its endeavor to explain the origin and end of human life, is a confessed failure—self-confessed in its continual readoption and rejection of worn-out hypotheses. Science, confining itself modestly and consistently to its own sphere, has nothing whatever to do with these questions. Scientists and inventors, utilizing the discoveries of their predecessors and avoiding their errors, may make visible progress from generation to generation. No such advancement is possible in the essential traits of human nature. Men start in all ages and the world over from the same level of undeveloped infancy and pass through the same gamut of experience from childhood to age, leaving their successors to repeat, with individual variations but essential uniformity, the same story of human existence; and religion, ordained in revelation and designed by the Author of human nature to meet its needs and fulfill its destiny, far from being superseded by the improved conditions of civilization, remains the only rational explanation of human life, the only remedy for human wrongs, and the only hope of the race both now and hereafter.

FANTASTIC REFORM.

In November last a somewhat fantastic English reformer visited Chicago and held a public meeting to organize a movement "to drive the devil out of that city." He invited the virtuous classes and the vicious classes, the miserable and the affluent, to meet and confer with him and set on foot this great movement. A crowd assembled, but the professionally vicious classes did not come. The talking part of the assembly came from the ranks of the labor reformers, socialistic reformers, and those advanced people commonly called cranks. The listeners embraced many curious folk and a few of the persons who are actually engaged in fighting the devil as pastors or working members of churches. The talk had nothing new in it, except that it was a mixture of several varieties of fantastic reform. A committee

was duly appointed to arrange a plan of campaign, and there the movement, as is common in such matters, ended. The English reformer got a page or two in the newspapers the next day and started for home, leaving the devil in Chicago. The reformers who are not sensational and who have fought the prince of darkness on that field year in and year out remained at their posts and continued their fighting through their church work, their schools, their charities, and their courts. They could have welcomed a leader capable of more effective and more rapid work; but the leader did not lead, and they are, in Lincoln's phrase, "pegging away" in the old ways.

In the course of this fantastic meeting, when the customary attention was being paid by some socialist to the richer people, a young man in the gallery suggested that "men became rich by economical habits and by keeping out of the saloons." This hint was coldly received by the audience, and the English reformer filled up a painful pause by sarcastically replying, "We thank you for your copy-book truisms." The sarcasm was well received by the assembly; but in cold type it loses some of its sting. In fact, it discloses a state of mind, a state of feeling toward copy-book truisms—in other terms, plain morals—which deserve serious attention. The impatience of fantastic reformers with plain moral truth, their want of faith in the power of religious education, their strange conviction that the Churches are doing nothing, their despairing calls for some effective help, their belief that the vicious classes are rather better than other people, their rejection of temperance and missionary relief measures—all these singular notions and beliefs are furnished with a battle-cry in the words "copy-book truisms." The number of persons in this singular mental condition is perhaps not very great, but they make more noise and get more attention from the press than all the real reformers in the country.

For the real reformers are at work putting copy-book truisms into the mind and into the life of the people. A great army of mothers, teachers, preachers spend their lives in this great work, and their success is known of all candid persons. They teach, train, enlighten, and save multitudes, while the fantastic reformers are making speeches and appointing committees. They produce character, while the fantastic people are producing discontent. We do not wish to discredit the complaints of the poor; but a suggestive thing happened in Chicago that same November. For many months a "Helping Hand" society had existed there, and

it chose that particular time for falling to pieces. The active agent of this society, a man with years of experience among "people out of employment," expressed the opinion that there were not twenty men in the city who could not get work when they wanted work. The "Helping Hand" found itself doling out alms to idle and characterless persons, and that was not its mission. It desired to assist honest poor in finding employment; and such people did not come to it for aid. We hesitate to accept the conclusion; but it is certain that much of the complaining comes from persons out at elbows in character rather than in opportunity to obtain an honest living.

The real reformers have a mighty task; but their copy-book truisms bring salvation, and nothing else ever brought it to a human life. The failure of the flighty fantastic people appears the more strikingly when they flout truisms. The person who held this meeting in Chicago declared that the temperance people were a great obstacle to reform; the true way would be to get good saloons to suppress the bad saloons. Another speaker eulogized the beer-drinking habit as a particularly anti-Satanic influence. It was a congress convened to set up a new theory of virtue, or rather to raise vice to the rank of a virtue; and the English reformer seemed to think that Jesus Christ, when he went among the fallen, elevated their vices to social dignity. The tendency to disparage Christian reformation has gained some ground in these years; it comes to its apotheosis in such an assembly as the one here described. It is a helpless, hopeless, and ignorant movement away from plain morals, away from the truths that character is essential to the success of the poor and degraded and that we must lift them into heroic abstinence from such things as saloons into heroic self-help, or fail to lift them at all. If we cannot get the leverage of character under them they must fall into the ditch of degraded poverty; and if we do get that leverage under them we shall lift them, even out of the deepest abysses of degradation.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

THERE are those who would have us believe that humanity has made no progress; that, on the contrary, from an indefinite period, perhaps from the very beginning, it has been steadily, if not rapidly, degenerating. It might seem that such a theory was so wild and irrational, so flatly contradicted by plainest facts, as not

to deserve sober treatment or respectful consideration. But when we perceive that distinguished men in all ages of the world have been occasionally given to chanting these funeral dirges, and that the average observer who looks out at the time and place immediately around him is easily misled as to the trend of things, we are convinced that there is abundant call for clear and frequent statements concerning this matter. The very fact that every age has considered itself so extremely bad is a strong proof that the trouble is largely in the eyes of the observers and that their pictures are faulty through disregard of the laws of perspective. Let a few quotations stand in place of many.

Seneca, in the first century, writes:

Vice no longer hides itself; it stalks forth before all eyes. So public has abandoned wickedness become, and so openly does it flame up in the minds of all, that innocence is no longer rare; it has wholly ceased to exist.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the third century, thus describes his time:

The public ways are obstructed by robbers, the seas are infested with pirates, the world is reeking with mutual bloodshed. Law has made a compact with crime, and guilt has become legal. What sense of shame, what probity, can exist where bad men have none to condemn them and where none are found but ought to be condemned?

In the fourth century Eusebius says:

Hypocrisy and dissimulation have arisen to the greatest height of malignity. All things have gone to wreck by the factious willfulness and avarice of the bishops.

Chrysostom says, with reference to the Church:

Our assemblies differ in nothing from a drinking shop, so loud is the laughter, so great is the disturbance. Nay, the church is like a market place, even a stage or theater. For the women who assemble there adorn themselves more wantonly than the unchaste who are found in the theater; so that on that account profligate men come to church. All things are now corrupted and lost. All are rampant and refractory as herds of wild horses. Everything is filled with their abounding corruptions.

In the tenth century a distinguished writer says:

The clergy everywhere are composed principally of men who are illiterate, stupid, ignorant of everything pertaining to religion, dissolute, superstitious, and flagitious. Nothing can be conceived of so filthy, so criminal, or so wicked as to be deemed by the supreme bishops of the Church incompatible with their characters; nor was any government ever so loaded with vices of every kind. They made traffic of everything sacred. Everywhere were seen the profligate morals of the clergy and the monks. Their history is a history of atrocious villainies and crimes.

In the seventeenth century it is written of England:

> The best men are driven out of the Church. The doctrines of the Gospel are no longer heard in the vast majority of pulpits. The immoralities of the court are shocking.

Dr. South says:

> Blasphemy, irreligion, and debauchery were the prime characteristics of all men of wit and fashion. Their ambition was to reach daring heights in sin.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a little before, in 1596, says:

> There is a universal coldness and decay of zeal in all men; ignorance and contempt of the word, ministry, and sacraments, superstition, and idolatry abound. There is universal neglect of justice in civil and criminal causes; the worst men are advanced to office, and bribery prevails in the court.

Declarations of a similarly doleful sort concerning the condition of England in the eighteenth century, before the Wesleyan reformation, might be given in large numbers; also concerning the state of things this side the sea, in every single period from the beginning of the settlements. One specimen will do as well as a multitude. It is from the pen of Jonathan Edwards, in 1735:

> The world has got to such a terrible state of wickedness that it is probable the cry of it has reached unto heaven, and it is hardly probable God will allow things to go on as they now are much longer. It is probable that God will appear ere long in awful majesty to vindicate his own cause.

And so the speedy dissolution of all things because of outrageous iniquity and inconceivable corruption has been perpetually prophesied all down the years. Every generation, or at least some portion of it, has firmly believed it was worse than the last. But it needs no great amount of reflection, and only a small acquaintance with history, to show that this is not possible. Those who delivered themselves of these jeremiads were doubtless sincere, but they were sadly mistaken. They got into the way of looking exclusively on the dark side. They overemphasized the evil in their laudable desire to arouse men to combat it. Their habit of thought was partisan, not judicial. Their conclusions were not reached from any impartial weighing of one period over against another or from any sufficiently careful examination of all the facts. More excuse can be made for their errors than for similar blunders by men of to-day, who have so much better opportunities of knowledge and who ought to have imbibed something of the scientific spirit of the times.

There is absolutely no reason now why anyone should doubt that

the world is growing better, or, in other words, that the physical, moral, and spiritual condition of humanity is improving. This earth is a much pleasanter place to live in to-day than ever it was before. The sum total of human happiness and human goodness is much larger at present than at any previous period in the world's history. A few reasons for this faith, which has become firmly established in us, we now propose to give.

THE INCREASING POPULATIONS.

The fact that the inhabitants of the earth are multiplying so rapidly in these later years is one of deep significance. According to the best available authorities the population of Europe did not materially increase from the days of Julius Cæsar to the Reformation, a period of over fifteen hundred years. It was just about one hundred millions at both times, at the beginning and end of that long interval. In the next three hundred years, from 1500 to 1800, the population had increased fifty per cent, so that the total was about one hundred and fifty millions. But during the present century it has increased one hundred and forty per cent, so that the total is now three hundred and sixty millions. In fifteen hundred years no gain, then in three hundred years a gain of fifty millions, and then in less than a hundred years a gain of two hundred and ten millions. In each of the three centuries before the present a gain of sixteen per cent, and then in this century a gain of one hundred and forty per cent. What does all this mean? What is the story that is behind these figures? What were the causes which kept the population stationary for fifteen hundred years and then gave it such a very slow growth for three centuries more? Constant wars, famines, and pestilences. These are words easy to pronounce or write, but the depth of wretchedness and degradation they indicate cannot be at all conceived. To have war, famine, pestilence, one or both, or all three, most of the time—life under such circumstances is almost unmitigated misery. The struggle for mere existence is so terribly severe that only the very strongest of the population survive, and the deaths are so many that the births only just manage to make good the perpetual drain.

It must be evident on slight consideration that one of the very best measures of the comparative peace, virtue, happiness, and prosperity of a people is afforded by the figures of the population. They prove in this case that Europe during the Middle Ages, before Christianity in its purity had got control of the life

of the people, was a pretty bad place to live in; that after the Reformation had cleared the air, breaking the bonds of thought, liberating the human mind, and unshackling the Bible, a great advance was speedily seen; and that during the past century, when, as never before, freedom and truth have come to the front and the Protestant nations have taken the lead, the hardships of life have been so immensely ameliorated that the statistics have moved forward with gigantic leaps and bounds.

The population of India, so far as can be ascertained, was about the same hundreds and indeed thousands of years ago as it was when the British took possession of it in the last century. The numbers were kept stationary by famine, pestilence, and war, and were not far from one hundred and fifty millions. But now, under the Christian government of Great Britain, which has maintained peace, prevented or alleviated famine, taught sanitation, and developed in every way the resources of the land, the population is very nearly three hundred millions, doubling in a century and a quarter.

England in the year 1100, or at the time of the Norman conquest, had about two million people. After five centuries, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, it had four millions. After two centuries more, in 1800, it had about nine millions; while now, in ninety years, the population has leaped from nine millions to thirty. The increase has been two hundred and thirty-three per cent in ninety years, and that in spite of the immense emigration, against less than seventy per cent for the previous century. This one fact speaks whole volumes in testimony of increased safety against disease, better food and shelter, improved education, less exhausting labor, and easier, happier, more virtuous conditions of life in general.

Another fact of precisely the same sort is found in the increased duration of human life. It used to be set at thirty-three years, which was called a generation. It is longer now, in this country, at least, and in most of the countries of Europe. It has gone up above forty. That means greater thrift, greater temperance, better parental care, improved sanitary conditions, less of squalid poverty, less of sensual luxury. Vice is always unfriendly to life and longevity; virtue produces them. Therefore a lower annual death rate and an increased prolongation of life testify loudly that we are decidedly on the up grade as a people, and not on the down grade, as so many of our pessimists would have us believe.

THE FORWARD MARCH OF MIND.

Many evidences show what may be called the forward march of mind, the ever-increasing supremacy of mind over matter, the advancing victories of human intellect and intelligence. And this march may fairly be summoned as a witness to prove that the race is on the up grade. Consider the marvelous progress that has been made in the arts and sciences, the stupendous gains of invention and discovery, the magic and miracle of mechanical improvement which has characterized this century, especially its latter half. Who can really doubt that the world is a better place to live in now than it was when our grandfathers or great-grandfathers were young? Seventy-five years ago there were no steam railways. The first telegraph line in America, from Washington to Baltimore, was set up less than fifty years ago. The telephone is less than twenty-five years old. Think of the marvelous developments of steam in this half century. The steam power in the world to-day is four times as great as all the hand power, and twice as great as all the horse power. In other words, the working energy of the most civilized lands, the ability to exert strength for the accomplishment of desired results, has been a good deal more than doubled by the application of steam. And now steam is almost going out of date, so fast is it giving place to electricity, so rapidly are we learning to harness the lightning to our chariots and make it toil at our tasks and light our dwellings as well as carry our messages. Think of the triumphs of our ocean racers running more than five hundred miles a day, of our fast express trains making very nearly a mile a minute hour after hour, and compare this with the slow-sailing packets and rude, lumbering wagons of our grandfathers. We have almost destroyed distance, and nations have been brought into closest neighborhood, which tends beyond doubt to increase their harmony and mutual helpfulness. A simple catalogue of the things which even in our own time, so swift is the forward movement, have wonderfully added to the convenience and comfort of life would be too long for insertion here. But among other things may be mentioned street railways, photographs, phonographs, typewriters, sewing machines, elevators, ocean cables, the cheap postal system, anæsthetics, and the other improvements in medicine and surgery. If we were to take in a longer period the contrast would, of course, be still more startling. The wealthiest monarchs a century or two

ago could not with all their power procure for their palaces some of the simple things, like matches, for example, which no person and no hut, however humble, is to-day without.

All this plainly shows that the condition of humanity is steadily improving, not only physically, but mentally and morally. It may be said that the matters mentioned pertain only to material things. But surely man expresses himself in his works. Great achievements indicate a high type of manhood. In the governments men found, in the books they write, in the appliances they invent, in the obstacles they overcome, in the discoveries they make, in the enterprises they inaugurate, they disclose the quality of their power and the height of their advancement. Man is a more royal being than he used to be, more divine, with more of the Creator in him, more fully measuring up to the ideal which he was designed to fill when God gave him dominion over this mundane sphere and set him as the representative of Deity here below. Every victory of the higher part of man over the lower really elevates the race and shows it to be on the right path. We have every reason to rejoice at the growth of popular intelligence in recent years, the far greater diffusion of knowledge, the multiplication of schools of every kind, the better methods of teaching, and the larger numbers of the common people in many lands brought within the circle of education with all its manifest advantages. We may well thank God that labor also has been greatly exalted, that industry has more and more come to be recognized as indispensable to respectability, that work, instead of idleness or war, is coming to the place of highest honor as the foundation of society and the bulwark of the State. These, and many other similar signs of the times, are surely full of encouragement and give no countenance to the pessimist.

MARKS OF MORAL PROGRESS.

Leaving the tokens of physical, social, industrial advance, all of which things have close connection with morals, and yet are somewhat different, let us come still nearer to the heart of the theme and touch on things which have a yet more intimate relation to the happiness and true prosperity of humanity, which prosperity we claim is increasing, not diminishing.

For one thing, note the overthrow of slavery and the slave trade. Probably nothing has produced so much misery in the world and so much moral corruption as this, which Wesley fitly called "the sum of all villainies." The most glaring injustice,

the darkest ignorance, the grossest licentiousness, the wickedest waste of life were clearly included in it. Outrages of every sort and atrocities of every kind perpetually abounded. It was brutalizing to both black and white, bloody, barbarous, beastly beyond description. But at the beginning of this present century slavery existed through nearly all the world. Most of the peasantry of Europe were either actual slaves or, the next thing to it, serfs in the lowest condition. During the first seven years of this century English ships conveyed annually over the Atlantic forty thousand Africans, one half of whom, because of the terrible treatment, perished at sea or soon after landing. This century has seen the total cessation of the Atlantic slave trade, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, the freeing of the serfs in Russia and other European countries, and emancipation in the United States and in Brazil. The addition to the sum of human happiness caused by this one item is absolutely inconceivable. Out of night into day, out of death into life, out of despair into hope, out of chattelization into humanization scores and scores of millions have been gloriously lifted. Nor is this all. Africa itself, the one remaining plague spot, has been taken hold of in right earnest for good by all the nations of Europe. Thanks to Livingstone, and Stanley, and Lavigerie, and many others of lesser fame, the slave trade, even in Africa, is surely doomed. Before many years there will be no such thing as slavery anywhere on the earth. A final end will be put to this climax of horrors that for scores of centuries has cursed mankind. This alone would be enough to prove beyond peradventure the upward movement; this alone must vastly change for the better the balance between human joy and human sorrow, between morality and immorality.

War has been another terrific scourge of mankind. We do not yet see it fully abolished; but we shall. Already it has been marvelously ameliorated. Wars are but pastimes now compared with what they once were. In the olden days kings fought when they pleased, and they were almost always fighting. The people had no voice; they were looked upon as only food for powder, unfit to be considered. Single wars hung on sometimes for thirty years, with little or no cessation. Neutrals had no rights, noncombatants were not spared, the armies lived on the country; pillage, outrage, robbery, rape, and murder were going on all the time. It was a veritable hell upon earth. Things are very different now. Diplomacy in most cases takes the place of bru-

tality. Arbitration four times out of five is found sufficient to settle disputes that once would have brought on devastating campaigns. The public sentiment of Christendom is powerful, and frowns upon bloodshed unless in cases of extreme necessity. Wars have become so expensive that very few nations can afford them. Thrones are so insecure and the people have so much strength that it is no longer possible for kings to follow their whims in this matter. And when war comes it is simply a duel between two great armies, often settled in a single contest or ended in a few weeks of maneuvering. The great Christian and commercial nations, whose interests are bound up in keeping the peace, more and more are getting into their hands the numerical and financial and martial power of the world; and this tends mightily to prevent war. It seems clear that before long the industrial rivalry of America will compel the disarmament of Europe, since the nations there cannot with their crushing military burdens compete with us in the markets of the world. Then shall we see a United States of Europe, where all the great questions that now breed bad blood will be settled in some representative assembly. Then will the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags be furled in the "parliament of man, the federation of the world." The progress seen in this one item of war has been quite enough to make the earth a far happier and better place to live in than it ever was before.

Intemperance is an evil that still has enormous proportions, but it would be unjust not to recognize the many cheering tokens of improvement—the great change in public sentiment, the verdict of science against alcohol, the dissemination of knowledge in regard to the evils of strong drink, and the improved condition of the laws. One hundred years ago everybody drank. Clergymen and deacons, the best citizens and statesmen, were frequently the worse for liquor, and nothing was thought of it. To have a ministerial convention or a church gathering of any kind without a bountiful supply of all sorts of alcoholic beverages would have been considered altogether impossible. Dr. Leonard Woods, of Andover, who died in 1854, said, "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintance forty ministers who were intemperate." Another gentleman living in those times subsequently said in a Boston newspaper: "I have a list of one hundred and twenty-three intemperate deacons in Massachusetts, forty-three of whom became sots; a good many deacons in New England died drunkards." This is but one item which shows

what the moral condition of things was in our grandfathers' days —those good old times. And things were equally bad in regard to licentiousness. There certainly is a different feeling in the air now. Things that once were readily tolerated would now be severely frowned upon. Resolutions of public bodies such as were passed by the last General Conference, condemning in the strongest terms the slightest complicity with the liquor traffic by voice, vote, or influence, and declaring relentless warfare against the saloon and the license system, show that the tide of public opinion is magnificently higher than it once was and is steadily rising all the time. It has already achieved much in banishing the diabolical business from a large portion of the land, and is going straight on till it makes a clean sweep of the whole.

A similar advance has taken place in many other directions, for the proper recital of which no space can be taken. Prison reform has done marvels to improve the condition of the jail population. Only about a century ago English law recognized two hundred and twenty-three capital crimes. Hanging was the penalty for about everything, even the most trivial offenses. Off to the gallows men were sent by the hundreds for really nothing. The criminal laws of the most civilized countries were atrociously savage and were relentlessly administered, and the condition of the prisons was simply horrible. All that has been wholly changed. The rights of women have come to be recognized as never before, and the rights of children. How numerous almost beyond enumeration the philanthropic agencies of every kind that have been set in motion for the amelioration of all sorts of suffering—hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, dispensaries, institutions for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the idiotic, the insane, homes for the aged and the orphan, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals and cruelty to children! Most of these are of comparatively recent growth, and are being marvelously multiplied every day. Political and religious liberty of every kind is greatly growing. Reform is the watchword of the hour, and never in any age of the world did virtue and morality, purity and honesty, have so strong a hold on the people. No progress? What can people be thinking about who say this? Where are their eyes, and their ears, and their heads?

THE GAINS OF RELIGION.

Driven from point to point, some of the croakers make a last desperate stand here, asserting that whatever may be the mental

and moral progress there is not as much genuine religion as there used to be. But it is just in this direction that the real facts, properly considered, afford us the largest reason for praising God. It is because of the religious gains that there have been gains in the other matters mentioned. For religion is the most fundamental fact in all history, the main factor in every sort of wholesome growth. If it were to lose its grip on mankind or decline in influence vainly should we look for any advance in morals or any improvement in the physical, social, and industrial condition of mankind. Irreligion, infidelity, is utterly destructive of all that makes life best worth having, all that promotes the progress of the race. Infidelity is high treason against civilization. Hence all that has been said thus far goes clearly to show that true religion must be of necessity advancing. There are also many other facts and figures to prove it.

How glorious has been the advance of the Christian religion as compared with the imperfect and inferior faiths which it is steadily displacing. By the year 1500 there had come to be about one hundred millions of Christians in the world. By 1800 there were two hundred millions. But by 1900 there will be not far from five hundred millions, for there are almost that now. While it took eighteen centuries to get two hundred millions, it took only one century more for the number to leap to five hundred millions. It must be rather hard to find much ground for croaking in that fact. But still more startling are the figures when we come to look at the numbers under Christian governments. A century ago there were three hundred and forty millions under the sway of Christian rulers. Now there are eight hundred and forty millions, or about four sevenths of the population of the globe; and the other three sevenths cannot move hand or foot except as Christian powers permit. Is there not some cause for encouragement here? Practically all the foreign commerce of the world—and what that means anybody can see—is in Christian hands, and of the twenty-one million tons engaged in it seventeen and a quarter million tons belong to Protestant powers. Protestants have increased within the century threefold, while Roman Catholics have only doubled. And, still better, it is the English-speaking nations, those most energetically Christian, most progressively Protestant, that are advancing most rapidly of all. They have multiplied fivefold within the century, while the population of the world has only doubled. In another century they will be at least eight hundred millions strong, and will completely dominate the globe. In John

Wesley's day, one hundred and twenty-five years ago, only five parts in thirty of the world's population were Christians. To-day between nine or ten parts in thirty are Christians. A century ago Christians were only twenty per cent of the whole population, or as one to four compared with non-Christians. Now they are about thirty per cent, if not thirty-three, or about one to two.

If it is said that this is but an increase of nominal Christians we are ready with a still closer test. The communicants in the Protestant Churches of America through all the periods of our national history have been steadily gaining on the population. In 1800 there was one communicant for fourteen and one half inhabitants—a very small proportion. In 1850 there was one for every six and one half; in 1870 one for every five and a half; in 1880 one for every five; in 1890 there were over thirteen million communicants, or one for less than five. There has been a gain of ten million communicants in the evangelical Churches of this country since 1800—a gain without parallel in religious history. That does not look as if we were going behind very much. Tried by the severest test, in the teeth of the immense immigration with which we have had to contend, most of it hostile to evangelical Protestantism, we have still gained at a faster rate than has the population.

Another point. The Christian faith, besides spreading more and more widely over the world, was never so firmly rooted in the affections and convictions of men as now, never so pure in quality as well as large in quantity. How vast the improvement by the Reformation under Luther! How vast the improvement by the revival under Wesley! How signal has been the defeat since then of high Calvinism, that travesty of the Gospel which once so largely prevailed! There never was so simple, so reasonable, so sensible, so biblical a statement of Christian truth as that which now is commonly made. The spirit of inquiry and investigation now abroad in the land, which makes some people uneasy, is really one of the best signs of the times. Theology has certainly been improved. Mediæval monstrosities have been shaken off. We are in far better condition to meet the attacks of infidelity than ever before. Those attacks have everywhere failed to make any important impression on the defenses of the faith. And infidelity has not a tithe of the power it had a hundred years ago. New churches are being built in this country alone at the rate of one and a half for every working hour every day the whole year through,

and the missionary movement has swept so boldly into prominence in the last fifty years that it seems practically like a new thing in the earth.

In view of all this and a dozen other things which there is no space to mention it is perfectly plain that our God is marching on. In view of it all are we not fully warranted in declaring that the pitiful wail to which we are sometimes treated, that the world is growing worse and the times are fearfully degenerate, is absolutely ridiculous, unworthy of serious thought?

> The world is growing better, no matter what they say,
> The light is shining brighter in one refulgent ray;
> And though deceivers murmur and turn another way,
> Yet still the world grows better and better every day.

The venerable "good old times," dear as they are in memory to many minds, were not even at their best as good as are these. It is true there are great evils in the world, and a very dark picture could be drawn by dealing exclusively with the misery and poverty and crime that are so plentifully to be found. But the point to be oberved is that things were much worse in the past, and that not a very remote past, either. We have not yet reached the millennium, but there has certainly been great improvement. Anyone who says there has not must be set down as ignorant of history and of the world at large. He shows that he is not acquainted with anything but what he sees right around him or reads in the daily papers. He takes too short views, too limited and onesided views. He is not competent to form any judgment in the matter. We need not and must not follow these pessimistic thinkers, who have traduced and disfigured every age. We have a perfect right to the stimulus of life. Victory is in the air, not defeat. In spite of all obstacles and hindrances the world moves forward. It is sweeping out further and further into the dawn. The light is breaking, the morning cometh, the day is at hand. The golden age is not in the past, but in the future. The promised land is just ahead.

> Though some hearts brood upon the past, our eyes
> With smiling futures glisten;
> Lo, now the dawn bursts up the skies,
> Lean out your souls and listen.
> The world rolls freedom's radiant way,
> And ripens with our sorrow;
> The bars of hell are strong to-day—
> The Christ shall rise to-morrow.

THE ARENA.

EVOLUTION ON TRIAL.

Is it not time to call a halt? We have been making concessions, yielding point after point to the evolutionists, till we have found ourselves almost pushed from the outposts to the citadel of our faith, helping to fulfill the prophecy of Herbert Spencer, in his *Biology*, that the time would come when the supernatural would be "pushed out" altogether. Truly, that would be a dismal retreat, and for what? Atheistic evolution has been on trial for at least thirty years. What is the outcome? Virchow, from the advance posts of science, sends back the word, "The missing link not found." Perhaps he never heard of Professor Huxley's "horse" (?), a creature about the size of a wolf, with never a hoof yet evolved. We have been waiting for facts and have been met with fallacies—theories for truths, pretensions for proofs. What is the secret of such persistence? The purpose to push the Deity out of his universe. It is Hume's "No evidence can prove a miracle." It is Kant's dogged assertion that "no cause within nature can also give origin to nature." Professor Tyndall sees the nightmare of anthropomorphism even in the creation of Darwin's "primordial forms."

Here are some of the difficulties of Darwinian evolution: 1. A chance-made universe teeming with teleology and design—a contradiction, an absurdity. 2. "Life without previous life"—an unproved and improbable hypothesis. 3. Species developing into new species without any known connecting links. 4. Two negative principles, selection and adaptation, with all the potency of positive powers, producing a sentient world, the one by destroying, the other by changing what is already in existence. 5. Strata of fossiliferous rocks with definite boundary lines, separating species from species, but no forms *in transitu*. Where are all these half-developed creatures—the generations of bees and butterflies with only incipient wings, eagles with pinions powerless for flight, bulls without horns, elephants without tusks, apes without tails. 6. That inexorable law—"the survival of the fittest"—allowing monstrous creatures to live until they could be evolved into beings of permanent symmetry and beauty. 7. The enormous number of chances required to evolve a new organ in a series of generations, first its production, next its recurrence, then its growth—ten billions of chances for failure against one for success in only ten generations—as though printer's type, spilled out at random, should after billions of trials spell out an "Iliad" or a "Paradise Lost." 8. The clashing laws of heredity and variation, the first tending to permanence, the second to instability and a kind of fickle experimentation. 9. The vast extent of time required for the evolution of living creatures compared with the limited age of the living world—say fifty million years, Darwin's utmost estimate. Now, it has been shown that the coral insect has been building in exactly the same style for about two hundred thou-

sand years, with no evidence of any variation in form or habits of work in all that time. Only two hundred and fifty of such æons are required to exhaust the limits of successive life. How and when and where did evolution do its work. 10. Variations of type merging into stability and fixedness with no directing hand—unlike Darwin's variations among pigeons, which were forced and unnatural, even reverting to the original type, if left alone. 11. The formation of organs fitted only for a future use and for an untried element—as the eye, with all its humors and lenses, formed in the dark, yet fitted for the light—the human eye, mobile, wide-ranging, farseeing; the eye of the dragon-fly, with its twelve and a half thousand facets, suited for observation in rapid flight; the eye of the bird, large, keen, adaptable. Aimless evolution somehow stumbled upon these magnificent results! As Martineau suggests, "A microscope invented in a city of the blind could hardly surprise us more." 12. The adaptation of plants to animals, as that of the orchid, stored with honey to attract the moth, then scattering its pollen upon its visitor for the fertilization of other orchids. 13. The marvelous instincts of animals. 14. The mind of man, conscious of a free will and a sense of accountability, yet evolved from a monod or from the slime of the sea—freedom coupled with mechanism, consciousness of power springing from insensate matter, confusion worse confounded! 15. The contrast of nature, with its apparent aims and ends and multitudinous adaptations of means to results, with the works of man, the latter leading back to a conscious will, the former leading back to an unknowable something—or nothing.

Such is evolution in its widest and wildest sense; and we may venture to prophesy that future generations will be astonished at the credulity of their ancestors, who could gulp down such preposterous propositions while straining at the simple teachings of evangelical theism. We must fight this godless evolution and its abstract and undefinable ally, agnosticism, unto the death. They are the deadly foes of all living faith and spiritual life. Evolutionists knock madly at the doors of life and say, "Grant us only a beginning!" Ah! but that discloses the God of creation; and as no one believes in a dead Deity it is easy to believe in a living and loving God, holding not only his universe in his grasp of power, but each of his redeemed and adopted children, as a mother whose circling arms hold her babe to her bosom. T. M. Griffith.

Philadelphia, Pa.

"LIKE PEOPLE, LIKE PRIEST."

The proverb, "Like people, like priest," is usually reversed when quoted, and made to read, "Like priest, like people." The prophet (Hos. iv, 6–11) was describing the sinfulness of the people, and the proverb was given to show the effect of their lives upon the priesthood. The inevitable result of widespread demoralization among a people is to tone down their religious teachers. Quite unintentionally and unconsciously we lower our standard of morals by constant contact with those who are

in degraded moral conditions. What is at first shocking is soon endured, then condoned, and after a time practiced. It is still true that—

> Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
> As to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The principle involved in the proverb and lines quoted find frequent illustration in heathen lands. There are many Europeans and Americans in China who, by contact with the heathen, have gradually taken on heathen vices. At first heathen practices were shocking and even horrifying, but time and contact gradually blunted their sensibilities, and little by little they have yielded until they have become even more degraded and shameless than the heathen. They are vividly described by St. Paul in Rom. i, 28–32.

The same principle finds illustration in these Eastern lands in a less offensive manner among the people who have come here as religious teachers. Their contact with heathen philosophy and worship has, in some instances, led them to what they now regard as an appreciation of the truth these systems contain and a readiness to incorporate that truth into the Christian system. There are a few ministers who came here many years ago and who, unfortunately, became connected with government affairs, who are now ready to incorporate some of the most important teachings of Confucius with Christian theology, and thus to practically unite the two systems.

One of the most prominent features of Confucianism is ancestral worship. In their temples they worship before the tablets of Confucius and other sages. They go to the graves of their ancestors at stated periods and offer their sacrifices and worship the spirits of the dead. It is now proposed to take ancestral worship into the Christian system. It is claimed that the acceptance of Christ need not necessarily interfere with this custom. It is believed that this concession on the part of Christian teachers will make Christianity more popular and render its success far more certain and rapid.

Recently I heard a doctor of divinity who has been in China many years quote from the Sermon on the Mount, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill," and then go on to say, substantially, that Jesus did not come to destroy any truth, but to add to and complete any system containing truth, no matter where it might be found. His theory appears to be that Confucianism as an ethical system is in the main good, but needs the teachings of Christ to complete it—to bring it to perfection. Thus the teachings of Confucius and of Christ can be united and a complete system constructed. It was a clear case, unintentional, of course, of perverting the words of the great Teacher by quoting only a part of a most important utterance. The whole passage reads, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." If the Lord had said, "Think not that I

am come to destroy existing systems of religion as such, but to complete them by supplying what they lack," the theory of the reverend doctor would have seemed more reasonable. Jesus did not come to complete and fulfill Confucianism, but to fulfill the *law and the prophets.* The learned doctor's idea seemed to be that Confucius taught the truth concerning human relations, and Jesus taught the truth concerning divine relations, and so by putting the two together the Chinese would have a perfect system of truth.

One of the dangers now threatening Christianity in the East is compromise with heathenism. The advocates of this policy are, no doubt, finding much to encourage them in the proceedings of the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago, in which it seems to have been conceded that all religions are more or less divine, and that they must hereafter mutually respect each other. When one turns to his Bible and notes the denunciations of all idolatrous systems and worship, and then looks toward Chicago and sees Buddhism, Confucianism, Brahmanism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity in mutual embrace, he can hardly avoid asking, What does it mean?

As a spectacular performance the appearance in the Chicago Congress of Buddhist, Confucianist, Mohammedan, Brahman, and Christian priests and ministers upon the same platform calling each other brethren was, no doubt, a great success; but did it help or hurt Christianity? Suppose the priests of these religions here in China should say to the Christian missionaries, "It has been decided by the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago that all systems of religions are divine, and that each system is peculiarly adapted to the peoples to whom it has been given. Why trouble us with your strange doctrines? Return to your own countries, and allow us to practice the religions that have come down to us from our ancestors in peace." What answer could they give?

Fraternization by Christian ministers upon terms of equality with the robed and mitered priests of heathenism may have a fine scenic effect upon a World's Fair audience at Chicago, but a view of their deluded, degraded, naked dupes and slaves in their native lands is quite another thing. Has the World's Congress of Religions brought heathen religions up or has it let the Christian religion down? If they have fallen into each other's arms it would seem that one or the other, or perhaps both, must have happened. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?"

Shanghai, China. A. B. Leonard.

WERE ALL ANSWERS TO PRAYER PROVIDED AND ALLOTTED FROM ETERNITY?

If we understand Dr. Mudge, in his article on Prayer in a former *Review*, he takes the affirmative. He quotes from Bushnell with distinct approval, as follows: "God can never once make a new purpose in time, because he can never meet a new case which had not already come into knowledge and had its merits discovered and its allotments deter-

mined." He then comments thus: "His purposes were made from eternity, made with full knowledge of all the prayers that would be offered and with special adaptation to them," etc. This may be good theology for a Methodist minister, and it may be what is taught in the schools; but to an unsophisticated layman it seems strongly tinctured with Calvinism. What are God's purposes but his decrees? His purposes cannot be thwarted or resisted. If all the answers to prayer were from eternity allotted and determined it reasonably follows that all things were allotted and determined. The doctor sustains his views by reference to various Calvinistic authors. I would fain hope that it was because he could quote no Methodist.

The import of the doctor's views is that God finished all things "*in the beginning*," and that since this creation he has had no new volition and never can have any. As Bushnell says, in the above quotation, "God can never once make a new purpose in time." He rested from his labors literally and forever. It does not relieve the matter to say, as is said in one of his quotations, that foreknowledge has no causative effect. His purposes were made from all eternity, and his purposes are certainly causative and efficient. If the doctor intends to assert only the doctrine that God foreknows all things that may ever come to pass, with diffidence I suggest that such doctrine is more fatal to free will than that of the Calvinistic decrees. The decrees may be and, as we understand from the Scriptures, are often changed; but even the Almighty cannot change any fact that has come to his knowledge. We grant that knowledge can have no causative effect; but nothing can be known until it has existence. God necessarily knows all things, because he pervades the universe; but he can know only what exists, and his knowledge necessarily coincides with the truth. Whatever future events he knows he knows because he has determined them and given them the quality of being known. The doctor asserts that God "fills all time and has always been as present with what we call *now* as at the given moment when we reach it." The necessary consequence of this view is that when God created Adam the whole history of the race was present with him. All the sin and suffering of time and hereafter were there present before him, and by one awful fiat he spoke the whole into existence.

The doctor's theory may be good theology, built upon the supposed necessity of God's omniscience including a knowledge of everything that shall come to pass; but it does not seem to accord with the tenor of the Scripture, and God's omniscience needs no support from such a theory. He necessarily knows all things that are subjects of knowledge. But he has made his free moral agents lords over their own actions, and those actions cannot be subjects of knowledge until determined by the free agent. To the unsophisticated reader the Scriptures indicate that God has frequently been disappointed in those actions, and that he sometimes changes his decrees. He seems to have been disappointed with the conduct of Adam, and he was certainly disappointed by the actions of the antediluvians, and by the conduct of the children of Israel in the wilder-

ness, and by the conduct of Saul and various others. He changed his decrees regarding Nineveh, and he distinctly says in Jeremiah xviii, 7–10, that it is a part of the system of his general administration to change his decrees according to the exigencies: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them," etc.

S. HUBBARD.*

Geneseo, N. Y.

THE MILLENNIUM.

IN the July–August number of the *Review* there appeared a brief article on the Millennium, to which a reply seems called for. The first objection raised is against our taking the term millennium "in a material sense." This is exactly of a piece with the objections raised by Jewish and Gentile rationalists against our taking the conception of the Messiah by the Holy Ghost "in a material sense." We ask, Do Christians believe the incarnation of the Son of God because they can explain it or because they think it a fact well attested by human witnesses, or simply because the word says so? We find no greater difficulty in believing the word on future facts than on past facts. We see "interminable difficulty" in the way of those, rather, who wish, in the face of rationalistic unbelief, to hold fast to the real, material incarnation of the eternal Word, and who then turn round and, borrowing the weapons of the rationalists, proceed to spiritualize all that is predicted of Messiah's glorious kingdom over Israel. Literalizing backward and spiritualizing forward is theological seesawing.

We are next taken to task for not admitting "that Christ's kingdom was inaugurated at his [first] advent," and for not believing that the fallen tabernacle of David was built again when Christ "ascended the throne as the eternal successor of David, to reign henceforth over spiritual Israel," etc. Of course, we decline to believe any statements to that effect, except on as plain New Testament authority as can be produced to show that Jesus was the Christ. No New Testament writer states that Old Testament prophecy concerning Christ's kingdom found its fulfillment during Christ's life, or at Pentecost, or since. None is ever guilty of the device of transplanting David's "fallen tabernacle" to heaven. How could Christ, by ascending to heaven, become, in any sense whatever, the "eternal successor" of a king who never reigned there? Scripture never states that David's "tabernacle" means God's throne; nor that the "house of Jacob" means the (Gentile) Church; nor that believers are subjects of Christ's kingdom. Such looseness in the interchange of biblical terms, each of which has a definite and unchanging exegetical value, is not only unwarranted, but would soon convert the "impregnable rock" of the word into soft mud.

* The *Review* is especially glad to welcome the intelligent laymen of the Church to its "Arena."—ED.

Any theory which makes the ascension of Christ to heaven a restoration of David's throne over Israel confounds the human ancestor of Jesus, David, with his heavenly Father, God; merges his true Messiahship back into his eternal divine sonship. The very first book of the New Testament, Matthew's gospel, by the Spirit entitled, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," is stripped of all specific meaning and purpose. No motive is left for the providential guarding and careful recording of Jesus's lineal descent from the royal house of David, none for his being a Jew at all. He might as well have been born a Roman, or a Persian, or any other son of man if all those prophecies are to receive, finally, but a spiritual fulfillment.

Again, the Church, Christ's body, bride, and fullness,* is never once in the New Testament confounded with Israel, God's eternal, earthly people,† chiefest among the nations,‡ sole channel of salvation for them.§ And these latter, for a time established in worldly dominion, for a time treading down Jerusalem and the Jew, and the mission field for the outgathering of Christ's body, the Church, are never confounded with either of the other two.‖ Over Israel and the nations,¶ not over the Church, which stands in wifely subjection only to her Lord and Head (Eph. v, 24), is the Christ to rule. In this rule the Church is called to share,** not in this age, but in the ages to come.†† Until then no kingdom, no ruling for her, but suffering, rejection, cross.‡‡

"My kingdom is not of this world" is hurled at us. Our opponents have a way of handling this word of the Messiah, as though he had said "εἰς" τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, and not "ἐκ" τούτου τοῦ κόσμου. We bow to the absolute authority of this word *as it reads.* We decline, therefore, to believe in or to look for any establishment of his kingdom by means of existing (that is, τούτου τοῦ κόσμου) agencies. For these all, however completely under the control of the Spirit, are "of" this present, perishable, corruptible cosmos. No amount of Holy Ghost power will ever, in this age, transform them into something unchanging and incorruptible. We believe Christ's kingdom, when it comes, will come "out of" heaven entirely. Its heirs must be born thence now. Thus, and thus only, will be secured infallibility of judgment, incorruptibility of principle, stability of executive power—in a word, likeness with Him—in the coming kings and princes of the earth.

To refute the assertion that "in no place throughout all his teachings does he refer to any future period when these hopes respecting a temporal reign shall be fulfilled," we would call up only two passages. In Luke xix, 11–15, the Master speaks a parable "because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." Its objective point is, unmistakably, the postponement of the appearing of the expected kingdom until the nobleman "went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." The allusion to the practice required of the Herodi-

* Eph. i, 23.
§ Isa. ii, 3; John iv, 22.
** Rom. viii, 17.
† 1 Chron. xvii, 22.
‖ 1 Cor. x, 32.
†† Col. iii, 4; 1 John iii, 2.
‡ Jer. xxxi, 7.
¶ Psa. ii, 6, 8; lxxii, 2, 11.
‡‡ 2 Cor. iv, 8.

ans, of coming to Rome before inaugurating their sovereignty over Judea, was familiar and striking. The obvious teaching is, no kingdom inauguration until his return. The second passage is the Lord's reply to the question of his disciples in Acts i, 6, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" We are told by commentators that these disciples, after hearing the good news of the kingdom from Jesus himself, after preaching it and seeing it divinely attested by signs and wonders, after additional instruction by their risen Master concerning the kingdom of God during the forty days before his ascension, "were still in gross ignorance concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom," were "still hopelessly wedded to low, carnal, Jewish conceptions of the same." We repudiate this slander upon their intelligence. We abhor the reflection cast upon the ability of the great Teacher. We shudder to think what a tremendous weapon is thus pressed into the hand of skeptic and unbeliever. For, if these disciples must stand convicted of utter incapacity rightly to understand Christ's teaching on the one central theme of his preaching, what other subject did they understand? We prefer to believe Christ's own words to them, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." We believe the Master succeeded in opening their eyes on the point which had sorely perplexed them. And thus their inquiry calls out no rebuff or reproof from the Master, but receives acknowledgment in his reply, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." Times and seasons for what? For reestablishment of the Davidic theocracy over Israel as an earthly nation. All the laws of the construction of language, of the relation of answer to question, of context to connection, demand this and forbid any other interpretation. The error of the apostles before Jesus rose from the dead was in thinking that the Messiah while in his mortal flesh should fulfill the old prophecies. Theologians in our day will have it that the Church, the fallible, corruptible, and divided body, while in mortal flesh must fulfill, nay, is itself the very fulfillment of those prophecies. Which is the greater and more inexcusable error?

In conclusion, which is the more "carnal" conception of "kingdom," "reign," and "conquest"—that which denies to believers in this age all assumption of power, authority, and dominion, assigning to them, while in their mortal bodies, the position, exclusively, of humiliation, service, trial, suffering, and patient waiting for Christ; or that which in one breath tells the Church that she is, indeed, to be like him in this world, despised and rejected, and in the next tells her to "conquer the world," to take on and exercise authority, influence, and dominion in matters social and political even in this present evil world? Let spiritual things be spiritually discerned by the spiritual. But let the word of the Lord stand for what it says, "And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever."

E. F. Stroeter.

University Park, Colo.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT—ARRIVAL AT COLLEGE.

In the progress of the young Christian toward a thorough education he has now passed the first period of formal educational life. Three years, more or less, have been spent at the academy. He has thus laid the foundations essential to the successful prosecution of advanced studies. The point which he has now reached is one of exceeding interest and importance. The college has a great charm about it to a young student. He has dreamed of it through all his preparatory years. He leaves home with a sense of importance new to him. His parents and friends share his feelings and give him the advice which they think will be needful amid his new environments and, as they fear, his new temptations. His first entrance upon the college campus is an occasion of strange delight. Everything around him is full of interest. The buildings are in some respects different from those to which he has been accustomed. The libraries are larger, and he sees everywhere the evidence of the care of the wise and benevolent founders and patrons of the institution.

His first duty will be to call upon the president or other officer designated to receive new students. If he has not already passed the examinations for admission he will, of course, be anxious until that has been done. When admitted, his first duty will be to secure a suitable roommate. This may be done by the college authorities in accordance with established regulations. If not, and if he is at liberty to make his own choice, he will do well to make haste slowly. One's roommate in college is a very important factor in his educational life. The qualities necessary in a suitable roommate are varied. All good people are not companionable, or, at least, not desirable to have in close association. A roommate may do much to make or to mar one's success in student life. While character and characteristics are very important, his habits of study and his ideals should not be forgotten. If one is associated day after day with a desultory student, or a companion to whom study is distasteful and who has no real object in view that is worth attaining, he cannot fail to be affected injuriously. On the other hand, constant companionship with a fellow-student of lofty aspirations and of careful habits is a constant inspiration to scholastic and moral advancement.

His companions at table are a part of his educational life. The daily talk of a rude man during meals may be very injurious. Men unpolished in manners or rude in speech should be avoided if possible. In case it be possible to make selections for the table as well as for the room his choice should fall on young men of intellectual acuteness, good manners, and scholarly tastes. Nothing has here been said of the duty of securing in these selections those who are religious, if possible, as this is assumed to be clearly recognized. Our ministerial student should always breathe the atmosphere of piety.

THE CULTIVATION OF ENGLISH STYLE.

One of the incidental requisites for ministerial success is the accurate and refined use of the English tongue. We cannot think that an undue emphasis is laid upon this phase of sermonic preparation and pulpit delivery in our universities and schools of theology. While laying all emphasis upon the weightier matters of the law, without which no ministerial furnishing is ever complete, it is encouraging that our great centers of education are also giving the subject the attention befitting its high importance. The pew should not surpass the pulpit in the correct and facile use of the mother tongue. With college graduates who have entered medicine, the law, or commercial life as auditors in all the churches it behooves the man who ministers to them in holy things that he lag not behind in the quality of his address to them. Though the misfortunes of early life may have prevented his graduation from classic halls, he, nevertheless, has a duty toward these particular auditors; that fortune has less highly favored him is no excuse for any slovenliness or inaccuracy of speech which it is within his power to remedy. The newspaper, also, in its daily circulation, the frequent magazine literature of the day, and the accessible libraries of all our larger villages and cities, to the extent that they act as educators of the common people, are a spur to the ministry of the day to the study and mastery of the English language.

As to the methods in which this most desirable end is to be brought about no invariable rule may, perhaps, be laid down. The circumstances of our ministers so widely differ as to earlier education, present environment, and personal facilities that to formulate any specific direction would be foreign to the present purpose. We may, however, venture the suggestion that the judgment of our best journalists, such as is expressed in the accompanying extract, has its definite value. A veteran editor, known for his terse and vigorous English, gives to young journalists the following advice, which merits the attention of ministers as well, and which, for its illustration of the excellencies to which it exhorts, is deserving of insertion in full:

> After a knowledge of the English language comes, of course, in regular order, the practice, the cultivation of the ability to use it, the development of that art which in its latest form we call style, and which distinguishes one writer from another. This style is something of such evanescent, intangible nature that it is difficult to tell in what it consists. I suppose it is in the combination of imagination and humor, with the entire command of the word-resources of the language, all applied together in the construction of sentences. I suppose that is what makes style. It is a very precious gift, but it is not a gift that can always be acquired by practice or by study.
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> It may be added that certainly in its highest perfection it can never be acquired by practice. I do not believe, for instance, that everybody who should endeavor to acquire such a style as the late Dr. Channing possessed could succeed in doing so. He was a famous writer fifty years ago in Boston, and his style is of the most beautiful and remarkable character. As a specimen of it let me suggest to you his essay on Napoleon Bonaparte. That was, perhaps, the very best of the critical analyses of Napoleon that succeeded to the period of Napoleon worship, which had run all over the world. Channing's style was sweet, pure, and delightful, without having those surprises, those extraordinary felicities, that mark the style of some writers. It was perfectly simple, translucent throughout, without effort, never

leaving you in any doubt as to the idea; and you closed the book with the feeling that you had fallen in with the most sympathetic mind, whose instructions you might sometimes accept or sometimes reject, but whom you could not regard without entire respect and admiration.

Another example of a very beautiful and admirable style which is well worth study is that of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In his writings we are charmed with the new sense and meaning that he seems to give to familiar words. It is like reading a new language to take a chapter of Hawthorne; yet it is perfectly lovely because with all its suggestiveness it is perfectly clear, and when you have done with it you wish you could do it yourself.

The next point to be attended to is this: What books ought you to read? There are some books that are indispensable, a few books. Almost all books have their use, even the silly ones, and an omnivorous reader, if he reads intelligently, need never feel that his time is wasted even when he bestows it on the flimsiest trash that is printed; but there are some books that are absolutely indispensable to the kind of education that we are contemplating, and to the profession that we are considering; and of all these the most indispensable, the most useful, the one whose knowledge is most effective, is the Bible. There is no book from which more valuable lessons can be learned. I am considering it now not as a religious book, but as a manual of utility, of professional preparation, and professional use for a journalist. There is perhaps no book whose style is more suggestive and more instructive, from which you learn more directly that sublime simplicity which never exaggerates, which recounts the greatest event with solemnity, of course, but without sentimentality or affectation, none which you open with such confidence and lay down with such reverence; there is no book like the Bible. When you get into a controversy and want exactly the right answer, when you are looking for an expression, what is there that closes a dispute like a verse from the Bible? What is it that sets up the right principle for you, which pleads for a policy, for a cause, so much as the right passage of Holy Scripture?

Then, everybody who is going to practice the newspaper profession ought to know Shakespeare. He is the chief master of English speech. He is the head of English literature. Considered as a writer, considered as a poet, considered as a philosopher, I do not know another who can be named with him. He is not merely a constructor of plays that are powerful and impressive when they are shown upon the stage, with all the auxiliaries of lights and scenery and characters; he is a high literary treasure, a mighty storehouse of wisdom, the great glory of the literature of our language; and, if you don't know him, knowing the language may not be of much avail after all. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, and I take it back; but it is an object to know Shakespeare; it is indispensable to a journalist.

There is another English author who ought not to be neglected by any young man who means to succeed in this profession. I mean John Milton, and I invite your attention to that immortal essay of his, too little known in our day, the "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It is a treasury of the highest wisdom, of the noblest sentiments, and of the greatest instruction; study that, and you will get at once the philosophy of English liberty and the highest doctrine that has ever been promulgated, to my knowledge, with regard to the freedom of the press.

WEIGHING OUR SUCCESSES.

The measure of success is a man's abiding personality and his abiding work. He whose influence for good lives in his achievements is the one who really lives. Mere transient popularity and temporary success are of little worth. They are the flowers which are beautiful for a day, but wither with the first breeze of the evening. They appear to the eye and gratify the sense, but leave no trace even of existence. Such is not the success of the true preacher. His work abides because it is God's work and is wrought by God's Spirit. "If any man's work abide . . . he shall receive a reward." This leads to the conclusion that the young preacher should seek such preparation and perform such labor as shall last. He must learn early in life to estimate at their proper value the mere praise and blame of men. He must not be elated if his sermons are

commended by admirers; he must not be cast down if they do not always win popular approval.

How then shall we weigh our success in our ministry? What standard shall we employ? Shall we make the social or the financial position of our Church the standard? In God's kingdom there are no first, second, or third class churches, and no first, second, or third class preachers. There is no keeping up our "grade" in the divine economy. All who are called to preach are equal in rank, although all preachers may not be equal in ability. They may do different work, they may command the attention of persons of different social and intellectual gifts, but they are all "ambassadors for Christ." They all persuade men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God.

It would not be wise, therefore, to weigh our successes by the size or wealth of the church to which we are called to minister. It is true there is a kind of talent required in certain churches, and these churches can only be secured by those who are adapted to them. But the preacher must beware lest he regard the securing of some important pastorate as the achievement of success. That church exists for the performance of certain work, and it is his duty to see that this work is performed. He must be its leader and instructor in its great enterprises of personal salvation and practical benevolence. He may hold the position for a full pastoral term to the satisfaction of the congregation, and yet not be in the best sense a successful pastor. Only as he shall be the instrument of accomplishing all the good which that church ought to do, or is qualified to do, can he be in the highest sense successful. Once in a while the minister is forced to ask, "Am I succeeding as I ought? Where can I find a model of success?" And he will look around over his Conference and find some one of less talent and less opportunities of training and of work who has really done the work of the gospel minister, who has saved men and women, who has edified the Church, who has done good in manifold ways and, even though unknown outside of his immediate circle, is indeed "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

NOTES FOR STUDENTS ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES."

This important book on a most important subject is placed early in the list of studies prescribed by the bishops. It requires careful and painstaking study. Some notes briefly calling attention to its salient features and the methods to be pursued in its study may be helpful, especially to those who have not had a previous theological training.

The student should first note and impress upon his memory the purpose of the book as stated by the author, taking care to define clearly the meaning of the several terms, "genuineness," "credibility," "integrity," on which there is often confusion. Accurate definition is important. Only by careful discrimination of terms and by keeping in mind the author's purpose will the subordinate parts be readily retained in the memory.

He will do well also to group in outline the points discussed in the introductory chapter, which, in brief, may be stated as follows:

1. The scope of the discussion.
2. The mental attitude in which we should enter upon the study.
3. The scholastic acquisitions which are important in order to pursue the subject critically.
4. The author's justification of the difficulties which are to be found in the Bible.
5. The human and the divine elements which appear in the word of God.
6. The views of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, Origen, and others on the inspiration of the Scriptures.

These points are clearly stated by the author; but the student who is preparing for examination will do well to make an analysis for himself and to commit it to memory. It will not be difficult to memorize the analysis after it has been carefully prepared. The subjects are arranged in logical order, and thus can be more readily retained. When the analysis has been thoroughly mastered it becomes much easier to recall the details at the time of the examination. The whole discussion being before the mind in the outline, the bearing of each subordinate argument or illustration will be readily understood. This method should be supplemented by reading any discussions on the same topics which may be found elsewhere. Take, for example, the fourth point mentioned above. The author shows that the difficulties which are found in the word of God are analogous to difficulties which we meet in the physical world. On this point the student will do wisely to recall and read anew the discussion in Butler's *Analogy*, where this subject is very exhaustively treated.

A SUGGESTION.

It is the purpose of the "Itinerants' Club" to furnish such papers as will be most helpful to younger ministers, especially to those who are pursuing their Conference studies. During the past year attention has been called to the extent of the course which has been prescribed by the Board of Bishops, and an attempt has been made to emphasize the necessity of careful preparation in order to pass successful examinations. The course is now a rigid one, and the Conference committees are giving more than ordinary attention to this part of our Conference work. Conference itinerant clubs are holding meetings for lectures and instruction, and the committees are meeting at specified periods to examine the candidates, thus facilitating systematic preparation on the part of the student. This department of the *Review* will be glad to receive communications from brethren who have well-defined views on the methods by which the "Itinerants' Club" can best aid the young men who are pursuing their Conference courses. These communications will be regarded as confidential if so stated on the part of the writer; otherwise the editor will feel at liberty to use them in whole or in part.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

FASCINATION OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

EVERYONE is interested in searching out the causes of great movements. This accounts for the numerous lives of great men and sketches of important events which continually pour from the press. It accounts for the never-failing interest manifested by believers and skeptics alike in the life of Jesus. Is it not at least striking that Renan, who spent forty years in carrying out a youthful plan to explain the origin of Christianity, should close his labors with a *History of the People of Israel?* Why was the student of the early years of Christianity fascinated with the history of the Jews? It was because he could not explain Jesus of Nazareth or the most remarkable religious movement of the world without going back to the Jews, from whom Christ sprang. But Judaism is even more than the historic mother of Christianity. There are three religions—Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism—which overleap national and race boundaries. The first two claim the Old Testament as their mother. In the Old Testament, as well as in the New, divine power hides. It is not strange, therefore, that from Germany and Holland we have almost as many histories of Israel as we have lives of Jesus. Augustine's *City of God*, the first attempt at a philosophy of history, the book which shaped the Roman Catholic hierarchy, grew out of his study of the Old Testament. The theology of the Puritans, which has largely shaped our American civilization, sprang from the same source. Every thinker who loves the philosophy of history, who delights in tracing great movements to their genetic causes, will find a strange fascination in Old Testament study. The chief reason why the history of Israel has not become the most prominent and popular study in our universities is because a prophet is needed to interpret this matchless literature. Have we not more scribes than prophets in our colleges?

PURPOSE.

OUR chief reasons for introducing a department of biblical research and archæology into the *Review* are an intense love of the Bible and a strong belief in its divine power. If we can awaken in our readers a greater interest in this book, if we can lead anyone to a profounder study of its pages, to a more intelligent conception of its growth, and to a deeper realization of its providential work in the training of the race and of its divine power yet to nourish the individual soul, we shall be satisfied.

We recognize at once the human as well as the divine elements in the book. To illustrate both these elements and to awaken interest in the Bible we shall present our readers from time to time with such facts as we can gather in regard to biblical archæology. We shall hail with joy any light which Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, or any land may throw

upon Old Testament chronology and history. We shall welcome all the light which the study of comparative religions may furnish us regarding the origin of religion and the growth of revelation. We shall aim to present without prejudice the latest assured results of historical criticism. While our space will not permit detailed representations of the processes of the critics, we shall try to place their conclusions fairly before our readers. While confining ourselves mainly to the Old Testament, we shall not hesitate, when occasion demands, to point out the victory of a supernatural philosophy in the field of New Testament criticism. Let us study the Old Testament with open minds and see if the book does not prove its divinity by furnishing us with the bread of life.

THE BURNING QUESTION.

Though the higher criticism must not monopolize our space, and though as a rule we shall discuss it only incidentally, yet any attempt to ignore so important a subject in a department like ours would be naturally attributed to cowardice. So in this number, while we are laying our corner stone, we shall consider very briefly this perplexing problem. We may say right here that higher criticism is not one of the exact sciences; nor can it be as long as imagination and preconceived notions have such sway within its domain.

In any controversy it is always well to find a common meeting place, and then to get a clear idea of the divergent ways. Critics on both sides agree that Amos and Hosea wrote between B. C. 775 and 725, and that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great literary activity among the people of Israel. At this point the views of the critics diverge. The more advanced higher critics insist that the eighth century B. C. was the first period of literary activity among the Israelites. Wellhausen, though admitting that writing had been practiced from a much earlier period, yet would restrict it to formal instruments, and that upon stone. Of this we shall speak in another issue. He thinks that a few religious songs were in existence before the ninth century; but these "were handed down from mouth to mouth." The more radical critics claim that the phrase "the law and the prophets" is misleading. The law, they say, is a fabrication of the prophets during the early part of Josiah's reign; and the story of its discovery in the temple at that time is a pure invention to give the law greater authority.

Readers very naturally inquire whether discoveries, archæological or of any nature, have been made which will force fair-minded students to accept such radical views regarding the Old Testament. We reply in the negative. Indeed, such men as Kuenen and Wellhausen boldly assert that it is impossible to construe the phenomena presented in the literature of Israel without first adopting some historical theory of the progress or retrogression of the Jewish people. In order to determine the order of the sources with any degree of certainty, literary and linguistic arguments are rejected or treated as secondary, and the aid of historical criti-

cism is invoked. The most striking proof that the critics cannot determine the relative age of documents by the study of the documents themselves is the fact that the "Priestly Document," which used to be set down by the critics as the earliest source of the Hexateuch, is now by the Grafian hypothesis made the very latest. The reason for this change is not a linguistic one, but the fact that the latest theory evolved from the brain of the critics as to the course of Israelitish history demands that this document take a late place in the materials out of which the Hexateuch was composed. Kuenen tells us frankly, "For us the Israelitish is one of the principal religions, nothing less, but also nothing more." Tiele, in his *History of Religions*, presents the naturalistic formula by which each race, including the Israelitish, has advanced from primitive worship to animism, polydemonism, polytheism, and pantheism or theism. Upon the other side investigators like Schrader and critics like Dillman and Nöldeke have reached very different conclusions from Wellhausen and Kuenen as to the development of Israelitish history. Recognizing the guiding hand of Jehovah in the national affairs of the Jewish people, the former hold that the account of the call of Abraham, the sojourn in Egypt, the deliverance through Moses, the settlement in Canaan, and the establishment of the Israelitish kingdom are narratives of real events which took place substantially as related in the biblical books. In a word, the radical critics start with a naturalistic hypothesis, and they fail to see that God favored Israel at the outset with a revelation which was followed by alternate periods of declension and progress. The historical materials are arranged not solely or chiefly according to internal marks furnished by the materials themselves, or by any side-lights from other literatures, but to a wonderful extent according to the preconceived philosophical theories of the writers.

The great question at issue between the historians and the scientists of the naturalistic and supernaturalistic schools is whether history or science can be interpreted on purely naturalistic grounds. We hold that a supernatural philosophy is demanded by both. The farther we go back in the religious history of any nation the more nearly that nation approaches a theistic conception of the universe. If we cannot discover continued light from on high in the great religious literatures outside the Bible we certainly can see some signs of original revelation by the Father of all. Be this as it may, the Bible has exercised a unique influence upon the civilization of the world. Out of the Old Testament literature sprang the New Testament, the most vital book on the globe to-day. Above all, from the people of Israel came the Saviour of the world. The first duty of the scientist or historian is to recognize facts, and then try to construe them. It would certainly be more rational to attribute the supernatural results of the Bible to a supernatural cause, especially if such a cause must be recognized in nature, than to attempt to empty all history of providential guidance and then reduce the literature of the Old Testament to the naturalistic plane of Egyptian or Assyrian literature. To account for the creation which we find in nature or for the revelation

which we find in the Bible upon the naturalistic hypothesis is to make the effect greater than the cause.

The naturalistic theory breaks down again when applied to the history of the Bible in detail; for, while granting that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great prophetic activity, how can critics maintain that this was the first period of activity among the people of Israel? How can they maintain that Elijah and Elisha could neither read nor write, or that they were but little more than raving fanatics, imitators of Canaanitish soothsayers? On such an hypothesis how is it that within a century, despite the slow progress of the Orient, we pass from this non-literary and superstitious age to the lofty religious tone and the highly finished literary products of Amos and Hosea? Or, if Wellhausen and Cheyne's theories regarding the Psalter are true, how is it that the richest and most inspiring devotional literature of all the ages was produced in an age of religious decadence, and by men whom the critics declare to be religious formalists engaged in pious fraud? Again, the prophecies, after the most thorough sifting by the critics, contain some passages which can only be interpreted as predictions of a coming Saviour of the world. How could the prophets have given the race the lofty moral teaching of the Book of Isaiah coupled with the false and superstitious claims of soothsayers? More marvelous still is the fact that from this politically insignificant race and from a tribe and family of that race designated by the prophets a person appeared who claimed that these prophecies were fulfilled in himself. Explain some prophecies away, and the fact remains that the essence of prophecies uttered more than two thousand years ago are finding their fulfillment in the influence which Christ is gaining over the world to-day. In view of the phenomena we cannot possibly explain the Old Testament except upon the theory that it contains a supernatural revelation.

Finally, while we believe that the higher criticism has thrown light upon a vast number of details as to the origin of the Old Testament, we have never been able to escape the conviction that the hypothesis of Kuenen, Graf, and others leaves the writers of the Old Testament open to the charge of fraud, innocent (?) though it be. Amos says distinctly that prophets had preceded him. Hosea makes a similar declaration. He speaks repeatedly of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and that the Lord led them out of Egypt by a prophet. Either these men were preceded by prophets, one of whom belonged to the period of the Egyptian bondage, or else Amos and Hosea were deceivers of the people. The naturalistic hypothesis is not only defective as a philosophy, but it also breaks down when applied to any one of the critical periods of Jewish history. Considering all the phenomena before us, and remembering the outcome of New Testament criticism, we believe that the higher criticism of the Old Testament will deliver the Church from the worship of the letter on one side, while upon the other side it will furnish coming generations with stronger reasons than any other generation has possessed for the conviction that "we have the word of prophecy made more sure."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

MISSIONARY COUNCILS.

The year 1893 saw several important missionary conferences, with representatives of several branches of the Christian Church participating in the proceedings. The great Decennial Conference of India was in session in Bombay when the year opened, and its discussions, with the formal papers and addresses, make two goodly volumes of over four hundred pages each, which will be of permanent value to the student of missionary movements. A general missionary conference of all the missionary societies of the continent of Europe was among the notable gatherings of the year. For the first time in its history the world saw a pan-denominational missionary conference under the Southern Cross. This first gathering for counsel of the Churches of the mission field in Australasia, composed of representatives of nineteen missionary societies from various parts of Australia, New Zealand, and other portions of the South Seas, convened at Melbourne. Another general missionary conference was held at Durban, Cape Colony, South Africa. About fifty English, Scotch, and American missionaries, representing various missionary societies laboring in South Africa, made reports of their work and took part in the deliberations. The Congress of Missions held as auxiliary to the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, composed of representatives of missionary work in large cities among depressed classes and immigrants in this country, and participated in by foremost men and women of this country and Europe and other parts of the world, while not all that it might have been made nor reaching the ideal of its projectors, will yet stand out as an important and impressive contribution to the cause of the world's evangelization; and the volumes of its proceedings, promised at an early date, will be a handsome contribution to the literature of missions.

Five such great gatherings for counsel on the methods and results of missionary plans and policies in a single year, held in widely separated centers of human influence, in Asia, Europe, Australia, Africa, and America, all having the one aim of the extension of the knowledge and power of the Christian religion, show that this department of Christian effort and thought is well to the front. Such an accidental combination of intellectual activity in any department of political or social economic character would arrest the attention of statesmen as marking a drift or tendency in human affairs—in fact, a movement which they could not ignore. The fact that these are of a religious character does not remove them from the category of significant human events. If no human statecraft has produced them they are yet within the fine diplomacy of divine providence and in the interest of a universal kingdom of Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Son of God. There is minor significance in the assemblies of a less formal nature of Christian missionaries, such as those of the International Missionary Union, held annually at Clifton Springs, N. Y., and

the union conference of all the missionaries in and about Calcutta in monthly meeting for deliberative purposes, and the still later development of this tendency in the Arima missionary conference of Japan. The village of Arima is situated in a mountain valley back of Kobe, about twelve hundred feet above sea level, and has hot and cold mineral springs. Since 1891 missionaries who have been obliged to resort thither have held conferences on the work of the missions of Japan and China and other lands. The conference of this year saw one hundred and thirty missionaries, with their wives and children, present at Arima.

PATRIOTISM IN MISSION COUNTRIES.

It is among the experiences of the modern missionaries to heathen lands to discover that patriotism has become a serious obstacle to evangelization. It is only by the intensest national spirit that Bulgaria is able to attain a solidarity that can resist the political competitions of powerful nations whose antagonisms focalize on Bulgarian boundary lines. Everything national must be fostered, all else discountenanced. The Church must be indigenous or be naturalized at the outset. Protestantism must be acclimated and assimilated. The political arena is strongly Protestant in its *personnel*. Robert College trained the men who have made and are making modern Bulgaria. They have draughted its constitution and controlled its legislature. But they can do neither except in the interest of the intensest Bulgarian nationalism. The Protestant religion, therefore, may be desired and the foreign ecclesiasticism disliked. One of the difficulties of the Methodist propaganda in Bulgaria has been to encourage this patriotic element essential to the very life of Bulgaria, and at the same time develop a Methodist church.

Patriotism has also entered into the missionary issues of Japan. Whatever else the Japanese are they are Japanese first, last, and all the time. They have sent their embassies abroad to study foreign constitutions, but only with the purpose of constructing their own, which Japan will evolve independently for itself. They experimented with foreign dress for their women, but gave it up as not an improvement on their own. They tried foreign systems of postal service, and evolved their own. They accepted the foreign educationalist, but only desired his services to familiarize Japanese teachers with foreign curricula and methods.

They accepted the foreign religious teacher in the same way. He was so enthusiastically received that it looked as if Japan might become Christian in a day; and the more so as statesmen who had no personal Christian experience thought that Japan would be compelled to accept Christianity and give it a place in the comity of the nation. But Japan had not shifted its base. It only proposed to accept the foreign ecclesiasticism far enough to see what there was in it which it desired to assimilate into Japanese national life. Hence the movement which resulted in a compromise of a number of missionaries to form the "Church of Japan," at the sacrifice of their denominationalism. But this could only be a halting

place. The Japanese believed himself able to dispense with all the creeds hitherto formulated. He would have none of them. He did not care to accept even the Apostles' Creed. He would make his own, from the Bible alone, as others assumed that they had done. He would do with religion and the Church as he had done with constitutions and naval systems and posts and women's frocks. He would examine, adopt, modify, reject, or assimilate as he judged well, in religion as he did in educational schemes. The spirit of nationalism abroad always demanded Japan for the Japanese. It has never departed from that fundamental principle in individual or national action. This will explain what seems often to be a vacillation in the Japanese and has made them to be considered a very fickle race. The misapprehension of the foreigner of the intent of the Japanese in the intermediate stage of his progress is the only ground for it. The Japanese Church to-day thinks itself sufficiently developed to take charge absolutely of its own affairs, if only the foreigner will give over his money without dictating the uses to which it is to be put.

All this may appear as the precociousness of an unbearded youth, and that element does enter into it; but it is well to bear in mind that a spirit of self-reliance is of all things that which we should hail in an oriental. A spirit of patriotism should be respected anywhere. We may differ with the Christians of Japan as to whether they have been long enough in pupilage to secure them against heresy or wasteful energy in things ecclesiastic; but the spirit of self-poise and self-direction is inherent in the problem of self-support and self-propagation. Whatever we think of it, nationalism, or patriotism, is one of the forces we have to reckon with, whether we like it or not, in the propagation of the Gospel in foreign lands, whether it be progressive as in Bulgaria and Japan, or obstructively conservative, as in Turkey, where the government will not so much as allow a constitution of a Christian Endeavor Society because it might train the young people in constitutional government.

ZENANA BAPTISM.

It has been evident for some years past that the Church must, sooner or later, face the question of providing baptism for women who have become Christians in heathen lands, where social customs of an inexorable order immure them in zenanas. It is idle to force an issue with the custom under present conditions, and it is far from sure that any sudden and severe modification would be in any wise prudent. Sir William Muir, who has made as thorough a study of social conditions of India as any living man, and who is a warm friend of Christian progress, expressed probably the judgment of all experienced persons in Hindostan, that any serious modification of the purdah system would be deleterious to good morals. In the simpler society of the Hindoos before the invasion of the Moslem rulers seclusion of women was not essential to the preservation of the respectability of the family; but the ruthless and disastrous conduct of the Mohammedans as a conquering race introduced such environments as

simply compelled the Hindoos to find in enforced privacy of females protection of the purity of the home. The whole moral tone was lowered by the presence of this freebooter in morals. The order of society has become fixed on the plane of nonassociation of the sexes. Christianity dare not seek to lower moral fastidiousness among people who are without sufficient development of moral resistance to justify the removal of artificial restraints. It would, under existing environments, compromise the character of the minister, as well as of the inmates of the homes, were he to enter these precincts to administer baptism to the women. They cannot leave the privacy shielded by the purdah. Perhaps there are twenty thousand women in the zenanas of India to-day who have become Christians and are unbaptized by virtue of the embarrassment of this social condition, which, as we have said, it is not wise at present to materially or rapidly change. These women desire baptism as the complete expression of the Christian life they have adopted and as conducive to it. What will the Church do with the question? It is already a large one and being augmented daily. It is not only what we shall do to-day, but to-morrow. A great movement is sweeping over the land, and tens of thousands of women are annually coming to Christ. Must those of them who have accepted Jesus Christ as their Saviour, through the ministries of women who can enter their abodes, be denied baptism? Shall the Church recognize lay baptism and allow authorized women visitors to baptize these women in their homes? Shall they be taught to believe that baptism is a matter of indifference, or that it is a matter which requires that they must violate their standards of existing society and their own sense of moral propriety and womanly decency, to secure it at the hands of an ordained minister? It is no small problem, and the Churches in India are probably the only competent parties to judge of the proper course to be pursued. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, composed of the missionaries of all Churches in that city and vicinity, meets monthly for the consideration of missionary questions. It is the largest body of missionaries meeting regularly in the world. They have recently given this matter of zenana baptisms most careful consideration in at least two sessions of their body. The matter was also under consideration at the Bombay Decennial Conference. There is not uniformity of view, by any means, among the missionaries themselves; but there is a deepening conviction that the issue must be squarely met ere long, and that meanwhile provision should be made in some form to cover cases of special character, but that the Hindoo home must be kept inviolate.

Thibet is the only country which can now be said to be closed to the Christian evangelist. Miss Taylor, partly in disguise, has within a year crossed China and gained entrance into the eastern edges of Thibet. Miss Taylor seems so convinced that something can be done in a missionary way that she is in England organizing a Thibet mission on the plan of the China Inland Mission.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. G. Ibbeken. This scholar has made himself a leader by his exegetical studies. Of these his researches concerning the Sermon on the Mount are the most thorough. He has produced a work on this theme worthy of a place alongside of that by Tholuck. Ibbeken holds that the Sermon on the Mount was intended to be to the Christian system what the giving of the law by Moses was to the Mosaic system. This, he thinks, was indicated, first of all, by the ascent of Jesus to a mountain for the giving of his evangelical law. The thought that he went up into the mountain that he might be the more easily heard, as also that he might furnish for his auditors a more impressive environment, he rejects as insufficient. But he argues that Matthew's entire portraiture of the life of our Lord is governed by the thought of making it a reflection of the history of Israel. He thinks that to Matthew, as well as to Paul, the important personalities and facts of Israelitish history are types of Jesus and his life. And especially is this parallel apparent to and through the Sermon on the Mount. There is a parallel between the miraculous birth of our Lord and Isaac, through whose birth the Israelitish people were made possible; between the emigration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt and the flight of Jesus's parents to Egypt with their child; between the murder of the innocents by Herod and of the Israelitish boys by Pharaoh; between the baptism of Jesus and the baptism of the Israelites in crossing the Red Sea; between the forty days' temptation of Jesus and the forty years' wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness. He closes his argument with a parallel between the congregation to which Moses proclaimed the law and that to which Jesus spoke. The latter does not, indeed, include all Israel, but it did include, he thinks, a sufficient number and from a sufficiently wide and varied circuit to fairly represent the whole Jewish people. But Ibbeken does not draw from all this the conclusion that Matthew invented the history. He believes, rather, that the history of Israel was, in fact, a type of the history of Jesus, and that Matthew simply follows the facts in the case. He argues his theory with great ingenuity. But its practical value is so doubtful as to prevent its taking hold upon the deeper elements of the soul.

Edgar Loening. While not a theologian, his investigations as a professor of law have led him into the department of early ecclesiastical polity; and because he can look with the eyes of a lawyer and without any dogmatic or ecclesiastical prepossessions his conclusions will have all the greater weight. According to him the earliest bishops and presbyters were, at least in some places, identical. The bishop was neither a priest nor a ruler, but a servant of the Church. There is very

little evidence that the early Church adopted either the form of government in vogue in the synagogue or that employed by the heathen religious societies, although temporarily at first the organization resembled that of the synagogue. The government of the Church grew directly out of the spirit and needs of Christianity. The bishop was the expression of the unity of government and of doctrine. But as late as the middle of the second century there was no external bond of union between the Churches of the various cities, although all the elements were then at hand which were necessary to the development of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between the ministry and the laity had its origin very early. It was supposed that the bishops, presbyters, and deacons received a special charism by the laying on of hands at their entrance upon office. It was their duty to feed and care for the flock, and to preserve the doctrine in its purity, and to exhort those to repentance who had violated their religious or moral obligations. They were without definite salary, and might follow a temporal calling for support. But support at the hands of the congregation became more common as the congregations increased in size and wealth. As this custom grew the bishops, presbyters, and deacons were more and more separated from the masses of the Christians into a distinct class. The belief that the first bishops were ordained by the apostles increased the respect in which they were held, and led to the expectation that they should become the true preservers of the faith. The introduction of the idea of the Old Testament priesthood into the Christian ministry still further increased the power of the clergy. All this shows that the Protestant conception of church government is correct as against Romanism, and the Low Church idea correct as against the High Church.

Johannes Dräseke. It is a common mistake that the critical spirit which is abroad in Germany is confined chiefly to the Bible. It is a still more common mistake that the motive of criticism is the discovery of error in the book and the overthrow of the faith in the supernatural. In fact, the purpose of all criticism of written documents is to test the value of their contents, and the Bible is but one of many documents which pass under the critic's hand. The greater importance of the Bible alone makes it the more frequent subject of critical treatment. An illustration of the work of the critic in another field is found in Dräseke's researches among early patristic literature. It is not enough for a critic like Dräseke to have in his possession a document whose text has been carefully edited and accredited to a certain author. He must have proof, not only that the text is approximately authentic, that is, essentially the words written by the original author; he must have proof, also, that the document originated with the person to whom it is attributed. In testing this tradition is worth something, but internal evidence must correspond. For example, Dräseke takes up two documents directed against Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, and handed down to us under the

name of Athanasius, and undertakes to prove: 1. That the two documents could not have been composed by the same person; 2. That they could not, in spite of tradition, have been written by Athanasius; and 3. That they originated in Alexandria, and were probably written by Didymus and his pupil, Ambrose. Such criticism is valuable to all who wish to be accurate. No careful thinker wishes to attribute to one author what really sprang from another, especially if by investigation it is within his power to ascertain the truth. It is all the more necessary to proceed on critical principles in the use of early literature because it was not regarded as wrong in those days to attach the name of a celebrated author to a work in order to give it weight with the reader, and also because, even where no intentional deception was practiced, the real name of the author was often lost, and it was left to conjecture to determine the authorship of the document. Dräseke is one of the foremost of those who have attempted in recent years to furnish the material for a correct history of early Christian literature.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Zwingli's Theology," by Dr. August Baur. Until this work appeared no attempt at a comprehensive and critical presentation of the theology of the great Swiss reformer had been made. In the work of Dr. Baur we have a history of the theological development of Zwingli from his earliest years to the period when he completely broke with Roman Catholicism and his evangelical ideas were fully formed. This is followed by a systematic presentation of the fully developed theology, including his antagonism to the views of the radicals, the Anabaptists, and Luther. The only point we can here take up is his view of the parallel which D'Aubigné draws between the sickness of Zwingli and the bitter penitence of Luther. Baur declares that the comparison is more brilliant than correct. In the anxiety of his heart at Erfurt he was a seeker who was compelled to find salvation in Christ by a painful breach of all the means of grace known to the Church. Zwingli never experienced anything like this, but by a gradual process of events and studies had been led to a knowledge of salvation and saving truth before he was attacked by the plague. Zwingli himself never attributed to his sickness of 1519 any such significance. His poems of that period disclose nothing of the kind, but rather bear witness that during his sickness the certainty of a gracious relationship with God was a source of consolation to him. Rather was this period of suffering one in which he personally tested the experience which he had previously attained in quiet and regular development. Yet it must be confessed that while his sickness was not necessary to bring him low before God that he might find salvation it did have the effect of leading him to a higher appreciation of his future obligation. That he was spared from death made a powerful impression upon him. He looked upon the divine favor by which he was

restored as a seal set upon his work as a preacher of the Gospel, and as a confirmation and legitimation of his previous declarations of free grace. He was encouraged, and, more than that, he was thereby warned that he must persevere in his chosen faith, and that he must bear all assaults quietly and even joyfully which resulted from the prosecution of his divine commission.

"**The Teachers of the Mishna,**" **by Dr. M. Braunschweiger.** This is a work by a Jew and written for the Jews. It is a kind of *Acta Sanctorum* of Judaism. Every person mentioned in the Mishna as having any special claim to favor is here briefly portrayed. The object of the book is to furnish Jewish youth and Jewish families with records of the past of Judaism which shall inspire the reader with respect for Jewish history and the Jewish religion, as well as with a purpose to emulate the characters and deeds of the heroes of the faith here depicted. Its popular character would naturally exclude it from mention here. But several considerations move us to give it place. First, it affords us an idea of the feelings of a devout Jew of the present day. Second, it reveals the purpose of the better class of Jews to furnish the materials out of which the rising generation may draw support in the midst of allurements from the faith. Third, it is a sample of what Judaism is doing in the religious and theological world. And fourth, it is a valuable book for those who wish to study the Mishna without spending too much time and energy thereupon. The advantage of reading in this book the lives of Gamaliel, Hillel, Akiba, and others is that we have their portraiture from the Jewish standpoint, and thereby can the better understand the Jewish faith and practice. But the stories told are in some cases evidently embellished, not by the author, but in the sources from which he draws. For example, Akiba was compelled to dedicate himself wholly to scholarly pursuits in order to win the woman of his choice. Accordingly he departed to a distant land to study, and after twelve years returned with twelve thousand disciples. Overhearing his wife say that she would be willing to have him absent for twelve years more for purposes of study, he departed and at the end of the second period returned with twenty-four thousand pupils. The twelve years with the twelve thousand, and the twice twelve with the twice twelve thousand pupils, are so evidently artificial as to excite suspicion at once, to say nothing of the fact that he had never learned anything until he was forty years of age and is represented as spending so long a period in study with such immense numerical results.

"**Contributions to the History of Semitic Religions,**" **by Frederick Baethgen.** The chief interest of this book centers in its view of the relation of the doctrine of God among the heathen Semites to that of Israel. The author rejects Renan's idea that all the Semites were originally monotheists, and also the opposite one of Kuenen that they were all originally polytheists, and that the faith of Israel was the product of the preaching of the

prophets. In opposition to Kuenen, Baethgen asserts that the prophets were able to unfold their activities just because they rested upon a pure theology, and that to suppose that the higher morality of the prophets produced the purer theology leaves unanswered the question as to the source of this higher morality. While, however, Baethgen rejects the theories of both Renan and Kuenen he approaches much nearer to the former; for he assumes that there was a time when all Semites possessed only a simple consciousness of the divine, and which was monotheism only so far as it conceived of God as wholly undivided, but fell short of monotheism in not attributing personality to the Deity. This God all Semites called El. And this word indicates the common point from which the later developments of the heathen Semites and of Israel proceeded in the doctrine of God. With the heathen there was a constant progress from the original conception of God to numberless gods, with but occasional efforts to reach the idea of divine unity. With the Israelites, on the other hand, there were occasional beginnings of a polytheistic division of the original idea of God, and sometimes violent conflicts with the heathen tendency; but fundamentally there was constant progress along the way to an absolute monotheism. This he can only account for on the supposition that Israel was constantly favored with a divine guidance and revelation. That he fully disproves by most scientific methods the position of Kuenen is without doubt. And while he fully recognizes the imperfections of practice among the Israelites he clearly shows that their faith became gradually more pure from the times of Abraham down to the days of the prophets. The book will be as interesting as romance to those who love such studies, and its thoroughness is worthy of all imitation.

Romanism in its Native Haunts. When it is charged against Christianity that its conversion of heathenism was of the most superficial character, brought about by intrigue or force, making the world nominally Christian but leaving it actually heathen, the thoughtful student is ready with a reply. He attributes it to the spirit of those times against which even Christianity could work but slowly. But it does occasion surprise to find that in all those countries where the Roman Catholic Church has its strongholds the heathen spirit which pervaded the prevalent Christianity of the world has never been eliminated and replaced by the Christian spirit. This can only be accounted for by the consideration that in the Roman system the Church is the guarantor of salvation to all who have her good will. It is neither rightness nor righteousness which insures salvation, but the Church. It is, therefore, not essential that the Romanist should be a Christian in principle. His character may be the product of heathenism pure and simple. His conduct may be the natural, and hence heathenish, expression of his character; but if he belongs to the Church and can secure priestly absolution he can be and will be saved. Since it is not necessary for the heathen to become a Christian except formally and nominally no effort need be put forth to Christianize the Church.

We may give here some illustrations of the condition of things in southern Italy, as drawn from a recent work by Th. Trede, who has spent several years there. One of the scenes which he gives is a carnival in the Church at the time of the general carnival among the people. Two pulpits were occupied respectively by a young and an old priest. The throngs pressed around the pulpits to listen to a conversation which it was expected would be held between the two divines. A is the older, B the younger priest, the latter representing the people. A begins: "Where have you come from?" B. "From the campagna." A. "What were you doing there?" B. "We were feasting." A. "What had you to eat?" B mentions a list of edibles which excites the astonishment of A, who smacks his tongue and makes grimaces to excite the laughter of the crowd. A now censures intemperance in eating and drinking and gives a humorous description of the scenes at the carnival meals. B confesses to gluttony but promises reformation. A declares that the people must not only reform, they must also atone for their sin. As the dispute proceeds care is taken to make the people laugh. A says: "Yes, you Neapolitans laugh now, but when you roast in purgatory you will not laugh. B makes grimaces and the crowd laugh again. And so the conversation continues for an hour. The edification which comes from such a scene yearly may be imagined. Another old heathen custom, that of nightly religious festivals, is preserved by the southern Italian Roman Catholics, and is described as follows: The festival is in honor of one of the many madonnas. The procession begins about 10 P. M., and is composed of men, boys, women, and girls, leaping, dancing, and swinging torches and trumpets high in the air. About midnight the masked procession begins, and represents satyrs, fauns, and other hideous creatures. The conduct of the participants becomes more and more wild. This is followed by a festival meal. At 3 A. M. begins a demoniacal tumult. The crowds are intoxicated with drink and excitement. Countenances are wild, eyes aflame, there is loud laughter and noisy shouting. The people mingle tumultuously among each other with the greatest excitement, swinging hats, torches, and knives; they groan, howl, yell, and whistle until the sounds cease to be human. Toward morning the crowds disperse, dancing, jumping, and waltzing; and so ends a Roman Catholic festival in honor of "Mary the mother of God." Such a scene is in no sense different from the old heathen dances in honor of Cybele. In fact, religious dances, as such, are customary to this day in southern Italy. In the vicinity of Salerno, every August, is celebrated the festival of the forty martyrs, in whose honor a dance is held. It is accompanied by the drum, and the dance proceeds upon the open streets. Men, women, and children dance bareheaded, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. The hair of the women streams in the air, every face is flushed, the perspiration pours from their bodies, and their garments are covered with dust. In the more remote villages and cities the dance is a part of the religious service proper, and is carried on chiefly by the young people of both sexes. In fact, dances of nearly every kind known to ancient heathenism are prac-

ticed to-day by the Roman Catholic Christians of southern Italy. Is there reason why the Gospel should not be carried into Roman Catholic countries by the evangelical Church?

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Third General Mission Conference in India Again. Among the interesting questions discussed was that of the native preachers. It was found that among the various evangelical churches of India eight hundred and fifty native pastors were employed—an increase of ninety per cent in nine years. The Americans insisted that the native pastors should be wholly supported by the congregations they serve, and demanded of them a comparatively small amount of education. Others, especially the Scotch, insisted upon a thorough intellectual training. It was, however, agreed that not only converted and trustworthy men, but also educated men, were preferable as native preachers. They ought to have a good education in biblical, systematic, and practical theology in their mother tongue. But differences of locality make it possible to employ a variety in degree of talent. It was also agreed that while the native pastors need not have as large salaries they are in all other respects to be held equal to the foreign missionaries. A good deal of discussion was devoted to the relations of the different missionary societies and representatives of different countries to each other. It was agreed that among the 288,000,000 inhabitants of India there is room for all the workers now employed, and vast numbers besides. The only question was how they could best work together and not interfere with each other. A territorial division among the societies was regarded as impractical. Proselytism was condemned. Another subject of profound interest was the employment of literary means. It was shown that in the government schools alone there are 3,700,000 pupils. The youth are very rapidly learning to read. The desire for literature is strong and increasingly prevalent; but, as yet, it is being met chiefly with immoral or skeptical literature. The duty of the missionaries, therefore, was plain. It was universally conceded that specially gifted missionaries should be employed in the exclusive work of providing reading which would meet the general demand and yet tend upward and not downward. Just recognition of the various Bible and tract societies was accorded. It was a matter for devout gratitude that among eight hundred and fifty lepers in the asylums five hundred had been converted since 1864.

Fourth International Temperance Congress. The temperance congresses of Antwerp, Zurich, and Christiania were followed by a fourth, which was held in the Hague, Holland, August 16–18, 1893. The queen regent of the Netherlands was the special patron of this congress in the Hague; the State made appropriations for part of its expenses; its honorary president was the then minister of the interior, while the mayor of the

city addressed the congress on the significance of the work of the congress for the city officials. The meetings were held in the museum for art and science. Among those present were the representatives of the queen regent of the Netherlands, of Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, and Luxemburg, the ministers of the interior and of finance for Holland, and three hundred delegates, most of whom were from Holland. The congress is not a total abstinence body, but contains members who believe that the moderate use of intoxicants is harmless. Among the advocates of total abstinence was Dr. August Forel, a Swiss expert in insane asylum work, who maintained that all intoxicants are poisons, and especially to the brain; that the use of alcohol shortens the average of life; that alcoholic beverages neither nourish nor produce strength, but are a means of injury, and their use, like that of opium and morphine, should be constantly opposed. However much the theorizers and scholars might differ, the friends of the people would have no doubt as to the injuriousness of alcoholic drinks. Considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the means by which the use or abuse of alcoholic drinks could be decreased. Moral suasion was one of the favorite means. Reports were made as to the results secured by the cooperation of the total abstinence societies, the Church, woman, and the press. Reform of the drinking customs and the education of the young in temperance principles were recommended. It was reported that in French Switzerland two thousand schools give instruction as to the physical effects of the use of alcoholic drinks. In Belgium the efforts of the superintendent of public instruction have been rewarded by the introduction of the study of the effect of alcoholic drinks into the schools and by the formation of temperance societies among the older pupils, whose members pledge themselves to total abstinence during the years of their minority. Little time was given to the legal aspect of the subject. But wherever the law had been invoked it was proved that its effects were in every way beneficial.

The Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland. The recent semi-centennial celebration of this Church has freshly brought to light the thrilling history of its origin and progress. Its *raison d'être* was the determination of Dr. Chalmers and others like minded with himself to cultivate deep piety and to keep open eye and hand for the needs of the times. Four hundred and seventy-four preachers and four hundred teachers gave up positions in the Established Church for conscience' sake. At present the Free Church numbers 1,169 preachers, 341,306 members. In the fifty years $115,000,000 have been raised and paid for church purposes. Forty-eight millions went to the support of the pastors, eighteen millions have gone into church edifices and parsonages, and about an equal amount for foreign missions. The Church has three theological seminaries, and missions in India, Syria, Arabia, and Africa. They have gradually approached nearer to the Methodistic form of doctrine. They have awakened the State Church to new life and activity, and the old feeling of hostility between the Free and the State Church has given place to a warm feeling of friendship.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The facts that face us in the financial world and the consequent sufferings of many thousands of unemployed men, whose only dependence for support is their labor, may well engage the best thoughts of the political economist, the statesman, and the citizen, and call loudly for the sympathy that the circumstances demand. It is not for us under the gloom that prevails to justify the hostility of one class or condition toward another, as if either were responsible for the depression we suffer, or as if either could by its own power effect the change which the employers and the employed alike deplore and of which they both are alike innocent. If the employed have lost their wages the employers have lost their gains from labor, if not with them their fortunes. With reference to this condition in the industrial world current literature seeks to construe facts and overcome difficulties for which time only can afford the solution. Thus the *Fortnightly Review* for November contains a searching article on the "Psychology of Labor and Capital." The writer says that if socialists and others who "complain of the present unequal distribution of wealth," could have their way "the capitalist could be extinguished." He thinks, however, that the capitalist will remain, and declares that it is better for the laborer to "beware of killing the layer of the golden eggs." He adds that labor may "pass the point where its own strength and capital's patience break down and an encounter may ensue, in which it will have the worst." And still further he says, "Legislation does not, like socialism, aim at extinguishing the capitalist, but at regulating him." Next the *Catholic World* for November has an article on the "Social and Industrial World." The author discusses a report on the "Labor Question in the United States," drawn up by order of the queen and presented to both houses of Parliament. His article considers the relations between capital and labor organizations, and treats of the eight-hour movement, showing that where it has been introduced workers have had more regular occupation, and that there has been an increase of ten per cent in the number employed. The *North American Review* for November also contains an article on the "Productivity of the Individual." The writer follows the line of argument in a former number, where he inquires, "Who are the Greatest Wealth Producers?" He aims to show that "the larger part of the goods or commodities produced in the modern world are produced by the exercise, not of the universal faculty of labor, but of those mental and moral faculties by which labor is directed and stimulated and which are exercised and possessed by comparatively few persons, and that thus, whereas according to the prevailing view the few live on what is produced by the many, the truth is that the many—in other words, the wage-earning laborers—derive a large part of their wages from what is produced by the few." Such are some of the articles on capital and labor in the current Reviews, which are worthy of mention.

Do not reason and observation alike tell us that there is no necessary ground of hostility or justification of jealousy between those who stand in these different relations to each other. Wrong, indeed, may be found on the side of either the employer or the employed. But it is in the individual rather than in the relationship. And the past should impress the fact that anarchy and communism are not the cure but the aggravation of our ills. Since the employed are prone to cite the disparity between their condition and that of the employer as a reason why there should be a division of income as well as the payment of wages, is it not as just to assume they should divide or share the loss when the employer suffers it? And is it not true that the superior workman does not feel it his duty to divide his greater wages with his inferior fellow-workman? It is, moreover, a notable fact that, while the last few years have shown cases of greater wealth than other days exhibited, the laboring man has found reward for labor such as was not dreamed of in times within the memory of many. When the skilled laborer, the mechanic of nearly all trades, received $30 per month, his hours of labor were from sunrise to sunset, and half the year in shops, factories, and elsewhere mechanical labor continued till eight o'clock at night. Twelve months' constant work yielded $360. Now in many instances it affords more than $1,000. There is no such difference in cost of living. If capital, genius, and energy have wrought such change let us trust divine Providence, with legislation and the adoption of such means as time and wisdom will suggest. God reigns, and he has not forgotten the laborer.

The *Contemporary Review* for November treats of: 1. "The Political Situation in France;" 2. "The Parish Councils Bill;" 3. "Mashonaland and Its People;" 4. "Christianity and Mohammedanism;" 5. "The English Poor Law and Old Age;" 6. "Priest and Altar in the English Church;" 7. "Dramatic Criticism;" 8. "The Geographical Evolution of the North Sea;" 9. "The Conference of Colonial Members;" 10. "The Problem of the Family in the United States;" 11. "Urgency in Siam;" 12. "The Miners' Battle and After." Of the many interesting and well-written articles in this number of the *Contemporary* perhaps there is none deserving of more careful thought than the tenth. The problem of the family in the United States comes home to the heart of anyone who loves his country or honors his home. Dr. Dike, in the article, says, "The part of the family in the development of the social order, its present universality and power, and its direct interest in every social change fully justify" the claim made by an eminent English scholar, who recently wrote that "one might almost say that the family is the fundamental and permanent problem of human society." The "divorce question" commands the author's close attention, and he traces with great precision the notice it received at an early period in our government, and shows the action of many States, and also the difficulties that face every attempt to conform the decisions of law and the legislation of common-

wealths to a legitimate demand. The rigor of Canada in this matter is shown and the salutary result is stated. The large number of divorces in other countries, as France, Prussia, and Hungary, is contrasted with the comparatively few in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Looking to this restriction of divorces to the minimum, the educational work of the family, with its hindrances, is pointed out; but its necessity is argued with the force of facts.

The *Nineteenth Century* for October contains: 1. "The Palace of Pan;" 2. "A Cabinet Minister's *Vade Mecum;*" 3. "Setting the Poor on Work;" 4. "Through the Khyber Pass;" 5. "Dr. Pearson on the Modern Drama;" 6. "The Position of Geology;" 7. "The Archaic Statues of the Acropolis Museum;" 8. "The Transformation of Japan;" 9. "A Study for Colonel Newcome;" 10. "Théophraste Renaudot;" 11. "The Parsees;" 12. "New Ways with Old Offenders;" 13. "The Gospel of Peter;" 14. "Aspects of Tennyson." The third article, on "Setting the Poor on Work," is elaborate and timely. The various expedients suggested have in view the "advantage which would accrue to the nation from the constant employment of industrious peasants and craftsmen," and the desirability of securing to industry and skill the benefits rightfully theirs. All considerations will urgently unite in not allowing this question to sleep. The providence of God, the wisdom of men of means, and the energy of the unemployed will all have a part in bringing about a result for which so many think and speak and write and pray. The twelfth article, "New Ways with Old Offenders," exhibits great earnestness, but names many means of dealing with the guilty which have failed in the past. The future must show what the past has demonstrated, that no means can accomplish the end sought so long as "old offenders" do not accept the proffered advantages.

The *North American Review* for November, besides the article on the "Productivity of the Individual" already noticed, shows in its other papers an aim to keep before its readers subjects suggested by the times. Their treatment is direct and vigorous. Among its interesting discussions is the symposium on the "Struggle in the Senate," containing a paper on "Misrepresentations," by Senator William M. Stewart, and one on "Obstructions," by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. "The Wealth of New York," by its mayor, is the third of a series discussing the elements of the city's prosperity. The writer says, "It is impossible to believe or even to suppose that the limit of prosperity has been reached." "Pool Rooms and Pool Selling," by Anthony Comstock, is a clear exhibit of facts which call for the best efforts of all who would save society from evils seen and deplored by right-minded people. "Social Relations of the Insane," by Dr. Henry Smith Williams, is an article full of information such as we should be glad to obtain. Mind, in all its conditions and manifestations, is a study. A diseased intellect is one of the most difficult

things to treat, and skillful men are sometimes reproached that they cannot accomplish impossibilities in the treatment of such patients. "Let no one," says the writer, "suppose that an insane person is commonly sent to an asylum because of his insanity *per se*. Mere mental perversion would be but little, if at all, noticed by the law so long as it stopped at that." Yet no one can tell where it will stop. But to whatever limits the patient may go he is not necessarily guiltless. For all insanity does not destroy responsibility, by the showing of Dr. Williams.

THE *Canadian Methodist Quarterly Review* for October contains articles well adapted to the purposes of the review, and that must exert the desired influence on the intellect and heart. The first discussion is on "Bowne's Ethics," and is incisive and thorough. The quotations given from the Professor's work show "the aim of the author and of the deep spiritual conceptions underlying not only the treatise on ethics, but his entire treatment of the problems of philosophy. Together they constitute one of the best antidotes to the shallow materialism that masquerades in the name of science and philosophy." "Consciousness," by Dr. H. H. Moore, impresses us. Among the definitions of consciousness that he gives is one by Dr. Noah Porter that commends itself for its simplicity and directness. It is "the power by which the soul knows its own states and acts." Dr. Moore says, "Consciousness, as a *faculty*, is the same in the Hottentot and Eskimo," but adds, "Diverse experiences may make their contents wholly unlike each other."

THE November number of the *Homiletic Review* has the same fullness of thought, variety of subjects, and excellence of topics that we have been accustomed to see in its monthly issues. "Tennyson's Poetry: its Value to the Minister;" "Lessons from the Life of Spurgeon;" "The Soul's Thirst and Satisfaction;" and "The Kind of a Church Jesus Christ Would Have on the Earth To-day," will interest the student, edify the believer, and rouse the preacher to a high sense of his holy obligations.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has: 1. "The Causes of Pessimism;" 2. "The Unemployed;" 3. "Atoms and Sunbeams;" 4. "The Royal Road to History;" 5. "The Balance of Trade;" 6. "The Industrial Position of Women;" 7. "The Pomaks of Rhodope;" 8. "University Systems;" 9. "Electric Fishes;" 10. "Notes of a Journey in South Italy;" 11. "The Silver Question;" 12. "Correspondence." The first of these subjects discussed, "Causes of Pessimism," will justify as much thought as he who would reach, expose, and remove them can give. The writer states: "There is said to be a strain of pessimism noticeable in the writings of the last few years. Sometimes it takes the form of despondency as to the future of humanity at large or of a particular people. Sometimes it rather seems to indicate perplexity over some great moral problem. Now

and again it is a regret over some system or faith that has disappeared and which, it would seem, cannot be replaced." Authors are cited as illustrations of this statement. After giving various facts that have operated in reference to governments, systems, and individuals, he concludes in the statement that "the pessimistic tone of mind is not so much due to any single cause as to the despondency caused by a sense of impending and inevitable doom, or, now and again, to the reaction from oversanguine hopes." Mental depression, from whatever cause, enervates, and whether it show itself in relation to State or Church, science or faith, is sometimes found to free its subject from the sense of responsibility which is an essential characteristic of the patriot, the Christian, and the man. The second article, "The Unemployed," and the sixth, "The Industrial Position of Women," discuss questions of such magnitude as to command the attention of all interested in equity. —— The *Preachers' Magazine* for November, if approached as a spiritual armory, will furnish any weapon the minister may need for making war on the enemy of souls. It opens on "Present-day Preaching," with a sermon, by Dr. John Hall, which suggests the grandeur of this ordinance. A discourse, by Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, impresses the reader with the magnitude of Christ's work and his power in casting out devils and saving men.—— The November number of the *Methodist Magazine*, like its predecessors, fills the eye and interests the mind with religious literature and social progress. In "Tent Life in Palestine," the editor, by the sketching of his pen and the illustrations on the pages, makes a graphic exhibit. In the article "With the Monks at St. Bernard," by S. H. M. Byers, we have an instructive account of monastic life. "Medical Missions," by Dr. J. V. Smith, are declared to be "the picture language of the Church militant" that all can understand.

The *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for October has: 1. "The Limits of Papal Infallibility;" 2. "Indian Bibliographies;" 3. "The Age of the Human Race According to Modern Science and Biblical Chronology;" 4. "The Church in Her History;" 5. "Harnack's Dogmatic History;" 6. "The Idea of Evolution;" 7. "The Newest Ritualism in England;" 8. "The Cluniac and his Song;" 9. "Reunion or Submission;" 10. "University Colleges: their Origin and their Methods;" 11. "How Words Change their Meaning;" 12. "Scientific Chronicle." This number is full of excellent things, and along the many lines of its thought exhibits great ability. Its first article, "The Limits of Papal Infallibility" shows the doctrine of Catholicism, as to where the pope is and where he is not infallible. The writer does not "assume the task of proving the dogma of infallibility." The Roman pontiff, "when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, discharging the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme authority, he defines a doctrine on faith or morals, to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which

the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in the definition of doctrine regarding faith or morals; and therefore the definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves, and not owing to the consent of the Church, irreformable." Infallibility means, in other words, "doctrinal inerrancy in a certain capacity and under certain adjuncts." The "limits as well as the extent of papal infallibility" are given "as contained in the Vatican definition." The sixth article discusses the "Idea of Evolution." In this the writer logically confounds Herbert Spencer on the very ground Spencer has taken with regard to the first cause of all things. It is keen, close, logical, conclusive.

The *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* for October discusses such subjects as are appropriate to its title. Its many articles show close inquiry, earnest research, and vigorous thought. "Faith and Criticism" is the notice of certain essays written by distinguished Congregationalists, and contains much food that nourishes to eternal life. Truth is shown to maintain its power when criticism is the most severe. The "latest critical researches" only tend to "establish the historicity of the New Testament narratives both in respect to the life of Christ and the age of the apostles."

The *Fortnightly Review* for November has among its many articles of interest one on "The Psychology of Labor and Capital," by Robert Wallace, M.P. It contains material to command the closest thought of the philanthropist, the moralist, and the Christian.——The *Globe* for September to December contains articles of great weight and worth.——The *Edinburgh Review* for October has the qualities that a "critical journal" should show on the many themes it discusses.——The *New Jerusalem Magazine* for November has among its many articles of devout thought a striking one on "Emerson and Swedenborg on the Imagination." The paper is critical and curious and in the faith and spirit of the journal.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for November is marked by even more than its usual fullness of thought and force of statement. The first article is by Dr. A. T. Pierson, on "Thy Kingdom Come." He presents the "world," the "Church," "Israel," the "nations," and the "ages" as the five factors in the New Testament that "stand closely linked with each other and with the kingdom."—— The *Treasury of Religious Thought* for November contains as its first article a sermon by Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., a discourse of great beauty, in which he impressively shows the evolution of "Golden Character from Refining Fires." It is as if from the heart of one who has "glorified God in the fires." "Christian Edification," by Dr. Cuyler, forbids gloom and inculcates gladness. "Thoughts for the Hour of Prayer," by Dr. R. S. Storrs, tells with vigor how we may know God's call as to duty we are to discharge, and may readily recognize the divine will. The many articles of this periodical possess strong attractions.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations: A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and its Doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By ORELLO CONE, D.D. 8vo, pp. viii, 413. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

This is a work of marked ability and power. It is written in entire sympathy with the results of the latest rationalistic school. It is a statement of the development of the New Testament theology from that standpoint. But so thoroughly do the principles of naturalism sway the mind of the author that no attempt is made at a scientific interpretation and justification of the contents of the New Testament. That book is cut up and parceled out in the most arbitrary fashion. "In treating the Gospel of Jesus and its earliest interpretations the discussion in this work proceeds upon the judgment that the synoptic gospels are the sole historical records of his teaching; that the fourth gospel contains a transformation of it effected under the influence of Hellenistic thought; that the doctrine of Paul must be derived from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and Philippians; that Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter are to be classified as Deutero-Pauline writings, composed toward the end of the first century; that 2 Peter, Jude, the pastoral epistles, and the so-called epistles of John are to be regarded as anti-gnostic writings of the early years of the second century." It is something to be thankful for that we have the pure Gospel of Jesus in the first three gospels. But even this is denied us. It is there, but much else is there. Jesus of Nazareth, a religious genius, taught the fatherhood of God and the pure ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Everything which in the mind of the author is inconsistent with that is a later addition to the gospels. The early chapters of Luke and the apocalyptic discourses in Matthew are thrown out. No attempt is made at an appreciation or interpretation of the deeper portions of the first gospel. These parts are simply discarded with impatience as the dreams of Jewish Christian enthusiasts. The first gospel is written in the interest of the Judaizing party; and yet this is the gospel in which the loving ethics of Christ find most complete expression, as well as the doctrine of God's universal fatherhood, and the intimations of the world-wide intention of the new religion. Our author does not explain this. Of course he holds that Christ never uttered Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. The original gospel had nothing to say of faith as a condition of salvation. This is such a glaring misstatement that even the author unconsciously contradicts it in the statement that Jesus taught that "man is to cast himself upon God in trust and love," and that "faith in God occupies the foremost place" in his teachings. In speaking of Luke xiv, 26, another spurious passage, as the author thinks, we are told that Jesus "never required of his immediate disciples the breaking of sacred ties of kindred," and that "to his

whole teaching hatred in any form is opposed." To a writer less able than Dr. Cone such a remark would be set down as childish drivel. On the other hand, the excellent remarks on other hard sayings of Jesus, as the words to the rich young man, show that there is no necessity of getting rid of these portions of the Gospel by the easy method of referring them to later times. The low conception of Jesus cannot endure the detailed prophecies of Christ's death, which are also later additions. There is nothing of a sacrificial nature in Christ's death; therefore Matt. xx, 28, xxvi, 28—in the teeth of text-criticism—are to be eliminated. The sterner teachings of Jesus are not to be accepted. His explicit statements of punishment in the future life have no special significance for us; but we may infer boundless possibilities of good for the future from those parables which have no direct reference to the future life at all! Anything can be made out by such arbitrary methods as those which Dr. Cone has adopted. Think of a Shakespearean critic going through the plays, and in total disregard of textual criticism cutting out whatever may seem to him unworthy of the poet dramatist. In the last chapter Dr. Cone has some hard words to say about Christian theology. But let us assure him that there is a dogmatism just as unscientific as that which he denounces in Christian believers. It is the thoroughly rationalistic prepossessions of the author, who is the president of Buchtel College, a Universalist institution at Akron, O., which make him unable to do justice to the New Testament theology. The work contains many just criticisms, but is vitiated by its purely naturalistic standpoint. Among those well-considered observations, however, we cannot count the section on the Book of Revelation—that "lurid" and "mythological" Apocalypse which is unworthy the study of any Christian, nor the reasons given for the rejection of one of the most characteristically Pauline of all the writings of the poet-apostle—the Ephesians. The expressions, "dead in trespasses," "made alive in Christ," "forgiveness of sins," "to be brought near," "belong to the later Paulinism of Hebrews and Colossians, and not to the genuine epistles of the apostle." The thoughts set forth by the above expressions are thoroughly Pauline, but Paul must, forsooth, use the same phraseology in every epistle.

What is Inspiration? A Fresh Study of the Question, with New and Discriminative Replies. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., for many years Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., and Author of *The Psalms: A New Translation with Notes*, etc. 12mo, pp. vii, 187. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, $1.

This is a book of mediation by a venerable and learned biblical scholar. It stands midway between rationalism and ultra-conservatism. It is a word of peace. Occasioned by the Briggs trial, it is written, the author says, in response to the "obligation of those who have rejected the theory of verbal inspiration, as not in accordance with what they find by the most careful scrutiny of the contents of the Bible, to furnish with the least possible delay a definition that shall replace it as consistent with undeniable fact, and thus quiet the prevailing agitation." A spirit of

peace and confidence—"the full assurance of faith"—breathes through Dr. DeWitt's work. For this reason its frankness is the less to be wondered at. Take, for example, this: "In our Lord's frequent references to the Old Testament verbal accuracy is practically treated as not of the slightest consequence. He refers constantly to translations in common use among the Jews, never hinting that their value is impaired by erroneous rendering; although very often, and in important places, they go very far astray from what could be the meaning of the original. The Septuagint version is much nearer to the Scriptures indorsed by our Saviour and his apostles than the received Hebrew text; for they generally quote from the former, and only occasionally from the Hebrew, or from some Aramaic version which in the gospels is translated into Greek." After a clear, full, and careful discussion the author reaches his definition, the answer to the question of his book. He prints it in italics, and he evidently desires every word to be weighed: "Inspiration is a special energy of the Spirit of God upon the mind and heart of selected and prepared human agents, which does not destroy nor impair their native and normal activities nor miraculously enlarge the boundaries of their knowledge, except where essential to the inspiring purpose, but stimulates and assists them to a clear discernment and faithful utterance of truth and fact, and, when necessary, brings within their range truth or fact which could not otherwise have been known. By such direction and aid, through spoken or written words in combination with any divinely ordered circumstances with which they may be historically interwoven, the result contemplated in the purpose of God is realized in a progressive revelation of his wisdom, righteousness, and grace for the instruction and moral elevation of men. The revelation so produced is permanent and infallible for all matters of faith and practice, except so far as any given revelation may be manifestly partial, provisional, and limited in its time and conditions, or may be afterward modified or superseded by a higher and fuller revelation, adapted to an advanced period in the redemptive process to which all revelation relates as its final end and glorious consummation." Dr. DeWitt has done his work with admirable skill. This calm, strong, and comprehensive discussion by a capable and conservative scholar of a conservative Church is intended to have a quieting effect in the present crisis. It would seem to show that such trials as those of Drs. Briggs and Smith are not likely to transpire in the old Reformed (Dutch) Church. Dr. DeWitt's book furnishes to those who wish it a brief treatment of a vexed question by a profound, devout, and lifelong student of the oracles of God. We cannot forbear quoting his own testimony as to the effect of his ever-growing familiarity with Scripture. There is nothing better in his book than this. He says: "I have spent the larger portion of my active life in giving instruction in the Old and New Testaments, separately and in their connection. Every year and month and day they have become more precious, and all labor in developing their glorious import and their significance in connection with every aspiration and hope of man has become more absorbing."

What stronger proof of the divinity of the Bible than such testimony from such a source? Of what other book in the world could an exhaustive student and accomplished scholar by any conceivable possibility so speak?

Vox Dei, The Doctrine of the Spirit as it is Set Forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. By R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London. 12mo, pp. 344. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a praiseworthy endeavor to bring into greater prominence and clearness the doctrine of the personality and power of the Holy Spirit. In the author's opinion, which we cannot wholly share, the Church of Christ is in a bad way at the present time, spiritual power lacking, doubt on our very banners, little heroism, little courage. And "one reason of this decline of spiritual energy in the Church" (which decline we, for our part, fail to perceive) he thinks must be "the faulty and inadequate understanding of the doctrine of the Spirit." This "cloudiness of conception and weakness of conviction among Christians on the whole subject" he sets himself to remedy. And in the main the task is well done. The style is clear, the subject well laid out, the entire impression wholesome. The exposition of the numerous passages brought under consideration is in full accordance with the traditional views, and the reader will at no point be startled by any novelties or have his mind unduly exercised. The author, as he says in the preface, "has avoided scholastic discussions; his aim has been practical." We do not think it would have hurt the book, considering that it will be read mainly by the ministerial and literary class, if a little more scholarship had been put into it. On all the points at issue between the Bible students of past ages and investigators of the present day the author sides with the former. Even a passage like Acts xix, 2, which modern scholars, we think, are substantially agreed should be rendered, as in the Revised Version, "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?" he quotes in the old translation, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" which gives a very different, and, it seems to us, entirely erroneous turn to the incident. But the chief criticism we are disposed to make is on his forcing the doctrine of the Trinity into all the passages of the Old Testament where the Spirit of God is mentioned. He says: "We take it for granted that there is one doctrine of the Spirit pervading the whole revelation;" "The central fact of Christianity goes back to the first page of Genesis;" "There is no difference in the doctrine of the Spirit which is taught all through this long series of books;" "If the Book of Genesis were the only sacred book we possessed we should certainly have no difficulty in putting together from its pages a very decided doctrine of the Spirit;" "The God of Genesis is certainly a triune God." Because the sacred writer puts into the mouth of Pharaoh, speaking of Joseph, the words, "Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?" Dr. Redford holds that "the doctrine of the Spirit," meaning the New Testament Christian doctrine, "was clearly

recognized at that time." All this may possibly be so. But we are inclined to put a large interrogation point opposite many of these strong assertions. Is it worth while to strain the language to this extent and crowd into it what the speakers and writers could not, by any fair principles of interpretation, be understood to have meant? The author shows plainly enough that Judaism was, to a large extent, a spiritual religion, and that Jehovah was represented as a Spirit; but when he proceeds from such facts as these to argue that Judaism was trinitarian thoughtful minds will hesitate to follow. Biblical theology is more and more coming to the front in these days. Very patiently, and with increasing success, the attempt is being made to find out just what the men of those ancient times really thought. What we think now, as the result of our philosophizing and systematizing, or, if any prefer to put it so, as the result of all the divine teachings up to the present, is quite another thing, not to be confounded with the former. The author, in our opinion, is to some extent subject to this confusion.

Jesus and Modern Life. By M. J. Savage. With an Introduction by Professor Crawford H. Toy. 12mo, pp. 229. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.

We have here a somewhat famous course of sermons preached during the past year at the Church of the Unity, Boston, and extensively reported in the daily papers. They are thirteen in number, and treat of such topics as "What Jesus Taught about God;" "Jesus's Doctrine of Nonresistance;" "Jesus and the Christ Ideals;" "Christianity and the Doctrine of Jesus." From the standpoint of evangelical Christianity it is a very curious and far from satisfactory or pleasing book. Not that Mr. Savage, once a Congregational minister and now a Unitarian of the most radical sort, takes any pleasure in shocking the orthodox after the coarse, vulgar style of Paine and Ingersoll. On the contrary, he professes the utmost admiration for Jesus. "There is no one in this city that loves the Nazarene more than I do," he says. Nevertheless, the patronizing tone of one who sits in judgment, with a touch of conscious superiority, dealing out praise here and blame there—"Jesus was not an infallible teacher;" "Taught almost nothing that was new or original;" "Nothing specially intellectual in his teaching;" "I do not think he could have been perfect if he was tempted;" "No man ought to obey his doctrine of not worrying about the future taken literally;" "A wonderful man;" "Among the very greatest of all time"—is certainly offensive, although, of course, not intentionally so. He treats the gospel records, as might be supposed, with the utmost recklessness, and creates a Jesus to his own liking that ordinary Bible Christians would quite fail to recognize. He summarily dismisses the miraculous and supernatural, and everything else that does not suit his ideas or fit in with his theories. "The gospel of John has no authenticity or authority; it is a philosophical treatise written nearly a hundred and fifty years after Jesus." The other gospels, according to our author, were written "from forty to fifty years after the death of Jesus," and were the products of

an "idealizing tendency working on the facts of the simple life of the son of the carpenter." Truly "a Daniel come to judgment!" It is hardly worth while to take up space in these pages to controvert or even chronicle the views of a writer of this stamp. Two points, however, are noteworthy and interesting. Both are connected with what is ever the insoluble problem in all such books, namely, how to account for this peerless personage and his marvelous work in the world under a theory that rules out the miraculous and classifies him with other religious leaders. Mr. Savage, in his sermon entitled "The Man of Nazareth," essays what, from his point of view, he rightly calls "the immensely difficult task of trying to suggest wherein resided the secret of his power." He mentions four things—"the God-consciousness of the man;" "an enthusiastic love for humanity;" "an indefinable personal fascination," and "a charm of speech." This is all. He is forced to confess that it is an "utterly inadequate" explanation of that which he admits has "changed the face of the civilization of the world." He is obliged to fall back on the idea that "just about the time when Christianity appeared the world-conditions were such that a new religion must have been born anyhow, even if there had been no Jesus of Nazareth at all, and that the new religious movement, if Jesus had not been born, would have attached itself to some other historic person, and would have pursued substantially the same course which it has followed down the ages from that day to this." This may be regarded, we suppose, as the latest of the multitudinous attempts to *explain* that which is inexplicable, and to give us a Christianity with no divine Christ. They who like this sort of thing are certainly welcome to it. But how they can propound it in the name of reason, and consider that it presents fewer obstacles to belief than the orthodox account, is a mystery. With one more example of the difficulties and inconsistencies that beset this theory we leave the book. On page 76 Jesus is said to be "only the child of his time, child of his people and age, with no teaching except that which he could gather out of the surroundings of the life of which he was a part." But on page 114 we are told what this age was which must have the credit of forming Jesus, "an age of narrowness, an age of bitterness, an age of ceremonial, such as the world had hardly ever seen." This is true. Yet, according to Mr. Savage and his class, this miserable age, this narrow people, this country village, this carpenter's family produced Jesus, one whom all these nineteen centuries with their boasted breadth and enlightenment have failed to match, one before whom the religious part of the most civilized nations of the earth still delight to bow, and whose name the lapse of time only serves to lift into higher honor. Believe it who can. We prefer to hold that Jesus was in large part the product of quite another region than Galilee, that he came from heaven to show us infallibly the way thither and to bring life and immortality to light. And this faith, if we mistake not, gives results both in personal peace and in national prosperity which all the rationalistic vaporings and surmisings of those who reject the creed of Christendom fail to supply.

The Song of Songs. An Inspired Melodrama. Analyzed, Translated, and Explained by MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 64. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, paper, 25 cents.

Dr. Terry finds in this book of the Bible an exquisite dramatic poem, "the obvious purpose of which is to celebrate the passion of human love." His view is that the heroine of the drama is a fair young maiden of northern Palestine, whom King Solomon has sought in vain to win, and who, resisting royal blandishments, remains true to her shepherd lover. He does not regard the book as a portraiture or parable of the love existing between God and his people or of Christ's relation to the Church, nor does he believe that it celebrates the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter. He thinks it not improbable, and no way unfit, that the author of the Song of Songs is a woman, some gifted female poet, who sings in this sacred drama the pure, unwavering love of a woman's heart. Dr. Terry analyzes the drama, divides it into acts and scenes, and assigns the various parts to the proper *dramatis personæ*. In certain places he disregards the Masoretic pointing, and corrects the text to conform to the theory which the weight of evidence compels him to adopt. In his concluding observations the author, who ranks among eminent biblical scholars, says: "A diligent study of this beautiful song admonishes us that we should not come to the perusal of the Holy Scriptures with *a priori* notions of what they ought or ought not to contain. Nor are we at liberty to assume, on dogmatic grounds, any theory of divine inspiration which interferes with the free investigation of the biblical writings. Criticism has its rights, and when controlled by sound judgment and sincere desire to know the truth will lead us to a deeper appreciation as well a clearer understanding of the Scriptures." It is the glory and the joy of Christian scholarship to render inestimable service to mankind by such clear and beautiful interpretations of misunderstood portions of the Bible. Those who do this work are high servants of God and large benefactors of the human race.

Exegetical Studies. The Pentatcuch and Isaiah. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 46. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, flexible, 40 cents.

The author's characteristic abundance of keen and powerful life pours its fullness into these studies. They are electrically lighted with auroral flashes of comprehension and darts of spiritual intuition. The dear and sacred truth contained in the divine book is revered with rational adoration and prostrate obeisance, touched fondly with all the holy affection of the soul, and rejoiced in with irrepressible exultation. How any human mind can study the Bible with such illuminating helps as these and not be caught up into the same enthusiasm for revealed truth and for all sacred things, passes our comprehension; indeed, we doubt if any such can be found; the people who have not come under the mighty and mastering spell of the truth are the people who have not properly studied the book which contains it. We fearlessly call for a single instance that can invalidate the universal truth of that affirmation. The Professor of

the English Bible in Denver University is a gifted interpreter and expositor. His exegetical studies lead out of perplexities into perceptions. Although we could make this page sparkle with extracts we dare not enter on quotation lest the reasons which led us to extract a part might compel us to quote the whole. We simply note the declaration that, in regard to the controverted points concerning the Pentateuch and Isaiah, "conservative students of God's word have as yet no call to surrender."

The Holy Waiting. The Christian's Handbook in the Church of God and for Home Meditation and Prayer. By Bishop JOHN HEYL VINCENT, D.D. 16mo, pp. 90. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 50 cents; leather, 75 cents.

This is a manual of devout meditation and worship for the individual. It is highly adapted to promote the ends it seeks in guiding the mind to such clear and vivid conceptions of truth as shall fill the worshiper with reverence, cause the heart to be duly affected toward sacred things, and uplift the soul in comforting and blissful devotion. For travelers by land or sea, for invalids, sufferers, and other prisoners of Providence who are forbidden the privileges of the sanctuary, this little book is well calculated to make the place where they are as the house of God and the gate of heaven. For the young Christian it is full of instruction, wisdom, and help in its preparations, rules, prayers, covenants, confessions, consecrations, creeds, explanations, quickening thoughts, liturgies, and Te Deums. It may teach laymen and ministers how to pray to edification in private and in public. We know of no better book of its kind. It is worthy of being committed to memory from beginning to end. He who had its words upon his tongue would have the peace of God in his heart.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Principles of Economics. The Satisfaction of Human Wants, so Far as they Can be Satisfied by Labor and Material Resources. By GROVER PEASE OSBORNE, A.M. Crown 8vo, cloth, postage paid, $2. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Mr. Osborne has produced a new work on economic science, but not a new economic science. The point of view and the treatment are sufficiently original, and the style deserves the highest praise: Not since Adam Smith has any economic writer attained to such perfect clearness. Let us at once quote an example taken from page 78. "Diminishing returns does not mean a smaller return from land, but a smaller return from labor; not a smaller return from labor in factories, but a smaller return from labor on land." This does not purport to be a definition, but it is probably the best one ever made for the principle of diminishing returns. This lucidity is found throughout the work; we have found no passage clouded by obscurity. The terms of this science are carefully explained, and any boy may read most of the work understandingly. The exceptional portions are not in the least obscure; the boy would need to know some things about money, for example, which are not here stated; that is to say, he would need a mature experience to

understand what is stated. The new point of view is gained by entering the economic field on the side of human wants. It affords an opportunity for a semiethical treatment of the subject, and the author adopts with a justification of his method a didactic and ethical tone. What ought to be done, not what comes to pass, in economic life is the real theme within the theme. The "principles" are severely orthodox, even to the inclusion of the Malthusian theory of population; but the author would have us check the economic tendencies by righteous interference of society and government. There is, however, a serious difficulty in the term wants. It may mean a desire or a need, and ethically the two things widely diverge. Economists generally treat of wants as nearly the same thing as desires; but that lets in immoral desires, or demand for things which are not good for us. Nearly every economist flounders on this Ass's bridge of the science; and we cannot think that Mr. Osborne has crossed the bridge with his usual felicity of definition. The difficulty is there to stay; it is in the subject-matter; and all that the economist can do is to turn over to the preacher the reproof and correction of immoral desires; but this leaves in doubt the wisdom of hanging a treatise on economics upon the word wants. But the novel point of view is so useful to an ethical economist, and it brings into the field of vision such a number of neglected facts, that we easily forget the initial difficulty of it. For example, in the process of satisfying our wants by labor it comes about that an enormous amount of effort is expended in our homes by wives, by mothers, by ourselves; all which labor escapes the vision of the economist looking too exclusively at the facts of exchange. And this view has a further consolation for us in the ease with which it sets aside the stupid expression "nonproducers"—of old applied to teachers, preachers, and writers; they are supplying human wants, and that clothes them with economic respectability. For most of his readers the charm of Mr. Osborne's book will come out of his discussion of practical questions actually before the American people. The land question is very fully treated and the author's position is substantially that of John Stuart Mill: the land belongs to society, but its "improvements" belong to the private owner of them. It is, however, ethically impossible for American society to recover what it has sold and given title to; but government lands ought hereafter to be rented. Many of the difficulties of this question are treated with freshness and candor. However, it should be noted that he seems not to know how deep the tax collector now cuts into income from land in cities, and he exaggerates the possible income from city lots. The author's discussion of money leans toward radicalism, though resting on orthodox ground. He advocates bimetallism, and thinks a gold standard perilous; and yet he gives no "reasons" which are not answered in his own text. On page 327 he writes: "A paper money increases the total supply of money. It is the same as an increase in the supply of gold and silver, which, of course, reduces their value. The value of gold depends on the supply and demand for all purposes; if paper is substituted for one of its uses, the effect is the same as an increase in the

supply of gold." It would seem, then, that dropping out silver as standard money, but using the same amount of it as substitute money, would have no tendency to increase the value of gold. Nor is it either orthodox or ethical to assert that the safer and happier order is a slight and constant fall in the value of money—and rise of prices—because it stimulates enterprise. The world would better learn to live without stimulants of an artificial sort. And current changes in the value of money—up or down—within tolerable limits, cannot seriously affect enterprise of legitimate kinds. The real and immense difficulty is presented by deferred payments. No man can know what purchasing power a dollar will have five years hence, and we hazard the suggestion that the difficulty is insurmountable. Possibly prices tend to lower levels through competition and the incessant rearrangement of the relative value of commodities. Somewhere here a factor not yet studied is at work upon price in exchange. The question of unrestricted immigration affords the author a fine field for his ethical views, and his strong argument against it is as calm and clear as it is strong. America for the Americans and all good Europeans of our stock is a sensible and patriotic platform, and it is undergirded by sound economic timbers. Our way of handling the Chinese among us is an abominable way; possible we ought to have shut the door against excessive and unregulated immigration from any quarter before these orientals came in. The author of this book advocates cooperation, but suggests that the laborers of least skill would, under a successful system, still receive only wages. We have found this work thoroughly sensible and exceptionally readable. The orthodox economic theory has seldom put on so cheerful a dress. As Mr. Osborne describes it no one would suspect it of being "a dismal science," partly because the orthodoxy is toned up by some radical color.

Joys Beyond the Threshold. A Sequel to the To-morrow of Death. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Translated by ABBY LANGDON ALGER. 16mo, pp. 321. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a very singular book indeed, a book which could not have been produced, we think, by any other than a countryman of Jules Verne. We cannot honestly call it a valuable volume, and are somewhat at a loss to know why it should have been deemed worth while to translate and print it in this country. Whatever worth it may have consists in its disclosure of the sort of stuff which they who reject the Christian revelation are driven to resort to that they may find some comfort in contemplating the hereafter. The author says: "None of the religions now existing is fitted to banish from the heart of man the forbidding fears inspired by the idea of death; none can inspire a man with courage to face with steadfast eye and quiet soul the moment of his end." So he steps jauntily in to fill the gap, and supply the need. He does it with the air of a man who can at any time, before breakfast, if necessary, invent a better religion than those now professed on the earth, which, he declares, "do not satisfy the heart or mind." "These dogmas," he adds, "con-

ceived at a period of universal ignorance, are absolutely opposed to the laws of nature, and to sustain their worn-out scaffolding we have nothing but a would-be revelation and faith—that is to say, words very ingeniously invented to cut short all discussion, to deify absurdity, to sanctify an impossibility." He condescends to intimate that Christianity is better than the other religions, which are described at great length; but still its legends are utterly unworthy of credence. "Every one knows that the Nazarene was not the founder of the religion which bears his name; that he wrote nothing, originated nothing. The Christian religion was created, not by Jesus, but by St. Paul, who, having been one of Christ's bitterest foes, became his most fervent apostle, and founded Christianity as a religion." We are further informed that "French, English, and American Protestants may be divided into two sects, Orthodox or Methodists, who are but latent adherents of Catholicism, and liberal Protestants. The liberal Christian is, in the religious order, the direct disciple of Jesus Christ." Perhaps it is this last bit of flattery which has induced the liberal Christians to take up this book. They are quite welcome to it and its consolations. For ourselves we prefer those supplied by the Church, though our author, with customary bombast, says of these latter, "They are infinitely inferior to those assured the dying man of our system." The reader will have a natural curiosity to know what this much-vaunted system is. We will sketch it briefly in the language of its creator. The soul of man is to undergo after death a succession of transmigrations and celestial resurrections. He is to be reincarnated in a chain of new beings whose successive links are unrolled in the bosom of ethereal space, the space which divides the planets from the stars, and which is to be the habitat of these superhuman beings. "There the cycle of their transformations is accomplished; that is, their successive deaths, followed by as many new births, with the continual improvements which refine their qualities more and more, and lead them to an increasing state of intellectual power and moral purity, until they have at last attained the height of perfection, which permits them to enter the central star of our world, where they form a part of the solar divinity." All the planets are also peopled by human beings similar to man. And these various planetary humanities are subject to the same order of organic changes, traversing the phases of successive metamorphoses and progressions till their final entry into the sun. Nor is this all, by any means. The planets belonging to all the distant suns, which we call stars, must have inhabitants who undergo the same organic evolutions which pertain to our earthly humanity. They enter into the substance of their particular star or sun, to compose portions of the solar divinity. "There would thus be as many divinities as fixed stars in the sky. This strangely enlarges our idea of God. It gives us astronomic polytheism, the plurality of gods." Since all the fixed stars revolve around one central point situated deep in space, this is the point where the supreme God, Jehovah, may be found, hidden in the majesty of worlds. As to the comets, M. Figuier has this flight of fancy: "Is it forbidden us to believe that certain comets, those which

reenter our solar system, are agglomerations of the souls of superhuman beings who have just accomplished a journey through the deeps of heaven, and are completing their voyage by hastening into the fiery furnace of the sun. According to this hypothesis comets would be the excursion trains of the populations of ethereal space. This gives as complete a view as our limited space permits of the author's audacious speculations and wild conjectures. But, be it noted, he most strenuously insists that these are not mere dreams of the imagination or idle reveries and romantic theories, like the fables of Christianity. O, no. These are "scientific facts." This is philosophy and certainty. We should never have supposed it had he not told us. And we have to take his bare word for it as it is, for the most careful searching of the book has failed to disclose anything which to us, at least, even begins to resemble the scientific proof and chain of facts of which he so loudly boasts. To his mind "the help offered by science and philosophy," that is, by his system, "to take the tremendous step of death is far superior to that presented by any of the existing religions." He is welcome to it. And so are the liberal Christians with whom he seems disposed to class himself. If the prospect of being eventually burnt up or absorbed in the fiery furnace of the sun cheers them more than the views of heaven afforded by St. John, or the many mansions of the Father's house mentioned by Jesus, and if they put more confidence in the so-called scientific conclusions of this French romancer than in the revelations of Him who came from heaven to show men the way thither, we suppose they must use their own liberty. But they will please excuse us from keeping them company. We are more than satisfied with the old book, which tells us more, we believe, about the to-morrow of death and the joys beyond than any Frenchman can spin out of his brain or any German evolve from his inner consciousness.

Elsie, and Other Poems. By ROBERT BEVERLY HALE. 8vo, pp. 104. Boston: R. B. HALE & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Fireside poems, forty-two in number. Simple, pleasing, irreproachable, and wholesome sentiments, set in well-turned phrases; beginning with "Elsie," a little girl at play with butterflies and bees under the trees, and ending with "A Plain Workingman's Idea of Heaven," which rejects the notion of rest in an idle heaven, and prays, whether his future be in heaven or earth or hell, "O Father, give me some hard work to do." The strongest piece in the book is "My Fellow-Traveler," which delivers with real power the oft-repeated and ever-needed lesson that as men hope for mercy at the hands of God they should be merciful to one another.

Poems. By EMILY DICKINSON. Edited by two of her Friends, MABEL LOOMIS TODD and T. W. HIGGINSON. Two series in one volume. 16mo, pp. 386. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, white and green cloth, full gilt, $2.

A dainty and beautiful edition of a volume of poems which might seem fitted only for a select few, but which goes on winning a wide reading. It is difficult to find the adjective with which this poetry may be accurately

described and properly characterized. Weird is scarcely the word, though suggested by some of it, nor quaint, though that is not wide of the mark in places, nor queer, though a clumsy critic might pick up that word; but at least we may say that it seems absolutely original, certainly spontaneous, and undeniably unique. The Brontë sisters might have written something almost like it, but they did not. It casts its contradiction at the ancient declaration that there is nothing new under the sun, helping to put to shame that long-discredited adage which the nineteenth century, along the turnpike of its progress and the bypaths of its diversions, pelts with novelties as if to stone it to death. If the poetry of William Blake was something new, then so is Emily Dickinson's; and there is genius if not likeness in both. In these verses of the recluse poetess of Amherst there is quite enough to explain why the first series has reached its eleventh edition and the second series its sixth. They are as rare in quality, as free from meretriciousness, as pellucid and sincere, as Emerson's. The reader regrets that, by her lifelong refusal to print her poems, all this fame can only fling its laurels on the grave beneath which for seven years and more have been hidden from light and sound the eyes and ears which should have been made glad therewith. These three hundred odd bits and scraps of verse, some only four lines long, are the product of a mind abnormal but not morbid. More might be written of them, and may be elsewhere, but not here nor now. Not unsuitable to quote in this department is the following :

A BOOK.

He ate and drank the precious words,
His spirit grew robust;
He knew no more that he was poor,
Nor that his frame was dust.
He danced along the dingy days,
And this bequest of wings
Was but a book. What liberty
A loosened spirit brings!

The Merrimack River, Hellenics and Other Poems. By BENJAMIN W. BALL. 8vo, pp. 426. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

Two hundred and fifty poems by a bookish man sensitive to the beauties of natural scenery. In 1843 Emerson wrote to Thoreau: "Young Ball has been to see me. He is a prodigious reader and a youth of great promise." Ball's first book of poetry was published in 1851, and the present volume contains part of that with the poetic product of the subsequent forty years. The author is reputed the best Greek student ever graduated from Dartmouth. He has lived in the ideal, and himself says that his biography would be almost entirely a history of his mental development. His writings show the culture of a scholar, the intellectual force of a thinker, and the "high seriousness" of a refined and earnest soul. He calls conscience the higher reason. The critics will not call this poetry great, but it is more valuable than much which they extol. It is not pessimistic, irreligious, immoral, or low-minded, and in these evil

times this must rate as exceptional praise. Anywhere but in New England, where, on the same half-acre we might almost say, he is crowded by Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes, Ball would be the pride of his region and a poet of far-seen distinction in the esteem of the cultivated.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Homer and the Epic. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., Hon. LL.D., St. Andrews; Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 424. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

In addition to the many labored treatises on the reality of a personal Homer and the nonconglomerate nature of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there comes, at last, a book in which the true lover of literature will delight. Other scholars have doubted or believed in the blind poet of the Grecian isles because of archæological or historical evidence; while Wilamowitz has concluded that "the *Iliad*, as it stands, is nothing but a cyclic poem," largely because of philological difficulties in the acceptance of the old received belief. But Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Homer and the Epic*, approaches the whole subject in such a large and catholic spirit as to indicate to the reader in the very opening chapter that no conclusion in the book will be reached through microscopical analysis in any one department of literary criticism alone; and that while due importance will be attached to arguments from archæology, philology, and history, yet the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* poems must find their defense, in large measure, from the fact that they are poems—and unrivaled poems—of a dawning civilization. Poetry rightly demands a vindication from the larger evidence of poetry and art. The position of the author seems, in part, to be that of Signor Comparetti: "'This restless business of analysis, which has lasted so long, impatient of its own fruitlessness, yet unconvinced of it, builds up, and pulls down, and builds again; while its shifting foundations, its insufficient and falsely applied criteria, condemn it to remain fruitless, tedious, and repulsive. The observer marks, with amazement, the degree of intellectual short-sightedness produced by excessive and exclusive analysis. The investigator becomes a kind of microscope man, who can see atoms, but not bodies; motes, and those magnified, but not beams." Yet the careful review of the work of all of the iconoclasts, from Wolf to Wilamowitz, shows how fairly the present Homeric critic approaches his subject. He carefully analyzes, book by book, the entire plot of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, stopping continually to recognize the criticisms and objections which have been made by those who have traversed the ground before him. While no adequate estimate of the value of his work can possibly be made without an open text before us, yet, even to the rapid reader, it is evident that he intends to be fair in his criticisms of those with whom he differs so radically. His conclusion, briefly stated, is that, while the whole matter does not admit of exact demonstration, and must in part be resolved into a question of literary taste, yet the balance of probability is in favor of the old-time view. Homer lived and

wrote; and while we are listening to his song we hear not the diversified and inharmonious notes of many composers, but the single song of one. A prevailing charm of the review is that a poet himself talks of the things that a poet loves. While he balances archæological and philological claims one against another, unconsciously or with keen art he wins us to his views by now vivid, now delicate word paintings, as he rapidly shifts the scenes through the dramatic vistas of camp life and sea wandering. Homer lives to him who loves him. Yet whether the grammarian and the archæologist may ever deduce his actual existence by cold logical process from the data within our possession is more than even Mr. Lang can prophesy.

The Rulers of the Mediterranean. Illustrated. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. 16mo, pp. 258. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis is an expert sight-seer. Indeed, his faculty for seeing and telling what he sees is such that he is now employed to travel in quest of other people's pleasure rather than his own. As a member of the Harpers' staff he recently visited the Mediterranean for the purpose of recording his impressions in the book which is before us. It was a hasty trip to Constantinople, with brief stops at Gibraltar, Tangier, Athens, and Cairo. We see the life of these places through the eye of a trained observer. It is a remarkable eye, quite as notable for what it does not see as for anything else, and for its power of selecting from the throng of details the few real elements of the picture. Some one said that Mr. Davis's earlier book of travel, *The West From a Car-Window*, was photographic, a series of "Kodak shots." That is far from the truth. He is really a painter of the impressionist school, an artist in words, and not many living painters could give us on canvas such vivid representations of life as characterize these fascinating pages.

Abraham Lincoln. In two volumes. By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 387; Vol. II, pp. 373. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50 per set.

This volume appears at the first thought a hazardous undertaking on the part of Mr. Morse. So much has been said, and by so many writers, concerning the martyred Lincoln that it would almost seem as if the uttermost fact had been discovered and the final word written regarding him. Like some rich harmony, however, with whose repetition the ear never grows weary, comes the thrilling story of this rise from the backwoodsman's obscurity to the rulership of the republic. The familiar facts of Lincoln's unique life are again spread before the reader in these volumes—his childhood poverty, the shadow upon his boyhood in the death of his mother, his start in life, his law experience, his short career in Congress, and the crowning honor of the presidency. The same rugged personality is again before us with which history has already made us acquainted. Lincoln, in his inflexible adherence to principle, his mastery of men, his subtle humor, his quaint pathos, and, withal, his tendency to melancholy, once more confronts the reader as a character study.

And both the life record of the great President and his personal traits take on a new attraction, as if for the first time we read the story. "Lincoln," says Mr. Morse, "was like Shakespeare, in that he seemed to run through the whole gamut of human nature." Having so touched all the experiences of men, he is in some sense the teacher of all; and though it is "only thirty-three years" since he "became of much note in the world," yet he is henceforth the property of the centuries. "Let us take him," says the author, "simply as Abraham Lincoln, singular and solitary, as we all see that he was; let us be thankful if we can make a niche big enough for him among the world's heroes, without worrying ourselves about the proportion which it may bear to other niches; and there let him remain forever, lonely, as in his strange lifetime, impressive, mysterious, unmeasured, and unsolved." Mr. Morse has contributed a most deserving addition to the series now being issued on "American Statesmen."

Thomas Birch Freeman, Missionary Pioneer to Ashanti, Dahomey, and Egba. By JOHN MILUM, F.R.G.S. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The son of a slave, brought from the West Indies to England, married a European serving-woman in the village of Twyford, near the ancient cathedral town of Winchester. Of this union was born in 1809 one child, Thomas, who took the name of Mr. Birch, his father's master, and added Freeman as a last name because he obtained freedom under the Emancipation Act. This boy was converted and religiously trained by the labors of Wesleyan Methodist lay preachers and class leaders. As he grew in knowledge and his soul was filled with the spirit of Christ the African blood in his veins began to yearn toward the Dark Continent; and the story of its wrongs, its sufferings, its horrid superstitions and bloody rites, its brutal barbarism, filled him with such pity that he had no peace till the Wesleyan Missionary Society, after examination, appointed him to the newly formed mission on the Gold Coast, western Africa. The Wesleyan work on that coast began in 1836, by the sending out of Joseph R. Dunwell, the first missionary to the Fantis. In six months he died. Not long after the work there was taken up by the subject of this little volume. One of his earliest tasks in Africa was to dig a grave for the body of his wife, a cultivated English woman who had joined herself to him for the salvation of dusky heathen tribes. Possibly his African blood enabled him to endure the climate which proved so deadly to full-blooded Caucasians. At all events he lived and labored there for over fifty years, dying in 1890 full of years and in great satisfaction over the result of his labors. He witnessed the marvelous development of a work which looks to Lake Chad as its ultimate point, its natural course being, if faithfully prosecuted, "across the swamps to Benin, and around to the bend of the Niger, over the hills to Nkoranza, and thence onward to Timbuktu; through Salagha and the inner lands of the half-pagan, half-Islamite Soudanese, to Sakatu, and thence to Kuka on the Great Lake." Nothing illustrates better the spirit of this man of God than a passage

from the book he wrote near the end of his life, entitled *The Missionary Enterprise No Fiction.* Thus he depicts and encourages the missionary to Africa: "Newly arrived in a burning, torrid clime, the vital question comes, Will he endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, 'as seeing him who is invisible?' Thousands of miles from home and friends, surrounded by a savage people perishing for lack of knowledge, he has no human aid at hand, no earthly friend or counselor; and yet he can say, 'I am not alone, because the Father is with me.' Now comes the test of faith, courage, and patience. Like the husbandman he must wait long for the precious fruit until the Lord send the refreshing rain. He must toil on through many a dark, cloudy, and discouraging day, plowing and sowing in hope. Bearer of the precious seed, he will doubtless weep; but faith beholds in the distance the time of rejoicing in the midst of a glorious harvest. Onward then, O beloved missionary! Onward, lonely messenger of mercy, warrior of Messiah, greatly valorous! When thy hands hang down and thy spirit droops, *remember Calvary;* panting under the burning heat of noon, *remember Calvary;* and should life ebb out, a solitary wanderer for the benefit of mankind in a pagan land, *remember Calvary.* Be this thy banner, thy watchword, thy rallying cry, yea, be this thy very life, to *remember Calvary,* Calvary, with its dying love; Calvary, with its world-crucifying power; Calvary, with its glorious hopes; Calvary, with its wondrous prospects!" The veteran who wrote those words, and who for half a century was "a burning and a shining light" in the pagan darkness of the Gold Coast, died of influenza in August, 1890, the funeral being held in the church where he had preached for many years, and the committal service at the grave being read by a Church of England clergyman.

The Dawn of Italian Independence. Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849. In two volumes. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 453; Vol. II, pp. 446. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

Mr. Thayer opens his historical venture with a not unimpressive simile. Comparing the Italian people to an invalid, he declares that their gradual renewal during the first half of the present century "must be described, like the convalescence of a patient from a long sickness, by symptoms, much more than by startling occurrences." This assumption that Italy was in a state of sickness as the century opened is one of the truisms of history. A fair land in its overarching skies, a land rich in memorials of art and literature, a land which looks backward to Hildebrand, Dante, and Galileo, as among the great performers upon the stage of its national life —its former condition is in truth not sketched with too somber colors by Mr. Thayer. "From the time of Charlemagne to the time of Napoleon," he says, "she was never mistress of herself, but always the victim of foreign rapacity. All this was her inheritance, when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she seriously resolved to be free." To write this latest page in her national development is an undertaking worthy the pen of the most ambitious historian; to tell the story in so complete a

way as does Mr. Thayer is to give a new value to the romance of modern Italy. The writer is a master of the task he undertakes. Availing himself not only of events, but of "the biography of a representative man," a "custom, or a book, which may often serve better than official documents to reveal the forces working below the surface in Italy," he has woven a narrative which is more than fascinating. As for the men whom he portrays, such characters as Prince Metternich, the diplomatist and intriguer, Victor Emmanuel, with his qualities of excellence, Mazzini, "the great conspirator," and Garibaldi, the patriot, stand forth in all their separate qualities and give vividness to the scene. The part played by the papacy through the whole is also adequately noticed. As a piece of graphic description the account of the death of Gregory XVI and the choice of Pius IX, with which the second volume opens, is unexcelled. In fact, wherever the reader turns he finds himself borne along both by the dramatic quality of the events narrated and by the masterly use of English which the author displays. Altogether his work is one to be much desired.

The Student's Roman Empire. A History of the Roman Empire, from its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius (27 B. C. to 180 A. D.). By J. B. BURY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume is included in the well-known "Student's Series," and "bridges the gap between the *Student's Rome* and the *Student's Gibbon.*" The period with which it deals is that of the rise and prosperity of the Roman Empire, as Gibbon deals with its decline and fall. The author characterizes this period as "perhaps the most important" of the empire, or, indeed, of Rome. Certainly then flourished most of the emperors whose names are household words, even to those whose knowledge of them extends no further. Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Piso, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—these are the emperors whose virtues and vices, whose greatness and weaknesses render this period of Roman history one of the most picturesque and instructive in human annals. The author cannot be accused of a brilliant style. The last sentence in the book, "We hear of boys being caught up from the top of a pageant to the awning of the Flavian amphitheater," seems a needlessly abrupt ending. Yet his narrative is painstaking and sufficiently clear, and evinces much learning and diligent research. More, however, than a mere narrative is attempted. Constitutional development and history receive careful attention. Three chapters out of the thirty-one are devoted to literature; while the last chapter discusses "Roman Life and Manners," and presents many details not otherwise readily obtainable. We cordially commend the work as furnishing what is nowhere else contained within the same compass, and as being a really valuable compendium of the period of which it treats. Two colored maps are inserted, each of two pages, respectively of the western and eastern portions of the empire. In the last chapter are one or two illustrations which are especially interesting—one

representing the interior of a room in one of the Pompeian baths, another the method by which wild animals were introduced into the arena. Each chapter is followed by "Notes and Illustrations" of various matters suggested by the text; while an index of twelve three-column pages adds immeasurably to the value of the book as a work of reference. While intended primarily, as its title indicates, for the use of students in the higher schools and universities, it is a volume which will repay careful reading by the general public and be a convenient addition to the scholar's library.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Pulpit and Platform. Sermons and Addresses by Rev. O. H. TIFFANY, D.D., LL.D. Compiled by Rev. J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 251. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Dr. Tiffany's ministerial career was in various respects exceptional. He was one of the most gifted men for public discourse to be found in any denomination. His exquisite sensibilities, and his strong taste for ritual and for the proprieties and æsthetics of worship, might naturally have carried him into the Protestant Episcopal body but for his ardent love and firm attachment to Methodism. He was so made that elegance was a necessity to him; all his ideals of style and utterance and form were elegant; and the wonder was that such a passion for polish and finish should be accompanied by overpowering force and fervor. His rhetoric was stately and sonorous, his oratoric action the perfection of ease and manly grace, while his utterance was crisp, clear, intelligent, and rhythmical in enunciation, emphasis, and inflection. He knew all the stops of rhetoric, and when he chose to pull them he was like the skilled player of an organ. On some special public occasions he was an oratorical splendor. His lavish, luxurious nature might have made his speech tropical and excessively ornate if not guarded by good taste and checked by culture through a familiar acquaintance with, and careful study of, the best models. That the rhetoric on these printed pages seems hardly so sumptuous as we expected only proves that the grandeur and the spell must have been more in the delivery and the personal presence than we were aware of when listening to his sermons and addresses. Dr. Tiffany's style reminds us most of E. P. Whipple. The wisdom of a judicious discrimination is manifest in the admirable representative selection which the skillful compiler, Dr. Johnston, has made from the accumulated manuscripts of a lifetime. From so much material it was probably no easy thing to choose, but Tiffany's best is undoubtedly in this volume.

The Table Talk of Dr. Martin Luther. Illustrated by Joseph M. Gleeson. 16mo, pp. 141. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, 75 cents.

Laus Deo. By GEORGE KLINGLE. 16mo, pp. 88. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.

These two booklets are specimens of the exquisitely bound volumes which the publishers prepare for the holiday season. No firm surpasses them in the beauty of their gift books.

The World's Parliament of Religions. An illustrated and popular story of the world's first Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Edited by Rev. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., Chairman of the General Committee on Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 800. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company. Price, cloth, set of two volumes, $5; leather, $7.50; full morocco, $10.

An advanced copy of the first volume of this great work is before us. The most complete and stupendous exposition ever seen was open in Chicago from May to November. The most unique and comprehensive assemblage ever gathered on earth was the World's Parliament of Religions. This volume, with the one which is to follow it, containing the record of that gathering and the only complete and authorized reports of all addresses and papers presented, is such a book as no man ever saw before. That its contents are of intense interest to all sorts and conditions of men goes without saying. More than one hundred and sixty of the leading minds of the world contribute their best thought to its pages. It has two hundred and thirty full-page illustrations, reproductions of photographs of religious subjects gathered in all lands, including in addition pictures of most of the participants in the Parliament. It belongs to a new epoch in the history of religion among men. It will increase, clarify, expand, and enrich our knowledge; and all correct knowledge redounds to the glory of the truth and brings on its boundless and everlasting triumph. Let the light blaze and let the truth stand forth! Because this book is the authentic and trustworthy record of a world event of incalculable moment to all mankind it cannot be ephemeral; it must take its place in permanent literature.

The Cloister and the Hearth; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow. By CHARLES READE. Illustrated from Drawings, by WILLIAM MARTIN JOHNSON. 2 vols., 8vo. Illuminated silk, uncut edges, and gilt top. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, $8.

This is a most sumptuous and elegant edition of the acknowledged masterpiece of Charles Reade, who, against the claims of music, painting, sculpture, engraving, and the rest, argued that among the fine arts fiction is supreme. To the prosecution of the art to which he was a passionate and patient devotee be brought extraordinary powers. His work was animated and elevated by great and worthy purposes. The illustrator of *Ben Hur* has embellished almost every page of these volumes with suggestive and felicitous decorative designs.

A Motto Changed. By JEAN INGELOW. 12mo, pp. 208. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

Just such a story as might be expected from the woman who is fittest to stand close beside Elizabeth Barrett Browning among the literary women of England. Every stream of poetry or prose that flows from Jean Ingelow is pure, sweet, and wholesome as the water that bubbles up through the clean white sand of a boiling spring; it is a water of life in human homes, and makes glad the city of God.

NOTE.—This is the special season of books. The *Review* has endeavored to do justice to the season up to the limits of its space. It will be observed that twenty-four are noticed in the present issue.—ED.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1894.

ART. I.—"THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD LAY."

THE statements of the four evangelists regarding the tomb of our Lord have always been the subject of much interest and inquiry. Recent exploration has added considerably to our archæological knowledge and greatly helped scholars and exegetes to set the Bible narratives in their true light. Some rectification of statements in standard Methodist authors is made possible, and certain internal evidences of the truthfulness of the New Testament accounts, scarcely noticed before, now become strikingly apparent. It is not proposed in this article to discuss the site of the tomb, but, as far as possible, to reconstruct the tomb itself before the mind's eye, in the interest of a clearer understanding of the sacred history. The importance of the subject certainly warrants a careful study of all accessible sources of information.

The fraudulent character of the present reputed "holy sepulcher" is of course assumed. While it probably stands somewhere near the place of the true one, no competent modern authority of which the writer has knowledge pays any respect to its claims in other particulars. All who have seen it agree that every visible part of the present tomb is manifestly of modern construction. The claim that the stone work covers the rock is nowhere supported by any appearance of the rock itself, and all investigation has been carefully guarded against. The entire structure is in a building above ground, standing on the floor of a church, and it by no means perfectly agrees with the requirements of either the Scriptures or of Jewish archæology.

In addition to the tomb of Christ the church is said to contain the burial places of Melchizedek, of Adam's skull, of Joseph, and of Nicodemus, all of which, together with a number of other sacred places and objects too numerous for any church to cover, are pointed out with a pretense of accuracy that throws discredit upon the whole. It is admitted by all that previous to the time of the Empress Helena the locality was in the hands of the pagans, who tried to obliterate all its distinctive features. If so, they could certainly have destroyed the tomb. Moreover, the original Church of the Holy Sepulcher was burnt by the Persians A. D. 614. It is said to have been again fired after the era of Haroun-al-Raschid. It was razed to the foundations during the period of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. For the true sepulcher to have been preserved during all these destructive events would have required more and greater miracles than are reported to have attended its discovery by the Empress Helena.

I. *The Tomb.*—Let us proceed, first of all, to gather from the scriptural accounts of the entombment such portions as will serve as a basis for our attempt. "Now in the place," that is, in the immediate vicinity, "where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." It was the tomb of a "rich man of Arimathæa, named Joseph," "which he had hewn out in the rock." This Joseph was an "honorable counselor," "a good man and a just," who "had not consented to the counsel and deed of them" who had condemned Christ. The name "counselor" applied to Joseph indicates that he was a member of the Sanhedrin; and, in addition, the statement of his nonconcurrence in the condemnation of Jesus implies the possession by him of functions pertaining to that office. In harmony with well-known requirements, all members of the Sanhedrin were to be wealthy, in order that they might properly support the dignity of the office. Further, they must be married, that they might sympathize with domestic affairs. They were also to have children, that they might know how to show mercy. We may, therefore, properly think of Jesus as having been laid in such a tomb as a Sanhedrist would probably provide for himself and family. What was it like? From Colonel Wilson's description of burial places in the vicinity of Jerusalem we extract the following facts

pertinent to the inquiry. One of the simple forms of tombs, he says, is "that in which a rectangular space is cut into the vertical face of the rock after the manner of an oven, extending six feet or more horizontally inward, and sufficiently wide and high to admit of a corpse being pushed in. . . . Such a grave is called in the Talmud a *kok* (pl., *kokim*)." Further on, speaking of the various classes into which these tombs may be divided, he says:

> The first class is that in which a natural cavern in one of the softer strata of limestone is adapted to sepulchral purposes. *Kokim* are cut in the sides of the cave, with their beds on a level with the ground, and the openings are then closed with rough stone slabs, resting against the face of the rock or fitting more closely into the excavation. In this class of tomb no arrangement was made for closing the entrance to the cavern. It seems not improbable that these tombs were used for the burial of the poor, and they were perhaps constructed at the public expense. In the second class of tomb a square or oblong chamber is carefully cut in the solid rock; the entrance is by a low, square opening, closed either by a closely fitting stone slab or by a stone door turning on a socket hinge and secured by bolts on the outside. These tombs, remarkable for the care which has been bestowed on the excavation, were probably the family vaults of wealthy people.*

Additional light is cast upon the construction of Jewish tombs of the better class by Dr. Edersheim, whose statements, coming as they do from a rabbinically learned Jew, are of the very highest authority. He says, referring to the sepulcher of Christ:

> Not only the rich, but even those moderately well-to-do, had tombs of their own, which probably were acquired and prepared long before they were needed and treated and inherited as private and personal property. . . . The "tombs" were either "rock-hewn" or natural "caves," or else large walled vaults with niches along the sides. Such a "cave" or "vault" of four cubits' (six feet) width, six cubits' (nine feet) length, and four cubits' (six feet) height, contained niches for eight bodies—three in each of the longitudinal sides and two at the end opposite the entrance. Each "niche" was four cubits (six feet) long and had a height of seven, and a width of six, handbreadths. [A handbreadth is about four inches.] As these burying "niches" were hollowed out in the walls they were called *kukhin* [not *kokim*]. The larger caves or vaults were six cubits (nine feet) wide and eight cubits (twelve feet) long, and held thirteen bodies—four along each side wall, three opposite to, and one on either side of, the entrance. These figures apply, of course, only to what the

* *Picturesque Palestine*, division 1, p. 95.

law required when a vault had been contracted for. When a person constructed one for himself the dimensions of the walls and the number of *kukhin* might, of course, vary.*

Major Conder's description adds a few particulars to the above:

> The ordinary form of a Hebrew tomb was a low chamber with a small entrance, having on each side small tunnels, called in the Mishna *kokim*, each large enough for a corpse, with the feet nearest the entrance and the head at the farther end, supported by a small raised step or stone pillow. Of these *kokim* there were from twelve to sixteen in each chamber. They resemble early Phœnician tombs in their arrangement, "with the difference that the chamber is always reached by a door in the face of the rock, and never occurs at the bottom of a shaft."†

It is reasonable to suppose that the family tomb of a member of the Sanhedrin would present no essential departure from the normal type at this period when reverence for the law was at its highest. It would rather be conformed to the extreme of legality. We may, therefore, imagine, first of all, a rock-hewn tomb of the general proportions named in Dr. Edersheim's description. Of its exact size or of the number of *kukhin* we have, of course, no means of judging; and yet, conjecturing from the probable size and requirements of an orthodox Jewish family, we may suppose it would scarcely be made to contain less than eight bodies.

II. *The Niches, or Kukhin.*—The foregoing statements that these extended perpendicularly inward, at right angles with the face of the wall, are in accord with all the diagrams of the interior of purely Jewish tombs that are popularly known.‡ But from the fact that there are certain tombs in the vicinity of Jerusalem in which the niches are simply shelves parallel with the wall, wherein the body was inserted sidewise, some writers have imagined that Christ was buried in this manner.§ The scriptural mention of the "two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain," has been adduced in favor of this view. But the most recent authorities agree that the shallow niche is not found in purely Jewish rock-cut tombs and that the deep loculus

* *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, pp. 318, 319.

† *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1887.

‡ See McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, art. "Sepulcher;" De Hass, *Buried Cities Recovered*, p. 174.

§ Freeman's *Handbook*, art. "Rock Sepulcher."

is universal in such. On this point McClintock and Strong (article "Sepulcher") say:

> The shallow loculus . . . was apparently only used when sarcophagi were employed, and therefore, so far as we know, only during the Græco-Roman period, when foreign customs came to be adopted. The shallow loculus would have been singularly inappropriate and inconvenient where an unembalmed body was laid out to decay, as there would evidently be no means of shutting it off with the rest of the catacomb. The deep loculus, on the other hand, was as strictly conformable with Jewish customs.

Major Conder says that the anthropoid sarcophagus does not seem to have been in use among the Hebrews, and, further, that there is nothing to show that the Hebrews, ever embalmed their dead in such a manner as to permanently prevent decay. It is true that a "mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pound weight," was wound in the linen clothes, "as the manner of the Jews is to bury." And it is also true that some writers. Geikie, for example, have fallen into the overstatement that the Jews attached "supreme importance," "like the Egyptians," "to the checking of natural decay by embalming." * But the fact appears to be that the Jews no more expected to prevent final decay by the use of spices and ointments than do we by the employment of our temporary preserving fluids. While the unguents would retard decomposition for a time, and while this was part of their intention, the main purpose of any marked profusion was to express respect or affection, as we do by using quantities of flowers or a costly coffin. The writer is assured by a learned rabbi of his acquaintance, who is conversant with all the customs of the Jews, that they have never desired to prevent decomposition, save for the brief period necessary for bestowing the offices of esteem or love, and that in some countries they refrain from using a coffin, in order that the ashes of the dead may mingle more quickly with the earth. In view of all the testimony it seems reasonable to conclude that Joseph the Sanhedrist, careful to observe the customs of his people, would fit up his family tomb with deep *kukhin*. What appears decisive upon this point is that there was not room enough in a wall of the legal Jewish tomb for three *kukhin*, of seven handbreadths' height apiece, to be made one

* Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. ii, p. 577.

above another. They would require a space of eighty-four inches from bottom to top, to say nothing of the divisions between the various cells; whereas a wall of the regulation height of four cubits (six feet) would only allow seventy-two inches. And these are the lowest niches known. In the figured specimens of McClintock and Strong the height is thirty-six inches. Therefore the notion that Christ was buried in a shelf receptacle appears untenable, and John xx, 12, must be referred to another part of the sepulcher.

III. *The Ledge, or Bench.*—In excavating the rock to form the class of tombs under discussion a ledge was left at the base of the walls. Colonel Wilson mentions this "rock bench beneath the *kokim* for the anointment of the body." It was upon this bench that the two angels sat, "the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain." And this is that on which, when the two Marys and Salome had entered into the sepulcher, they "saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment." An interesting question arises here. Did the body of Jesus permanently repose upon this ledge, where it had received its anointment and wrapping, or did Joseph and Nicodemus remove it hence to a niche? Whedon correctly holds the latter view. Quoting the angel's words, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay," he says, "pointing doubtless to the particular cell in the wall of the tomb," and continues:

> This implies, in accordance with Mark, that the angel was in the tomb. The place was doubtless a cell or niche, usually cut horizontally into the perpendicular wall, so as to insert the corpse with the head entering first and feet toward the court. Sometimes a shelf or bench was cut along the wall so as to allow the corpse to lie parallel to the wall and entirely visible. As Mary Magdalene saw two angels, one at the head and the other at the feet of Jesus (John xx, 12), this must have been the method in which Jesus lay.*

Certain arguments may be suggested in favor of the body's having lain all the time upon the ledge, but they appear to be overbalanced by others that favor its removal to the niche. Thus, it may be thought, from the probable haste of the burial and from the return of the women on the second morning with more spices, that the preparation of the body for its last resting-

* Before he was put in the "place," as stated in the first sentence of the comment.

place was incomplete, and that therefore it would be left over the Sabbath where it was first placed. But, on the other hand, there is nothing to show that Joseph and Nicodemus did not regard their offices as final; while the coming of the women may properly be attributed to their zealous affection, which needed gratification more than the body needed anointing. Again, while the texts admit of the possible understanding that the body remained upon the bench and that the angel directed the attention of the women to that spot, it would seem that, in such a case, the invitation to "come, see the place," was superfluous; for since the women were already within the tomb the bench was immediately under their eyes, and the empty graveclothes lying upon it would have at once attracted their notice. The language is certainly more fairly a call to examine some "place" not then fairly visible to the women, but seen by the angel. Again, although it is possible that a napkin lying upon the bench might not have been seen by John from the outside of the tomb, while he was "stooping down, and looking in," yet this is hardly probable, for the whole interior of the chamber must have been visible to him. Peter, also, when he looked in from the outside, saw only "the linen clothes laid by themselves." It is more likely that the napkin had been left by our Lord in the niche, beyond the range of vision from outside the door. Our conclusion would then be that the body lay in a *kuk*—which one it is of course impossible to say. It was certainly not in one of the niches beside the door, if there were such, for the clothes could not have been seen there from the outside. If Joseph and Nicodemus performed the last rites alone, as the account seems to indicate, they would naturally have both stood on the outside of the body as it lay on the bench between them and the right-hand wall; and if they then placed it in the most convenient receptacle they would have lifted and inserted it, the head first, in the right-hand corner niche at the end opposite the door. This niche would also be the one farthest from the women upon their entrance; in view of which they might most properly be bidden, "Come, see the place." To this also would the angel, "sitting upon the right side," most easily point with his right hand while uttering the invitation. Of course, the only value of these suppositions is to show that the biblical

narrative easily yields itself to what was a probable construction of the tomb.

IV. *The Door, Great Stone, and Court.*—"And he [Joseph] rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulcher." It was so large that when the two Marys and Salome came, on the first day of the week, they said, "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? . . . for it was very great." But their apprehension was unfounded, for an "angel of the Lord" had "rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it." As far as we are aware there is no substantial disagreement among the principal archæological authorities regarding the probable size of the door. It was likely about three feet square, or possibly somewhat less in width. The door, in a similar situation, which is described by Dr. Barclay* was "two and a half feet broad and less than three feet high." The door figured in Whedon's *Commentary* (Matt. xxvii, 60) is about three feet square. Such is also the size of the opening into the present "holy sepulcher," which, while evidently a late structure, is yet of some value as testimony, from the evident attempt of its fabricators to conform, as far as they knew how, to the pattern of the tombs around Jerusalem.† Colonel Wilson says of the tombs of the rich, part of his description of which has already been quoted, "The entrance is by a low, square opening." And finally it will be recalled that Major Conder has already stated that "the ordinary form of the Hebrew tomb was a low chamber with a small entrance." So that there seems to be no foundation for the remark in McClintock and Strong (art. "Sepulcher") that the entrance to the tomb of Christ may have been "a door, say six feet by three feet"—a notion evidently adopted as ground for an argument that if the "great stone" had been intended to close the door it would have been too large to move, and that therefore it must have been placed instead at the opening of the loculus. On the contrary, the Bible account itself agrees with the smaller dimensions mentioned in the chief authorities. Peter could only see through the door into the tomb by "stooping down." So also John. So also Mary. It is hardly presumable all these were persons so tall that they must stoop to look in at a door "six feet" high.

* *City of the Great King*, p. 191. † De Hass, *Buried Cities Recovered*, p. 174.

"And as they went out they rolled, as was the custom, a 'great stone'—the *golel*—to close the entrance to the tomb, probably leaning against it for support, as was the practice, a smaller stone—the so-called *dopheq*." * Both Dr. Barclay† and Porter ‡ speak of such a *golel*, or "roller," in their accounts of the tombs of the kings, and figure it in shape like a millstone, rolling to the left side of the door and catching there in a slot in the rock. Colonel Wilson gives his adherence to this as the probable method of closing the tomb of Christ; and Strauss avers that this mode of shutting graves by a "roller" is met with at the present time. § An aperture three feet square would require to cover it a roller of not less than four and a half feet in diameter—rather more, so that it might rest firmly upon the jambs. Dr. Edersheim says, "At the entrance to the vault [and within the rock] was a 'court' six cubits (nine feet) square, to hold the bier and its bearers." ‖ Supposing this to be true, then, provided the three-foot aperture covered by its four-and-a-half foot roller was in the lower half of the court wall, at the center, as symmetry would require, it would leave three feet of the wall clear at the left side of the door. This would necessitate a slot one and a half feet deep in the rock to enable the "roller" to clear the opening. When rolled back by the angel and caught three feet of the "roller" would be between the door and slot, resting against the wall at its back, forming a convenient seat for the angel. The groove in which the roller ran would slightly reduce the height of the seat. The bottom of the door, if it was like the drawings before referred to, would be somewhat above the floor of the court; so that the disciples and Mary, when looking into the tomb, would not have to stoop so low as though the three-foot aperture were flush with the floor. Sometimes the *golel* was held in its place by the *dopheq*, as Dr. Edersheim observes; in other sepulchers it caught in a slot to the right of the door, as Dr. Barclay's figure shows; and still again, it was sometimes fastened by a crossbeam.¶

Archæology and the exact words of the sacred text would now seem to correct a few mistakes of authors otherwise admi-

* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, p. 618.
† *City of the Great King*, p. 192. ‡ *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 139.
§ *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 205. ‖ *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, p. 319.
¶ Strauss's *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 205.

rable. Dr. Whedon says, "The stone probably was flat, and rolled by successive overthrows." But the angel would hardly have been sitting on a thin slab, which, when taken away from the tomb, would naturally lie upon its flat side. If Dr. Whedon imagined it was a square block he was possibly too much influenced by the spurious "stone" shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Archæologists do not mention such stones as having been used to close Jewish tombs. The argument in McClintock and Strong in favor of the supposition that the "roller" was used to cover the end of the niche is based upon the exaggerated dimensions assigned to the door—"six feet by three feet." A roller four and a half feet in diameter and of six or seven inches in thickness, while "very great," and to the apprehension of the women perhaps impossible for them to "roll away," might not be beyond the power of even a single man if it were well rounded and balanced. The famous Logan Stone on the coast of Cornwall, although weighing many scores of tons, could be easily rocked by a single hand before its overthrow by a company of roistering sailors. Inquiry among millmen by the writer develops the fact that a stone of the size we have estimated would weigh between six and seven hundred pounds; and his own experiments show that it could be easily moved upon a hard surface by a single person. As to McClintock and Strong's idea that because the stone from the tomb of Lazarus was taken away with such apparent ease it must have been a thin slab, we might admit as much without affecting the argument. It was a "cave-tomb," and Colonel Wilson tells us* that the *kukhin* in such were sometimes closed with slabs, probably because the largeness of the mouths of caves, or their irregular shape, did not admit of their being easily covered. But in the "rock-hewn" tombs, when the size of the entrance to the chamber could be controlled, the "roller," or else the hinged door, was used. Moreover, the statements in both Mark xvi, 3–5, and Luke xxiv, 2, 3, plainly indicate that it was the rolling away of the stone that gave the women admission "into the sepulcher." But unless "into the sepulcher" means "into the niche," and unless the women "entered into" a niche having a probable height of seven handbreadths (twenty-eight inches) and a width of six (twenty-four

* *Picturesque Palestine*, p. 95.

inches), then the supposition that the roller was at the opening of the niche must be erroneous.

Finally, we know that the aperture could not have been closed by a rock slab of "basalt or hard limestone" hinged to its side, "with stone hinges working in well-cut sockets," such as Colonel Wilson and Major Conder both mention as being used in some other cases, because some form of the verb *κυλίνδω* is used in every account of the transaction. This is the word from which the Greek *κύκλος* and our "cylinder" and "circular" are derived. It is correctly translated "rolled." If the opening to the tomb had been shut by the hinged door the inspired authors would have employed some form of the verb *κλείω*, from which it is likely we get our word "close." There is no variation or equivalency in the meaning of these two words in either the classic or New Testament usage. Although in our own vernacular we sometimes speak of a hinged door being "rolled back on its hinges," no such confusion of thought is possible in the Greek. So we conclude that the door was closed by a "roller."

V. *The Reasonableness of the Narrative.*—Thus have we gone from the inner chamber of the sepulcher outward. Combining the data furnished by Wilson, Edersheim, and Conder, together with that afforded by the four evangelists, we may believe that we have constructed our Lord's resting-place with approximate correctness. In our thoughts, approaching the tomb from the garden, we first enter the "court" through its open side. At the opposite side is the "great stone," which was "rolled back." We next pass through the low "door" into the inner "tomb," an oblong, rectangular chamber. Around the wall at regular intervals are the openings of the *kukhin*, or "places." Beneath them, at least on the right side, is the "bench." Accepting this construction, all the statements of the sacred narrative fall easily into place.

Let us, for example, recapitulate a single occurrence somewhat more fully. The third day has come. Mary Magdalene reports that the body is not in the tomb. "Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple [John], and came to the sepulcher. So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulcher. And he stooping down, and looking in, saw [*βλέπει*] the linen clothes,"

which had been wrapped around the body, "lying" (*κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια*). His look was a swift and sweeping one, not a careful scrutiny. Peter also, having been outrun, came a little later to the tomb, and "stooping down, he beheld" with the same swift glance (*βλέπει*) the linen body-clothes laid by themselves. Full of his usual impetuosity, "Simon Peter . . . went into the sepulcher and seeth" as the result of a careful inspection (*θεωρεῖ*) "the linen clothes lie," and not only these, but also "the napkin [*σουδάριον*] that was about his head." * The reason Peter saw the napkin which had enwrapped the head was that, he having entered the chamber and being nearer the end of the niche, it was now brought within the angle of his vision as it was not from the outside. As Alford says *in loco*:

> Notice also that John when he stooped and looked in saw only the *ὀθόνια*, which seem to have been lying where the feet were, nearest the entrance; whereas Peter, on going in, saw the *σουδάριον*, which was perhaps deposited farther in, near the place of the head.

Note, we say, the self-evidencing nature of the account—the hasty glances of the two disciples from the outside, disclosing only the large objects that lay near the mouth of the niche, the body-clothes; then the entrance of Peter into the chamber and his deliberate examination, revealing in addition, from where he now stood, the head-cloth, unseen before, because it was far up the niche. It bears the evidence of truthfulness in its very structure.

More striking still, to our thought, is the internal evidence of the entire accuracy of the history afforded by the statement that the head-cloth was still "rolled," just as it had been rolled around the head of its august occupant. It is a circumstance that seems thus far to have escaped the notice of commentators and biographers of Christ. Farrar has "the linen cerements . . . neatly folded, each in its proper place." † Geikie has "the cloth that had covered the face of the dead . . . folded up in a place by itself." ‡ Even Edersheim notes only that the body-clothes and napkin lay apart, and then observes, "There was no sign of haste, but all was orderly, leaving the impression of One who had leisurely divested himself of what no longer befitted

* On the significance of *βλέπει* and *θεωρεῖ* see Meyer's and Alford's commentaries *in loco*; also Edersheim, vol. ii, p. 634.

† *Life of Christ*, p. 433.

‡ *Life and Words of Christ*, vol. ii, p. 585.

him." * The King James Version has the napkin "wrapped together." The Revised Version alone has it "rolled up," which is undoubtedly sustained by the Greek. The word is *ἐντετυλιγμένον*, a derivation of *τυλλίσσω*, "to twist or roll up," another derivative of which, *ενετύλιξεν*, is employed in Matt. xxvii, 59, to describe the circular swathing of the body. If the napkin had been folded some form of *πτύσσω*, "to fold," would have occurred. In none of the standard lexicons can we find variation or commingling in the use of these two words. Each has its own idea, sharp and distinct. That the napkin lay in the head of the niche "rolled up" shows, not that Jesus had leisurely divested himself of it, as Edersheim says, giving the impression that he had employed his hands in unwinding and folding it up, but that he had simply vanished through it, as he afterward did through the rock of the cave or as he came through the shut doors to the meeting of the disciples. For we believe that the "great stone" was rolled away, not to afford Jesus egress from the sepulcher, but to show he was already gone. There on the head-rest lay the napkin, retaining the very shape of the sacred head that would wear it no more. This it was, preeminently, together with the "lying" of the body-clothes in the same place where Christ had vanished out of them, that caused John, who as yet "knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead," to believe. And it is the exceeding reasonableness of these small incidental statements, which reveal so pregnant a meaning when the structure of the tomb is properly conceived, that is calculated mightily to impress the careful reader with a new sense of the entire accuracy of the sacred accounts. Verily, Newton spoke well when he declared that "the Bible attests itself as true by more internal marks of evidence than any other ancient historical book whatsoever."

* Vol. II, p. 634.

J. C. Jackson.

Art. II.—THE LATEST RENAISSANCE.

In 1877 a resurrected, in some sense a new, nation appeared and asked for admittance into the European household. Its history was ancient and noble, but had been buried for five hundred years. No people of the continent could claim a higher antiquity, yet its democratic tendencies were in advance of even those of the next youngest among the nations, the American republic. What is the genesis, what the process of evolution, that has produced "new," "young," "great" Bulgaria?

In the westward wanderings of the upper Asiatic hordes, the Bolgarui, of the Turco-Finn or the Samoyede race, crossed the Urals or the Ural River perhaps four centuries before Christ. They were probably driven from their ancient home by the Sabires, who themselves migrated later to the Caucasus, warred there with the Persians and Romans, and disappeared after A. D. 578. The Bulgarian hordes settled around the Azof and the northwestern shores of the Black Sea, where they were governed by a *shagran*, or chief, of the Dulo family. The migrant period of the race covered some six centuries. A colony, led by a chief, Vound, settled, B. C. 120, along the Araxes, in Armenia. Eunodius (473–521) mentions the westward march of the Bulgarians toward the Danube. After five or six centuries, finding themselves pressed by the Kazars, also a Turco-Finn race, they divided their hordes under the leadership of the sons of their chief Kurt (Kuvrat, Kubrat, Couvrat), an ally of Heraclius, the Roman emperor, A. D. 620. Batbai, the eldest, retained his patrimony between the Azof and the Kouban River. Kotragos, the second son, crossed the Don and founded the empire of the Volga (Bolga), which was destined to inherit the industrial and commercial prosperity of the Kazar empire. The third and fourth sons led hordes into Hungary, the Frank country, and Lombardy; while Asparich (Asparuch, Isperich), the youngest, went westward and halted for a time in the corner (Slav-Greek, *ongloss*) now known as Bessarabia, but ere long, perhaps with his maternal uncle Bezmer, crossed the Danube (679), settled in the Dobrudsha, and later let his people loose throughout all Mœsia.

For six hundred years Great Bolgary, the land of the White Bolgarui of the Volga, maintained itself as a strong, united, developed nation. Its merchants traded with northern and eastern Russia by means of the river, and with the Orient by means of the Caspian. Its artisans were skilled in many industries, eminently in weaving and leather work.* When the Variag-Slav hero-prince Vladimir (985), with his uncle Dobrinia, Governor of Novgorod Veliki (the Great), entered the Bolgar country with intent to appropriate it, he observed the fine boots of the men. "These are not likely to pay us tribute," he said, looking down at his own inferior *chaussure;* "we must push onward and find men who wear *lepti* [the bark foot coverings worn, and worn to this day, by the Russian peasant] or poorer gear than *lepti*." The *drujina*, the leal men of the prince, prudently signed a treaty with the elders of the people, to last "till stones shall float and hops shall sink in the river." Bolgary, the capital, near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, an inhabited town down to the present century, was well built and fortified long before Kief, Vladimir's capital; and the city of Briakhimof, one of several whose names have been preserved, was a place of importance after the colonization of Muscovite Russia in the twelfth century. Down nearly to that century these people, being inclined to domestic industries and to an orderly mode of living, were more advanced than were the contemporary Slavs of Ilmen or those of Kief; that is, than the early Russians, with whom they maintained relations of trade.

Simultaneously was compacted the state west of the Danube. The immigrants had found the country there largely preempted by the ubiquitous, soil-tilling Slav, whose westward wanderings date from the third to the eighth Christian centuries—the Slav, who, by the seventh century, had set his stakes or his rooftree along lines running from the shores of the Volkhof in western Russia to the lower parts of Laconia, and from the broad currents of the Volga to those of the Elbe. All Europe east of the twelfth degree of longitude and south of the six-

* The best Russia leather of the present period is prepared in the government of Kazan, the ancient home of the Bolgarui of the Volga. Dressed leather is known by their name in the empire. In the further Orient fine boots are called *borgals*—that is, *Bolgar*, with the consonants transposed. The Tchuvashi, a people settled near Kazan, are supposed to be a survival of the ancient Bolgarui.

tieth parallel of latitude was the home of this growingly preponderant race.*

In the lapse of time it came about that the Danubian Bolgars merged their speech and customs with those of the first settlers and became Slav, as later and elsewhere the Franks of Teutonic origin became Frenchmen, and the Normans of Gallic strain became Englishmen. The resultant language is not fully accordant with the grammatical system of the other Slav races. A composite speech, it indicates the national history by its accessions from Turk, Greek, Persian, and Italian. The original Bulgarian has virtually disappeared; but many names of places recall the far East. Thus, Hissar, meaning a castle—the heights formerly covered with the Carevec, the inclosure of citadel and palaces, at Tirnova—is the counterpart of two Hissars near Constantinople, of a range and province of Bokhara, and of places in Persia and India.

Within one or two centuries after the passage of the Danube arose Great Preslava (spelled with variations, as many other names in this paper), near the site of the Roman Marcianopolis, well within the boundaries of Lower Mœsia. John the Exarch describes this city in the era of Car Simeon (893–927), the culmination of ancient Bulgarian development:

> Its buildings of hewn stone and colored woods, its gold, silver, and copper, its paintings and marbles, excite the astonishment of strangers. The audience room of the prince has walls inlaid with pearls. [These may have been mosaics.] He wears a necklace of coins, bracelets, a purple girdle, a golden sword. On both sides of the throne are ranged the boljars [nobles], decorated with chains, girdles, and bracelets.

The structure of the state, completed two centuries before that of the Variag-Russ (862), was similar with it, but had the advantages over it of a native dynasty.† Both peoples were addicted to raids into the declining Lower Empire, to whose subjects the name Bolgar was as much of a horror as was that of Goth or Hun to the nations of the West.

But nothing is more changeable than the international feuds

* The Balkan Slav claims Alexander the Great as of his race, but without authority. Justin I, Justinian I, and Basil the Macedonian were of Slav families of Upper Macedonia.

† The Russian historian Karamsin admits that the Mœsian Bolgary was more advanced at this period than was his own country. M. L. Léger (*Le Save*, *Le Danube*, etc.) emphasizes the statement of Paisius, the writer who opened the Bulgarian renaissance in 1762, that among the Slav people his own were the first to receive Christianity, the first (perhaps) to make conquests, and the first to have a patriarch and saints.

and friendships of personages in high places of power. It came about, therefore, that Sviatoslaf (964–972), fourth of the Variag-Russ princes, having an alliance with the Eastern emperor Nicephorus, agreed for plausible reasons to harry the lands of Peter, the Bulgarian car. The bountiful plains of Mœsia, fertilized by a genial climate, its stately capital, and the prosperous aspects of its lesser towns appealed to the covetous Norse Russ, who wrote to his mother, Olga: "Here is a region rich and fruitful, excellent to be made the center of our domains. Hither are brought wines and woven stuffs from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary. Here, too, are wax, honey, furs, and slaves from our Russia." This was the first outreaching westward of Russian sovereignty for lands beyond the Danube. The prince proposed to remove his court forthwith to Preslava; but Olga pleaded her age and infirmities. "When I am gone thou canst go whither thou wilt." He returned home, but ere long recrossed the river and was routed in battle, with all but total loss, at Dorostorum (Silistria), by the emperor Zimisces, who could not permit a strong Slav state to be compacted on the borders of his empire, and who was even then designing the overthrow of the Bulgarian dynasty.

Against Russ, Greco-Roman, Avar, and Magyar, none the less, the Bolgar of the Danube kept his primeval freedom intact through some eight centuries. Against his rudely disciplined hordes, and that of other Slavs, the emperors and armies of the South went out again and again only to be humbled by their earth-born vigor and their indomitable persistence. The emperor Anastasius in the eighth century put about his capital a girdle of wall and tower, curved from the Pontus to the Propontis—"a sign of weakness, a monument of faint-heartedness." The mighty Belisarius was but one of many who bought a transient peace with gold. A *knez*, or prince of Bulgaria, Terbelis, restored to his throne Justinian II, who had been driven from it by popular commotions. But for the service the semibarbarian demanded a handful of silver for the left, and a handful of gold for the right, hand of each man in his army. Having procured thus much, he further pressed for a scroll full of honors, the title of Cæsar, and insisted that his shield should be heaped high with gold and his whip's length wound with silks, at that time worth their weight in gold.

Tradition adds that he succeeded in getting an imperial princess tacked to his bargain before he could be induced to betake himself homeward. Some conception of the enfeeblement produced by the ravages of this Antean race of the Hæmus may be framed from the statement that, during the thirty-two years of Justinian's reign, the empire lost not less than six millions of its subjects by the edge of their swords or in the trains of captives whom they drove northward to people their towns and recruit their industrial classes.

Krum (Kromnos, 807), an ally of Charlemagne and the founder of Tirnova, the third and most beautiful of the national capitals, prosecuted wars against three of the Eastern emperors and offered prayers and sacrifices on the walls of Constantinople. Notable deeds are recorded of Ormotag and Bogoris (Boris), the first Christian car; of Simeon, who, as despot of Greece (*imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum*), held sway over the entire peninsula, down to and inclusive of the province of Laconia—an empire of six hundred thousand square miles, washed by the Black, Ægean, and Ionian Seas; of Asen, who broke the Roman yoke and reestablished the ancient independence; of Svetslaf, who rescued Constantinople from famine by sending it stores of grain; and of Michael, whose field marshal, Ivan the Russ, entered that city, and might have held it but for a politic suggestion of the younger Andronicus. These were some of the men of valor,

> Square-faced,
> No lion more; two vivid eyes, enchased
> In hollows filled with many a shade and streak,
> Settling from the bold nose and bearded cheek.

Fortune, however, showed a degree of justice in the succession of Bulgar-Roman wars of that first era. If the imperial legions were twice destroyed to the last man, as when Krum closed the passes of the hills and quaffed his draught of victory from his *pokal*, the skull of Nicephorus, the successor of this latter surprised the *knez*, Doucom, and retaliated by a like annihilation. The great captain Zimisces compelled the abdication of Boris II and kept him prisoner in Constantinople, making thus the first breach from without, in a line of princes maintained through three hundred years. In the tenth century the emperor Basil II, in arms against Samuel of the Sisman

dynasty, took fifteen thousand captives, whom he blinded after the cruel custom of Constantinople, leaving one eye to one man in each hundred, that they might be able to lead their hapless comrades back to their car, who broke into lamentations at the spectacle and died soon afterward, consumed with rage and grief. On his route homeward Bulgaroktonos, slayer of the Bulgarians—so Basil was called—followed by a train of noble captives, led by the caritza, Samuel's daughter, pallid and chained, must pass perforce the pile of bones raised near the Sperchios River, a somber witness of conflicts waged in previous periods against the hordes he had overcome; and, in the pass of Thermopylæ, the ribbed wall that had been vainly built as a barrier against their advances.

They who take the sword must look sooner or later to perish by it. Jireçek,* the historian of the country, avers that it sank under *Byzantismus*—a disease that under various names has proved fatal to many nations. Not content with evolving a native civilization, proud of bringing a bride from the Roman Cæsars to grace the halls of Preslava and Tirnova, the strength of the people gave way under the strain of wars by whose means it sought to maintain its existence. The last struggle was carried through forty years. When all hope was gone the captains of the broken, routed army sought refuge in the Albanian mountains, where Ivac, one of the most dauntless, was taken by strategy and blinded. The last freeman, Elemagus, surrendered by the Stagus in the region of Peneios.

During the following one hundred and seventy years (1019–1189) the country, subjugated, but neither subdued nor amalgamated, was permitted a nominal autonomy under the coercive rule of governor generals, who in the brief tenure of their functions severely taxed the resources of the people, and whose subordinates, strategoi, or provincial governors of like animus with themselves, drained the fruitful land of its substance. Discontent and disorder prevailed, for

> The half of virtue is foregone
> When men bend, slaves to a master.

Near the year 1185 occurred an epoch-making incident, a signal for revolution and restoration. At that time, in the reign of the emperor Isaac Angelus, two brothers of ancient,

* *Geschichte der Bulgaren.* Prague, 1875.

some say of Carian descent, John and Peter Asen, honored citizens of Tirnova, were sent by their fellows to the imperial court on business of public interest. At the marriage of the emperor with Margaret, daughter of Bela III, of Hungary, a tax for the occasion was levied, which pressed so hard on the dwellers in the Balkans as to incite them to an uprising. The brothers, intent on their country's interest, asked to be received into the imperial army and to be set over a district in their own country, where the officers were of military appointment. Their request was disregarded; and as they were leaving the audience room John the *sebastocrator* struck one of them in the face. This insult they reported in an assembly convened in the Church of Saint Demetrius at Tirnova, a church built by one or both of the brothers. Stirred by a common impulse, cries arose from the people in all parts of the building, calling for an end of the rule of the strategoi and a return to the ancient autonomy. "How can our power be restored? Who will show us a car?" The bishop of the diocese responded, "Who should serve us, if not Peter Asen?" Tradition adds that the saint of the church appeared and seconded this nomination. Asen, then, was crowned and given the command of the national army; and though he experienced at first some severe testings with his adversary, the *sebastocrator*, he ultimately achieved with a strong arm the redemption of his people. Under his sway its borders were enlarged, till those of the ancient Bulgarian-Wallach empire were recovered, and he was recognized by right of achievement as a sovereign and brother by the Grecian emperor. Kalo John (John again, there often being more than one John in the same family), who may have been a third brother (1197–1207), bore rule over all the country from Belgrade to the lower Maritza and from the northern plains of the Danube to the River Vardar; in a word, over the entire peninsula, down to the boundaries of Greece.

So wide a realm, peopled with Greek, Slav, and Latin races, required for its religious life the presence and predominance of one of the great Churches, that of the East or that of the West; for the national Church, organized with an independent patriarchate by Car Simeon in the ninth century, was insufficient for and unwelcome to some of the ingathered nationalities. As the Eastern Church was the communion of the

hereditary foe the car concluded an alliance *de convenance* with Innocent III, which lasted but a few years, being set aside by John Asen II (1215), in whom the high qualities of the family were continued. Neither Kalo John nor John Asen II were papists at heart.* The alliance proved of no real benefit, and a general relief was felt when the relations with Rome were closed. Both cars permitted freedom of worship, showing thus a unique liberality for the times; nor were they less judicious in their encouragement of the industries of their people. The wars from the beginning were ever occasioned by motives of defense, direct or secondary, and were forced on the nation by location and circumstances; but the people at large have ever retained their primal passion for the field and the orchard and for those other domestic industries whose cultivation dates back to their tribal epoch.

The Greeks, threatened with overthrow by the Frank captains of the Fourth Crusade (1203), appealed to their northern neighbors for aid.† The allies defeated Baldwin the "emperor," who was carried a prisoner to Tirnova, where, as nearly as is known, he perished in the tower still named by his name—a ruin which has held its own against time and the Turks and, crowning a height above the Jantra, bears an enduring witness to the ancient strength of the citadel of the cars. Hard by the hill Hissar‡ rises the Church of the Forty Martyrs, built by John Asen II to commemorate his victories over the Greeks. A pillar of the interior bears this proud inscription:

I, John Asen, son of the Great Asen, under God car and autocrat of the Bulgarians, . . . went against the Greek army; and their Kyr [Cæsar or Czar], Theodore Komnena, I took prisoner, with all his notables. I conquered the Greek country from Adrianople to Durazzo, the people of Albania and Servia, the environs of Czarirgad [Constantinople], which

* The Russians and other Christians of the Orient have ever rejected the absolutism of papal rule. The authority of their patriarchs, restricted within defined limits, the long-standing schism between the two communions, dating from the ninth century, and the divergence in the character of the two Churches have been unfavorable to the permanence of occasional semipolitical alliances, and not less so to all attempts at extension on the part of papal agents.

† Peter and John Asen had personal negotiations with Barbarossa when he traversed the country from Belgrade to Constantinople.

‡ "The ruined walls of Hissar are from six to eight feet thick, and in places nearly fifty feet high. They were firmly cemented and show remains of towers of defense. If you search among the limestone débris you will discover evidences of the former existence of palaces; small cubes of glass and quartz, enameled with colors, and in gold. These are mosaics. Stone moldings cut by hand and garnished with silver, bits of fresco," etc. Samuelson, *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, p. 177. Trubner, London, 1888.

city alone continued to be held by Franks, who also submitted to my rule, . . . as they had no other car save me. Thus it was ordained by God, without whom neither word nor deed can be achieved. To him be honor in the ages.

With this reign the cycle of old Bulgaria virtually closes. The vigor of his stock died out with John. A series of short dynasties, some cars taking the Asen name, some springing from the people, follows in rapid succession. In the reign of Sisman the country had thirty fortified cities or lesser places of defense—a large number, considering the area in which they were included. But the disintegrating effect of wars continued throughout the cycle of national existence showed itself in an enfeeblement of the national unity. Bela IV of Hungary (1235) compelled a tribute from several of the briefly reigning cars. Stephen Urosch of Servia, and his successor, Dushan, received the homage of the *boljars*, or nobles, and each in his turn assumed the title of the wide-ruling monarchs of the past—autocrat over the Bulgarians, Greeks, and Albanians. Gradually the Ottomans, who had crossed from Bithynia into Thrace (1359), overran the country. Adrianople became the residence of the sultan. The Danubian races, slow even now to learn the lesson of federation, united too late for resistance, and were defeated with rout and ruin on the field of Amsel, or Kossovopole (Field of Blackbirds), 1389—less happy than their Russian kinsmen, who within the same decade triumphed at Kulikovo (the Field of Woodcocks), by the Don, over an alien race that had long held them under a barbaric system of subjugation.

Of the dynasties of the ancient state we have: 1. The Duloid, recorded in the oldest Bulgarian document extant. The dynasty opens with the founder Avitochol, leader of hordes, sixth before Asparich, numbers eleven princes, and is interrupted at intervals by seven usurpers from other families. 2. An elected series of five princes. 3. With Ormotag (820) the hereditary principle is resumed and continued through a line of seven princes, or cars, not including one prince, Roman, who, being deported from the country, had no reign. 4. The Sismans of Tirnova, five cars. 5. The Asen dynasty of nine, the last of whom was son-in-law of an Asen. 6. The Terter, or Kouman, line of four, supplied by an immigrant people who, by social mingling and intermarriage, were rising to the level

of the established race. 7. The Sismans of Bydn (Widyn), numbering six. In the last period two Wlachs (Wallachians) bore brief rule over a division of the country. In all there were forty-seven chief rulers, princes, or cars. The larger cities, of which we may count twenty-one, as described by Jireçek, show that Bulgarian civilization, military and ecclesiastic in its marked features, was also in architecture, in civil order, in manners and customs no unworthy copy of its southern prototype. It defined the national boundaries, divided the business of the state into various departments, had its code of laws, a court life, a graded nobility, a national assembly, a monastic system, some scholars, and a small body of literature—this latter consisting chiefly of chronicles, lives of the saints, and ecclesiastical treatises little altered from those of Byzantium. The people at large had a store of unwritten ballads and folk songs—stories of Alexander and Ahasuerus, of Saint George, and of their own sovereigns and heroes.

In the tabulated dynasties we find the names of nine Greek carinas, brides from the families of the Komneni, the Andronici, the Lascari, the Palæologi. One carina was sister to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. A Bulgarian caritza, or carian daughter, was consort of Henry of Germany, son of the wide-ruling Swabian, Frederic II. Thamar, sister of one of the later cars, was given in marriage, as a sacrifice for the national welfare, to Sultan Murad. A folk song preserves the memory of her fidelity to the Christian religion in the seraglio of the Mohammedan. Other caritzas were affianced to kings, famous in their day, of Servia and of Bosnia. The festivities of a people are an index of their collective prosperity. A chronicler, Robert de Clary, gives an account of the sumptuous celebration of the nuptials of Mary with the German Henry. Sixty mules of draught were laden with her dower of gold, silk, jewels, and other precious things, each mule caparisoned in velvet with a train a foot long. At the crown prince Michael's wedding with Mary, daughter of the emperor Andronicus III, a nine days' festival was held in the Komnenus Field, a pleasure ground outside of Adrianople, on a scale of gorgeous, if not of the chastest, magnificence.

During the Turkish occupation of the country (1339–1877) the national spirit of Bulgaria was to all appearances extin-

guished.* The province languished under the misrule of the Fanar (Phanar), that colony of Constantinople Greeks in Turkish employ which carried out the will of the sultan with equal servility and with more astuteness than the born Turk could command. Positions in Church and State they sold to the highest bidder. All the written national literature, including the archives, was destroyed well-nigh to the last page. Jireçek states that wagon loads of the latter were burned by prefects and bishops. The Fanar metropolitan of Tirnova, for example, ordered the burning of a priceless collection, records of the national history from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries, a collection which was one of the treasures of his cathedral. Every building which attested the past independence and glory was made a ruin. The conquered province, deprived of its identity, was named Roumelia, the people Roumeliotes.† Thousands accepted Mohammedanism for the amelioration it promised to their condition, while others sent their daughters to the harems of their oppressors in the hope of gaining relief from the taxes and the socage‡—expedients which were powerless to break the settled policy and confirmed habit of Fanar rule.

But the processes of mutation go on independently of conquests and imposed forms of government. Every vestige of the once wide and stately Bulgar-Wallach empire might be destroyed, yet the people lived on. The rule of the Turk, though bitter, was not absolutely exterminative. The sixteenth century, the vigorous period of his cycle, witnessed a fairly prosperous condition of all the provinces. One sultan set up wayside fountains, and a later one laid good roads through all his dominions. During long periods the central government, occupied with many things, left its varied peoples to themselves, insuring only

* Cyrus Hamlin, D.D. (*Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1893, p. 22), notes some evidences of the disappearance of the nationality. In 1839 a Greek gentleman told him that the Bulgarians were the lowest, most hopeless class of people, a people hardly worth taking account of in the census. As a race they had ceased to be of value. Those to any degree efficient among them had become Hellenized, and were reckoned as Greeks. "When we recover Constantinople there will be no Bulgarians, but all will be Greeks." At that period the language, schools, liturgy, and clergy of Bulgaria were Greek by compulsion. Its very name had been officially obliterated, and, as far as outside pressure could effect such a change, it was thoroughly denationalized.

† The original name, however, was used by the people themselves, and was never effaced from certain of the western-made maps, such as those of Spruner, Stieler, and others.

‡ The taxes were the poll tax, the tithe of all products, the cattle tax, and a ducat a year for every male above fourteen years of age; together they amounted to at least two fifths of the yearly earnings of the peasants. Socage was the service required by the spahis, a species of villanage. Church taxes, equally onerous, were additional.

the payment of taxes and the military contingent. In her abasement, her reclusion, Bulgaria was touched with the reviving tides that stirred the world in 1776, the tides that broke in the swirl and uproar of 1789. The schoolmaster and the missionary were abroad. A favoring, a providential disposition of circumstances opened the way for general elementary instruction in the country. Concrete forms of the Christianity of the West were established in Greece, while on the shore of the Bosporus arose Robert College, governed by an American syndicate, and recruited with young men from every province of the empire. The Bulgarian students were possessed, as by a common inspiration, to study the constitution and history of the American republic. Even Athos, the "holy mountain," the most celebrated theological center of the Greek Church, hoary with its thousand years, felt the stirrings of the Western air. Paisius, a Bulgarian monk of that mountain (1762), wrote a history of the Bulgarian people, cars, and saints, a work compiled from documents beyond the reach of Fanars and fanatical destroyers, and read with eagerness by all his countrymen who could read—the initial work in the renaissance of Jougo-Slavonic literature. Following upon it came Dr. Riggs's translation of the New Testament, sold by thousands in the awakening country, illiterate persons buying it in the hope that their children would be able to read it to them. Jireçek pays a tribute to the Bulgarian merchants settled in Bucharest and Odessa, whose large contributions for the founding of schools gave a far-reaching impetus toward the resurrection of the nation. In 1835, when a knowledge of the public school system of the West had penetrated eastward, M. Aprilov, a wealthy trader originally of Gabrova, a town in the northern spurs of the Balkans, there established a boy's gymnasium, the first school of the kind in the country. Its director, an instructed, earnest monk, Neophytus, from Ryl, the monastic shrine of the ancient Church, gathered about him above a hundred youth, many of whom after completing the course of study went abroad through the land as educational missionaries, awakening everywhere a desire for the new learning. Among the state and denominational schools of the present, this of Gabrova ranks with the highest. Samuelson, who visited it in 1887, writes that the pupils in the various branches of the higher

grades excelled those in nine out of ten schools of a similar rank in England.*

An energetic impulse to the progress of the national awakening was given from without, when the entire enginery of martial enterprise and the methods followed by the allies of the Crimean war demonstrated the practical superiority of the educated men of the West over the conservatism and mental immobility of those of the East. One result was to arouse the ancient, independent spirit of Bulgaria. Were not both Russia and England her friends? Whatever might be the outcome of the struggle, might she not await her liberation with certainty? The peasantry cherished visions grandiose as those of an apocalypse. But these seemed destined never to be realized when, after the peace of Paris, the Hatti Humayan, the work of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, was rendered ineffectual by an article, introduced through French and Russian influence, refusing to the signatory powers any part in the execution of the reforms outlined in it. One of the provisions of the firman was for the abolition of Bulgarian socage—the index of the national serfdom—a provision that naturally and irresistibly appealed to the minds of the serfs themselves. When month after month elapsed and their condition remained unchanged a delegation was sent to Murad V to thank him for his goodness and inform him of the neglect of the spahis to obey his gracious command. In place of being well received the petitioners were cast into prison. A second and larger delegation met with a similar reception. The people then declared they would go in a multitude to the capital—that the prisons should be too narrow to hold them. At this the sultan appointed a commission, which is the Turkish method of putting a quietus on troublesome requests. But the Bulgarians had been told that he had loosed their bonds. "When a Bulgarian has made up his mind to a thing you may imprison or bastinado

* By the terms of the Constitution a system of public instruction is maintained. Elementary education is free and nominally obligatory. In 1890 Great Bulgaria contained 3,844 elementary schools, in which nearly 130,000 boys and above 42,000 girls were receiving instruction. The state subvention for education was two million lev, equal to $400,000. Some sixty per cent of the population were still illiterate; but the percentage is being rapidly reduced. Several graded and high schools (gymnasia), including four for girls, are maintained in the larger towns. There are also a few Russian, French, and Roman Catholic propaganda schools, in addition to those of the American Protestant missions, to be mentioned later. The superior moral tone of these last commend them to the better class of the people. Sofia has a state university and a free public library.

him, but you will gain nothing. He doesn't feel it." The government, however, set itself resolutely against all further concessions to the demand for an enlargement of liberties. The agitation continued until in 1876–77 it culminated in open revolt, due in part to Russians who through it all had worked for a policy of disturbance. The central authority determined on a suppression by terrorism. The ferocity of the bashi-bazouks, guerrillas—strangers in the province—who plied the whole machinery of cruelty, was reported to the outer world, till every heart was stirred with indignation at the tortures inflicted on the fifteen thousand human beings who went down in this Turkish fury.

These Christians of the Danube in their deepest anguish continued so firm in their insistence for the provisions of the firman that Alexander II was moved to declare a protective war in their behalf.* It was hoped also that the prestige lost by Nicholas might be recovered; possibly, too, that the coveted capital of the South, the gem that Russia has longed through a thousand years to place in her girdle of cities or in the storied crown that is the illuminated notation of her conquests, might be won as the supreme trophy of the conflict, and that with it Panslavism and an Eastern ecclesiastical alliance might be consummated. All the world before the stage, all the world behind the scenes, was to behold with admiration the noble sacrifice of two hundred thousand men for the rescue of their brethren of an allied race from intolerable oppressions. When the divisions moved to the seat of war, bearing banners blazoned with the double-headed eagle, so sonorous was the blare of the imperial trumpets that the music of the Roumanian contingent was scarcely audible to the public ear. The public eye failed to note that Prince Charles of Roumania led the army as commander-in-chief; nor was attention paid to the function of the Bulgarians themselves, who were active as purveyors, guides, and belligerents. The vans of the eagle cast a shadow as broad as the domain that it hovered over; and but for the very excess, the wantonness, of its rapacity the grain-bearing plains sloping up to the Balkan hills might have constituted to-day a Russian satrapy, and sturdy sons of the Balkans might have been toiling

* The limits of this paper preclude allusion to the long and close relations, both secular and religious, of the Russian czar, patriarch, and synod, with the Bulgarian people.

with chain-abraded limbs along the convict ways of Siberia. During their occupation the "true Russian souls" of these foreign protectors was filled with contempt for the natives of the country. The newcomers were the locusts of the land, devouring its substance. On all the horses they laid violent hands. The shadow of the nagrika, the knout, had fallen on the land. Samuelson fell in with a communicative Russian officer who averred that wherever he should halt on his way to Sofia everything would have to clear out of his way. Minchin writes: "A Russian official treats a Bulgarian so roughly that one would suppose the former was descended from a superior species of monkey to that of the simian ancestors of the Bulgarians." A native prefect told Major von Huhn that a certain Russian consul habitually made him an insulting speech whenever the two met. "Russia tenders us liberty with one hand," said the liberal leader of the new state; "with the other she abases us with humiliation and corruption." When the frugal peasantry was charged with the burden of payment for the nine months' occupation of the foreign army, and was further taxed for the salaries of its officers, double those of their own, and when the foreigners insisted on prompt payment, while the native soldiers took what they could get and when it could be had, the contrast induced something like a national panic. The rule of the sultan was mild, it was said, in comparison with what the czar's would be. "We have never been Turkized or Hellenized; we will not be Russianized. Bulgaria *farà da sé*. We want neither Russia's honey nor her sting." So ran the word from mouth to mouth.

Russia, though she had expressed herself assiduously about the welfare of the disenthralled province, winced and protested when, by its erection into an independent principality, her expectation was defeated of its incorporation with her own famine-stricken provinces. Her commissary general, Korsakoff, angered, because of his rejection as a candidate for the throne, drew up a constitution for the new state so liberal "that no one could govern by it," explaining, with a coarse jest that such documents were made chiefly to be violated. The notables, however, who, in obedience to the treaty of Berlin convened at Tirnova, among whom were a number of students and graduates of Robert College, and the illustrious Slaveikoff, a

colaborer with Dr. Riggs in the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular,* framed a constitution for the new nation, liberal, indeed, yet with provisions for all emergencies and granting freedom for the press, as well as for religious belief—points strongly opposed by Russianized deputies. It recognizes no class distinctions nor titles, either of nobility or of servility. Press libels are subject to the courts. Primary education is gratuitous and compulsory. Deputies for the ordinary assembly (Sobranje) are chosen, one from every ten thousand of the inhabitants, of both sexes, for a term of three years, by citizens not under twenty-one years of age. The extraordinary assembly may be convoked for questions of territorial change or other business of exceptional importance. The new nation is of all nations under the sun the most liberally constituted. Inasmuch as few of its people are very poor and few are sumptuously rich the distinctions of property are not wide, and the range of the distinctions or grades of intelligence and virtue is as yet far from being as extensive, both for good and ill, as it is in the more advanced of the larger nations of the earth. It has no court, no *jeunesse dorée*, no plutocracy, no stock exchange, no upper house. In the Sobranje about half the members are peasants, some of them *tzinzars*—small settled farmers of gypsy descent—who have relinquished the habit of wandering, and have taken on the Bulgarian temperateness and steadiness. These peasants fifteen years ago were toiling under a taskmaster in rice fields, knee deep in water, for a pittance and a piece of black bread. They were not permitted to bear arms, and had no rights save the right of the toilworn and the broken in spirit to grief and the grave. Now they are learning practical lessons in the administration of national business, and their sons are trained in an army which has place in the military system of Europe. The peasant parliament, we must believe, is a guaranty of independence and stability for the future; and the word of Prince Ferdinand, "We are here, here we remain," expresses the tenacity of the national sentiment.

* The influence of missionaries in the peninsula and adjoining regions is one of the active forces of the time. It was an American missionary who procured a provision in the treaty of San Stefano which freed hundreds of political prisoners scattered through Asia Minor and northern Africa. By similar influence was procured the provision in the treaty of Berlin granting religious liberty to the principalities and provinces of the peninsula. Many data might be collected of the adjunctive usefulness, so to speak, of the American missionaries in European and other countries.

The religious, like the civil, history of this firmly rooted people is eventful and characteristic. Our missionaries there have toiled like men in the dark, set to a task uncertain and obscure, and have had small direct results to show for their arduous labors. But it is something that they have gained footholds and as Americans are recognized as in harmony with the new order of things. The ruder of the people may maltreat the Methodist converts with fist and club, but the soberer and better informed perceive that the culture of the Protestant schools and the practical righteousness taught from the Protestant pulpits are elements indispensable and full of promise to the present period of tutelage. The American Board, greatly aided by the wide work and influence of Robert College and by the grateful confidence accorded to Doctors Riggs and Long, teachers and translators of the Scriptures, has passed beyond the period of opposition in southern Bulgaria and Macedonia, and is cultivating its garden spots in this portion of the world-wide field with the tranquillity of assured success. Some general conception of missionary work in Bulgaria may be formed from the following tabulation for 1892:

	Amer'n Board.	M. E. Church.
Stations	4	15
Out stations	35	...
Missionaries	12	6
Pastors and preachers	19	14
Teachers and helpers	50	24
Lady assistants	15	11
Church members	942	192
Received on confession of faith, 1892	117	....
Conversions, 1892	....	40
Pages printed matter issued (mostly in 1892)	1 380,360	(No report.)
Theological Seminary (and Literary Institute)	1	1
Students	17	39
Collegiate Institute	1	....
Students	45	....
High schools for girls	2	1
Students	105	28
Total young persons under instruction (including Sunday school scholars)	652	393
Appropriations for 1892	$34,832 63	$20,888 00
Contributions from Bulgarians	7,881 50	.....

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of our own denomination has one boarding school, located at Loftcha, with

seventy-three pupils. Elsewhere it conducts five day schools, aggregating one hundred and thirteen pupils, two missions, three assistant teachers, and six other teachers, including Bible readers. Its expenditures for 1892 were $5,880.

A good portion of sixty-nine thousand dollars annually transmuted into printing houses, model farms, schools, churches—the remainder of it paying for a most effective *personnel*, imparting itself socially, pedagogically, from the press and the pulpit—constitutes, above denial, a force not to be omitted from those which go to the making and upbuilding of "a little state" occupying an area of something under thirty-eight thousand square miles, populated with not above four million souls.

In this *résumé* we have had to do with a people possessed of traits that make for permanence, who to all appearance had been effaced from the map of Europe and had fallen out from the company of nations, but who were revived and restored by influences both old and new, both from within and from without—by the scholar of Athos and by Christian missionaries; a people above whose lion—their national emblem—so long caged and couchant, might fitly be inscribed the legend, *Depressus, extollor;* a people who, holding fast to all that is precious and abiding in their past, do yet go forward to gather the bloom and fruit of the present; a people slow to think, slow to speak, but whose feet are steadily moving in the widening paths of progress. May their acres give increase of burnished grain and of rose yielding the attar of rare aroma! May their orchards hang heavy with the mulberry and the plum! May their polished woods and hewn stones rise in forms of structural beauty, attestations of social and national affluence! May their children fill the schools of their hamlets and the high schools of their cities! May young and old be gathered abundantly into the family of the Church spiritual, indivisible, whose illuminated vistas lengthen into a future opulent with blessings of earth and heaven!

Mary L. Robinson

Art. III.—THE CHICAGO PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

The Columbian Exposition has become a memory and an influence. The great crowds have vanished, the Court of Honor is in ruins, the Midway is silent, and the Parliament of Religions is dumb. Let no one wince at the association; for the Midway had its serious and pathetic aspects, while the gathering of priests and preachers oscillated sometimes to the edge of the fantastic and absurd. In one thing, however, both agreed—in a superb belief of their own spectacular value. The two bulky volumes that contain the speeches and papers of the Parliament are almost amusing in the prominence given to self-laudation and to mutual admiration; and the confident proclamations of a new epoch, with which these pages are studded rather ostentatiously, evoke from the historian a patient but pathetic smile. His memory—alas!—is stored with unfulfilled predictions. He remembers, to name a single instance only, how Victor Hugo and Richard Cobden fell into each other's arms at the International Peace Congress of Paris and wept sincere albeit premature tears of joy over the impending era of universal brotherhood. Cobden died too soon to witness the bombardment of the city on the Seine; but Hugo lived to hurl anathemas at exploding bombs and barbarous Germany, both of which mocked his rhetoric and his wrath. Nothing seems sublimer, to the subject of it, than a wave of emotion sweeping through a great assembly. Under its influence men and women forget realities and abandon themselves to sweet delusions. They embrace one another in transports of joy and break into lyrical extravagance, like the French at the Festival of the Federation, undisturbed by the shadows of coming calamity which are already plainly outlined in the sky. Surely it is a pleasant thing "for brethren to dwell together in unity;" and men unused to the melting mood recognize, with devout thanksgiving, the great triumph achieved in bringing together Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Mohammedan and Quaker, Buddhist and Brahman and Parsee, orthodox and heterodox, in the worship of the "Eternal Power not themselves." But then they see in the Parliament a symptom not a potent cause of religious conditions; indications of what is,

rather than of what is sure to be; a revelation of the obstacles to religious unity, rather than the signs of its approach, of the difficulties that attend the progress of Christianity, rather than the harbingers of its speedy triumph.

And, first of all, the character of the representation in certain cases was depressing to a historian with scientific bias. Islam expounded by an apostate American is not at all instructive. I fancy that the real reason for the outbreak against Mohammed Webb's defense or extenuation of polygamy was the instinctive recoil of an American audience from its source. An Arab, an East Indian, or a Turk, defending the faith and the practices of his fathers, would have been listened to with patience; but the Koranized American provoked a tempest of scorn. The outcry was indeed a protest against polygamy; but it was much more a protest against a flagrant lapse from the Anglo-Saxon ideal and reality of home. Let the reader compare the papers of Mohammed Webb with the remarkable paper of Pung Kwang Yu upon Confucianism, if he would learn how differently a system is expounded by one whose blood is saturated and whose brain and heart have been shaped by its teachings and its spirit. Or let him take for comparison and contrast the striking paper upon "The World's Debt to Buddha," by Dharmapala of Ceylon; for here we have an exposition by a powerful oriental mind, which has been modified and strengthened and purified by contact with occidental thought; here, too, we have the grandeur of a desperate faith—a faith more passive, but no less tenacious and mentally intense, than that of Saul of Tarsus before he was stricken by the knowledge of Jesus Christ. The faith of Haroun-al-Raschid and of Saladin, of Bagdad and Cordova and Cairo, was once, indeed is yet, a mighty power in the world; but the story and the meaning of Mohammedanism fared badly at the hands of the turbaned American. We had not a genuine, but a veneered, Mohammedan. The specific psychological element, so attractive and so instructive in the natives of the Orient, was painfully absent. We heard about Islam, but not from Islam.

But sadder still was the representation of Germany. What evil genius played Adolph Brodbeck into Dr. Barrows's arms, along, too, with dear Count Bernstoff? Is not Germany enough misunderstood among us? Careful explanation is given in the

introduction of the absence of the scholars of the Church of England; but in a "World's Parliament of Religions" one naturally looked for the great religious scholars of the modern world, for Weiss and Pfleiderer and Harnack, for Zahn and Beyschlag and Loofs. Count Bernstoff referred quite vaguely to the school of Ritschl and its growing power. If none of them could be induced to attend the Parliament, was it wise or candid or fraternal to permit a man like Brodbeck to give an utterly false impression of existing German thought? In no respect is the American mind more misinformed than touching the theologians and biblical scholars of Germany. Not a scholar of eminence in England or America but lives upon their accumulated wealth of thought and knowledge! Maligned and misunderstood, they still pursue their arduous investigations, delving deep and searching far and wide for the truth of history and the traces of God. But as one turns the pages of these ponderous tomes the silence of the German giants becomes oppressive. There is much in this multitude of words that none will take pains to remember—much, too, that has been better said elsewhere; but the reader will search in vain to discover a description of the influences which, by their action and reaction, are, perhaps beyond all others, shaping at this time the intellectual future of the Protestant world. Yet it may be urged, though Germany was not represented by any of her great biblical or theological scholars, yet that German thought and learning were adequately represented by those who had felt their influence. Precisely there we demur. We are tired of hearing every critical vagary and every theological conjecture lumped and thumped together as German rationalism. The schools of thought in German theology are many, various, and important; the religious life of Luther's people is neither dead nor inert; the definite conquests of historical investigation are neither few nor uncertain; and a new enthusiasm is filling the theological students of the great universities with the glory of a great hope. Possibly this will vanish away, like the Hegelian excitement, or terminate, like that, in the swamps of skepticism. It may, indeed, be the sudden, but final, glimmer of a dying faith; and yet who dare say that it may not be the flash of a great religious energy, heralding the spiritual regeneration of the German people? Why

did this new enthusiasm have no voice at Chicago? Why was no earnest and profound religious thinker there from the land of Schleiermacher, to speak of the nature of Christianity; why no German scholar, rich in scriptural lore and learned in all the wisdom of antiquity, to sketch for us the tendencies, the reactions, the defeats, and the triumphs of modern biblical science; why no great historian of Christian doctrine, to tell us how the faith of Jesus merged with and triumphed over the Mediterranean world?

In striking contrast with the representations of Islam and of German Protestantism were the deliverances from the homes of Asiatic culture—India, Japan, and China. I have chosen this phrase, "the homes of Asiatic culture," quite deliberately; for there was at Chicago a surprise at the intellectual power and subtly insinuating eloquence of the speakers from the Orient. The people expected pagans. And pagans, they thought, were ignorant and impotent of mind, with no reasons for their worship and no brains in their theology. To them the Parliament was a stunning revelation; and the words of Mozoomdar fell upon the startled listeners like flakes of biting flame. How strange it was to hear the rebuke of the Orient, to listen to the Hindoo as he gently but plainly charged the Western world with carnal-minded irreligion:

> I am often afraid, I confess, when I contemplate the condition of European and American society, where your activities are so manifold, your work is so extensive, that you are drowned in it and you have little time to consider the great questions of regeneration, of personal sanctification, of trial and judgment, and of acceptance before God. That is the question of all questions.

And in another place Mozoomdar says:

> In the West you observe, watch, and act. In the East we contemplate, commune, and suffer ourselves to be carried away by the spirit of the universe. In the West you wrest from nature her secrets, you conquer her, she makes you wealthy and prosperous, you look upon her as your slave, and sometimes fail to realize her sacredness. In the East nature is our eternal sanctuary, the soul is our everlasting temple, and the sacredness of God's creation is only next to the sacredness of God himself. In the West you love equality, you respect man, you seek justice. In the East love is the fulfillment of the law; we have hero worship, we behold God in humanity. In the West you establish the moral law, you insist upon propriety of conduct, you are governed by public opinion. In the

East we aspire, perhaps vainly aspire, after absolute self-conquest and the holiness which makes God its model. In the West you work incessantly, and your work is your worship. In the East we meditate and worship for long hours, and worship is our work. . . . Looking back into the past, it cannot be denied that the world's religious debt to Asia is very great. In the East we are the subject race, we are talked of with contumely. The Asiatic is looked upon as the incarnation of every meanness and untruth. Perhaps we partly deserve it. Perhaps in being allowed to associate with you free and noble children of the West we shall learn what we have failed to learn hitherto. Yet in the midst of the sadness, the loneliness, the prostration of the present it is some consolation to think that we still retain some of our spirituality, and to reflect upon the prophecy of Ezekiel, "Behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east."

Words like these might well startle an occidental audience into something like a panic; and not a few will read them with a flutter of the heart and a flush of shame—shame for their own carnal-mindedness and shame for their ignorance of Asiatic thought. But the Christian student of religions and of history reads them with a tranquil joy. To him this is the voice, not of the old, but of the new, Orient. He sees the Mediterranean miracles of the second and third centuries repeated before his eyes. This discovery of the spirituality and beauty of the ancient faiths, like the discoveries of Gnosticism and neo-Platonism, is the result of contact with one hitherto unknown. It is the intellectual reaction by which we can measure the stupendous influence that Jesus Christ is already exercising in the Hindoo mind. And what is true of Mozoomdar is true of all the representatives of the Orient, who displayed a marked familiarity with the character and truth of Jesus. Christianity has been from the beginning a challenge. It comes to every faith with the sharp demand, "What has been builded upon the eternal truths manifested to your consciences in the structure and the movements of the universal frame?" Driven to an answer by the imperative energy of the Holy Ghost, the earnest seeker after light makes at length the discovery of the hay and stubble, of the superstitions and immoralities, that incumber the old foundations and sets about, even though unconsciously, the work of preparation for the new evangel. It was through such strange gateways as Manichæism and neo-Platonism that Augustine found his way to

Jesus Christ. And out of these new readings of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta, of Buddha and Confucius, may come the spiritual teachers of a mighty epoch when indeed the glory of the Lord will come from "the way of the east."

One delusion needs to be dispelled—the notion that these papers represent the diffused religious ideas of the East. On the contrary, they tell us as little of the actual and popular religious thought and feeling of Asia as Thomas Aquinas or Meister Eckhart tells us of the actual religious life of mediæval Europe. If, as Joseph Cook declared, the Parliament concealed courteously the seamy side of the non-Christian faiths, then enthusiasts like President Bonney should remember that the ugly half has not been told. Phrases like "the emancipation of the world from bigotry" smack of an exaggeration that is just a trifle vulgar. The men who look steadily at facts are not bigots; and indifference to error is a betrayal of the truth. Science is unsparing of falsehood and mistake. She erects her greatest triumphs on the ruins of ancient and exploded doctrine. Tolerance is of man for his brother man, not of man for false religions. And, while we do not follow Professor Wilkinson altogether in his statement of the hostile attitude of Christianity toward all other religions, we sympathize fully with what he meant, namely, that Christianity is unalterably and divinely hostile to all that is false in other religions. What fellowship has light with darkness or Christ with Belial? On the other hand, our oriental guests, by their eloquence and their audacity, extorted from Fay Mills the confession that "in a large measure, as an organized Church, we have not been practicing the teachings of Jesus as he said them and meant them, as the earliest disciples understood and practiced them." He, at least, felt and acknowledged the rebuke of India and Japan, and by his confession postponed his expectation of the conversion of the world till Christendom shall become more Christian. Yet, on the whole, we think the best and most instructive feature of the Parliament was this discussion of the Asiatic worships by native believers, by devoted missionaries, and by students of comparative religions.

Let us turn now to the remarkable displays of Jerusalem and Rome. That the Jew would gladly avail himself of the opportunity for social and intellectual recognition was expected

by all who have studied Israel; and those who knew the power of the Hebrew pulpit were not surprised at the magnificent exhibition of Moses and the law. From both camps, liberal and orthodox, arose the voice of exultation. For had not Jehovah triumphed in the Western world? Yet three things were quite evident in their skillful presentations of the modern synagogue: (1) that the old hatred of the Nazarene has well-nigh disappeared, and that Jesus is proudly claimed as a child of Israel; (2) that the orthodox Jew, like the ancient Pharisee, still carries on the transformation of the law, to the letter of which he still proclaims unalterable fidelity; (3) that the Jewish liberal is a daring radical, to whom the law of Moses has become a shadow of the past and the Hebrew Scriptures a precious, but an uninspired, literature. In the eloquent paper of Rabbi Hirsch, on the "Elements of a Universal Religion," the tones are those of Jacob, but the thought is that of Baruch Spinoza. "The day of national religions is past." Creeds will be recognized hereafter as "barbed-wire fences." "Character and conduct, not creed, will be the keynote of the Gospel in the Church of Humanity Universal." Prayer will be the "prelude" to "prayerful action." The new religion will make its own Bible, and the Church will be "'the Church of God' because it will be the Church of man." All this is as beautiful as a rainbow, but hardly a temple for either God or man to dwell in. Conduct may be three fourths of life and character the other fourth; but plain people will be ridiculous enough to ask, "What are to be the keynotes of character and conduct?" This view of religion, as "ethics touched with emotion," is hardly tenable. It is well to ponder the significant irony of Von Hartmann in his bitter confession, inevitable for a pantheist, "To preach ethics is easy enough, but to discover a solid foundation for ethics is almost, if not quite, impossible." While we are being emancipated from bigotry would it not be well to escape these glittering phrases, these *millenia* of mirage? When I have lost the living God how shall I console myself with the thought that man is to be made hereafter in the image of a gracious dream? Thus the unity of Israel proved to be, as in the days of Herod the Great, a unity of blood and of ritual rather than a unity of mind and faith.

But the cohorts of the Church of Rome marched through

the Parliament like a Macedonian phalanx. A common purpose animated the utterances of all her speakers, and their bearing was the perfection of tact. Never bating one jot of their claim to religious supremacy, they pushed forward quietly as the intellectual synthesis of all philosophies, the spiritual synthesis of all beliefs, and the ethical synthesis of all moralities. At first glance it appeared as though Loyola and Leo had achieved a perfect triumph, as though the doctrines and ethics of Rome had become a basis upon which all Christendom might soon become one fold with one Shepherd. But here, as in the case of the orientals, the doctrines set forth by the chosen few and the doctrines diffused among the masses of clergy and of laity are in sharp and painful contrast. The doctrines expounded at Chicago are a nineteenth century statement of the nobler mediæval theology, the value of which no one denies. It was the theology of our fathers; for, in spite of Cardinal Gibbons, the traditions of the Church are the common inheritance of Western Christendom, and not the exclusive property of Rome. Ours is the glory of the ancient Catholic virtue; ours, too, the shame of the ancient Catholic wrong. The original quarrel of the Reformers was not so much with the theology of the Church as with the corruptions and misapplications of it; and the differences between Rome and reform to-day are not differences about belief so much as differences about authority. To see this clearly, now that the extreme theology of Luther and of Calvin has broken down, is for Protestants an imperative necessity. "Not the least fault we find with the religious separation of the last three hundred years," said the Rev. Walter Elliot, "is that it has unduly accentuated the sovereignty of God." Well, not the least, indeed the chief, of our objections to the doctrines of Trent and of the Vatican is the undue accentuation of the sovereignty of the pope. Contrasted with this the errors of the Reformers seems quite trivial.

In one other aspect were these addresses noteworthy. They revealed the workings of the *Index Expurgatorius*. Darwin has never been placed in the *Index;* but every great historian of the nineteenth century who touches anywhere the papacy has been starred and double starred—that is, forbidden in the original and in translation. The result is evident—an absence of the historic spirit, an incredible unconsciousness of recorded

fact. The pope has not and cannot grant an absolute divorce; many popes have suffered torture rather than sanction the breaking of the marriage bonds. Thus writes Professor Martin J. Wade. This is true, but only in a strictly technical sense. The papal method is to declare the marriage void. The marriage bonds being thus broken, the reasons for their disruption can easily escape the attention of men forbidden by the head of the Church even to read the results of modern historical inquiry. But, seeing that such is the case, the words they utter, even in a Parliament which has "emancipated humanity from bigotry," need to be carefully tested by the record of the past. Indeed, we have reached a point where the title of the assembly demands a slight amendment. It was not a parliament but a display of religions, and no exhibit of the whole fair, material or moral, was arranged with greater ingenuity or presented with more captivating skill than the exhibit of the papal Christian Church. Gracious and learned and eloquent, these prelates and divines made the utmost of an opportunity the like of which they have never had in American history.

The display of Protestant Christianity, on the other hand, lacked unity and coherence. It was abundant in variety and abundant, too, in power. One thing, however, was painfully and conspicuously absent, namely, a clear, definite, and powerful statement of the fundamental positions of Protestantism. The Jews were candid, courageous, and perfectly courteous. Rome was subtle and complaisant, conciliatory and commanding. The Greeks were conscious of antiquity and serenely satisfied with their possession of a genuine, catholic faith. But the big book of the Parliament, in spite of its splendid array of Protestant names, contains no exposition of the right of Protestantism to continued existence. Was there no one in England or in Germany or in America to state the Protestant case, to present, not the reasons for the actions of our fathers, but the grounds of our own conduct and the goal of our existence; or is Protestantism after all without a common basis and a sure ground of existence? Rabbi Mendes, speaking for orthodox Judaism, did not shun, but rather gloried in, the terms "separation" and "protest." But of Protestantism there was neither explanation nor defense except by implication. Dr. Schaff, in his noble paper upon the "Reunion of Christendom,"

touched all too briefly and tenderly the difficulties which prevent the consummation for which he prayed and wrought, But the one thing that no Protestant was called upon or volunteered to do was to state with candor and with strength the reasons for our being—not the reasons why our fathers were driven from the Latin Church, but the reasons why we, their children, call ourselves the congregations of the living Christ. Yet the display of Protestantism was rich and varied, covering many forms of its development in theology and ethics, in missionary activity and in knowledge of religions. Intellectually the Protestants were easily first, and could they have been organized into unity and worked steadily to a common purpose the impression made by them would have been far-reaching and profound. But as it was the lights frequently quenched each other, and the multiplicity of topics only served to accentuate this lack of coherence and of mutual understanding. The display of the Protestants was rather a display of ideas relating to religion and connected with it than the display of a religion. All the vitality and diversity that have followed upon the Reformation here came to an open exhibition. There are moments in which one heartily rejoices in this manifold variety of thought and power, when one can say with Schiller:

> Look round and view God's lordly universe.
> On freedom it is founded, and how rich
> Is it with freedom! He, the great Creator,
> Has given the very worm its several dewdrop;
> Even in the moldering spaces of decay
> He leaves free will the pleasures of a choice.
> This world of yours how narrow and how poor!
> The rustling of a leaf alarms the lord
> Of Christendom; you quake at every virtue.
> He, not to mar the glorious form of freedom,
> Suffers that the hideous hosts of evil
> Should run riot in his fair creation.

Freedom is indeed a costly privilege, and Protestants are paying for it a tremendous price. And there are moments when the outlook is neither comforting nor inspiring. For there is a haughtiness of individuality and a personal arrogance which hinder concord and arrest the tendencies that make for nobler organization. The reproach flung by the pagan into the face of Protestant Christendom, that her contending fac-

tions were struggling against each other for the religious domination of Japan, would not have been humiliating if this division into factions were the necessity of a free development of saving truth. But we know that it is not. We know that our divisions are not the result of intellectual liberty, but of intellectual pride; that humility is the straight and narrow gate to concord; that we differ not because we are compelled to it by our studies of the sacred word, but because we compel the sacred word to give sanction and sanctity to inherited disagreements. I indulge in no wild dream of reaching union by a minimizing of essential, or a denial of even accidental, truth. On the contrary, I believe that we shall have no unity worthy of the name until the love of truth has so consumed the love of self and the pride of personal opinion that Christian men will seek each other as naturally and as spontaneously as the planets cling together in their circlings round the sun. And, if I somewhat sharply blame what seems to me concealment or, to say the least, defective illumination of important facts, it is because no union is possible except a union in and through the truth. Men must learn to accept facts as God accepts them, and to deal with them in the same all-conquering spirit. He governs and perfects the world by seeing things as they are and calmly compelling them to do his sovereign will. Our mastery of the physical world, by which the wonders of our modern age are wrought, has been acquired, not by the preservation of fictions, not by a resolute struggle to rescue ancient error, but by a humble recognition of facts and forces, of potencies and possibilities that are hidden to ignorance and arrogance, but open to the humble and patient and candid and persistent mind. And if we are to master the difficulties of the spiritual world we must attack them with the same self-denial, the same humility, the same affection for reality, the same devotion to the truth.

To speak it plainly, the heart has poisoned the head. It is not the right of private judgment that divides Protestantism, but persistence of party feeling; not the intellectual activity that attacks and conquers problems, but the intellectual arrogance that only approaches them and publishes and defends unverified solutions; not the mind that seeks and waits and patiently inquires, but the stubborn ignorance that reaches certainties

without inquiries and mistakes a vivid fancy, saturated with strong feeling, for a revelation of eternal fact. "*Credo ut intelligam*"—"I believe that I may understand"—was the watchword of Anselm as he opened up a new theology. "*Amo ut intelligam*"—"I love that I may understand"—must be the watchword for a new era of Christian unity. For a perfect love will cast out misunderstanding as well as fear; and when Christ and the Christlike appear we shall be like them, for we shall see them as they are. Hence, I can attach no extravagant value to a comparison of views of Protestant thinkers upon a great variety of subjects made, not in the quiet of earnest conference, but in the glare of excited publicity. It may be that these will hasten the union of evangelical Christendom, and I hope they will; but I venture to think that "the still small voice" of those who, without ostentation and without applause, keep up their search for truth and their correspondence with each other, furthering as best they can fraternal helpfulness and a better understanding of each other's thought, will prove a thousand times more potent for so glorious an end. If, however, the Parliament increases, as I think it must, the number of this unobtrusive but earnest company it will have made a contribution of incalculable value to the future of America and of the world; for these must accomplish the consolidation of orthodox Protestantism, and upon this consolidation depends the salvation and the further progress of the twentieth century.

We have written these words in a tone of candid, but of kindly, criticism. If the Parliament had been arraigned severely we should have defended it with cheerful energy. But just now the danger is all the other way—toward absurd laudation and extravagant expectation. The truth is that great possibilities were indicated by the Parliament; but they were only possibilities. It may and ought to lead to an intelligent study of religion and the religions of mankind; to an examination of missionary methods and a better comprehension of the work that lies before the Christian Church; to a separation of the essential from the accidents of Christian belief, with a view to greater power at home and abroad; to a fearless inquiry into the grounds of Protestantism and the reason of its continued existence; to a recognition of the truth held by those with whom we differ; to fraternal cooperation of all men in the

work of love and helpfulness, for the perfection of the law, for the progress of society, and for the discovery of the knowledge which is power. These possibilities were indicated, but not achieved. Bishop Keane is quite right in his opinion that the chief achievement of the Parliament was itself; although, indeed, the Parliament did not achieve itself, but was the outcome of the spirit of the nineteenth century. It was a beautiful display of charity and courtesy and culture, an expression of those subconscious forces which, more than human will or human creed, shape the conduct and the moods of men. Ours is an epoch of conference and cooperation, of world-commerce and international intercourse and interblending civilizations. The beginnings of culture, moving from the heart of Asia to the Mediterranean Sea, have broken across all barriers and conquered the round world. In this mighty environment of diffused thought the truth of Jesus is working with amazing power, and his person also; for he is the Truth, working as he could not work in the empire of the Cæsars or in the rude surroundings of feudal barbarism, as he could not work before the days of Gutenberg and Galileo, of Pascal and Descartes. God, who made of one blood all the nations of the earth, is working now the greater wonder of making them all of one thought and of one home. He is breaking down the barriers that separate his children from each other. The material hinderances have gone, the intellectual hinderances are going. Men are learning to seek, though they have hardly yet learned to love, the truth. Under a divine compulsion they hunger for cooperation, for unison of feeling, and for harmony of thought. This divine compulsion broods over all our modern progress; and it would be strange, indeed, if priests and Churches did not feel the urgent pressure. For this reason, therefore, we rejoice in the Parliament and its rich and bewildering speech. It was a witness to the real glory of our age—the progress of human brotherhood—and, in spite of manifold defects, a dim and wavering prophecy of a distant, but a surely coming, time, when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that "Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Charles J. Little

Art. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE CITY.

From the time of Alexander to the days of Grant the goal of great military campaigns has been the city. Alexander won the Eastern world only at last to perish in its most historic capital. Grant lifted his nation's flag in triumph over the last and mightiest citadel of rebellion and passed into history as the foremost patriot soldier of his century. The city has been both attacked and defended with all the skill and fury and endurance of which human nature seems capable. When the city of Leyden was reduced to starvation within the beleaguering grip of the Spanish army the inhabitants hurled from the ramparts into the enemy's ears such defiance as this:

> Ye call us rat eaters and dog eaters, and it is true. So long, then, as ye hear dog bark or cat mew within the walls ye may know that the city holds out. And when all has perished but ourselves be sure that we will each devour our left arms, retaining our right to defend our women, our liberty, and our religion against the foreign tyrant.

When, on the fourteenth of September, 1812, the French army, scaling the "Mount of Salvation," looked for the first time upon Moscow, the sight of this city, glittering with a thousand colors in the sun, sent a thrill of wild enthusiasm throughout all ranks. Napoleon himself, in personal transport, hastened forward to view the sight. The other great capitals of the continent having been humbled, this mighty and golden city, this brilliant clasp of Europe and Asia, seemed to him the last and greatest prize of his boundless ambition, the only thing remaining to make his glory complete. But even Napoleon, with all his genius, had failed to penetrate the desperate measures which were about to thwart his hopes. The inhabitants of Moscow, unable to match their military skill against that of the invader, grimly determined, sooner than permit their city to be taken, to destroy both it and themselves. To its vast treasures they applied the incendiary torch, and themselves marched forth from the gates to perish by the hundred thousand from starvation and cold. Moscow in ashes, for Napoleon there was left no alternative but to face his army toward the most dismal and tragic retreat known in military history.

But what the city has always been in the distinctive world of strategy it is—and in a sense far more vital, immeasurably more sublime, than any with which military science has ever invested it—everywhere to-day in the social, civil, intellectual, and moral worlds. The most superficial observer cannot fail to see many reasons for the vast strategic importance which the city asserts for itself in civilization. It is man's royal emporium in the earth; it is the magazine of the most marvelous material appliances, the garrison of all forces which most powerfully affect the destinies of the race. In obedience to the operation of most potent social laws men have always lived in cities in as large numbers as could there find support; but our modern art has created the conditions which permit the multiplication and enlargement of cities in our day in a measure utterly impossible to any previous age. The last census shows us that very nearly thirty per cent of our entire population is urban. The steady gain of the city is well indicated by the fact that in the last forty years the number of dwellers in the city, as compared with the entire population of the country, has increased relatively more than one hundred and forty per cent. The last decade has shown a marked acceleration of the tendency of our people to urban life, so much so that if the ratio were to be maintained for three decades to come we should have in the year 1920 ten millions more people in the cities than could be numbered in the entire nation outside the cities.

And so far as can be seen, the causal factors which enter into the growth of the modern city are permanent. There is no present indication that for an indefinite time to come the forces which conspire to swell the city will be less active than they now are. The growth of rural populations may be arrested, but the city moves on with titanic stride. The city is already upon the throne. It is the dictator of the world's destinies. Its rule will be more mighty to-morrow than it is to-day. Modern city growth is the most portentous and challenging fact of the age. The problems that arise from it, socially, politically, morally, are the most stupendous and difficult that address themselves to either the genius of statesmanship or of Christian thought. For the Church the facts before us bring the gravest revelations. They tell us, and with merciless logic, that the church life which is to have the mightiest future

is the life which, with the greatest energy, resource, and skill, shall gird itself for the conquest of the cities. It matters not what may be the past history of any Church, even though that history be a perfect repository of heroic deeds and inspiring facts. No Church can have a regnant future in this land if, whatever it may do elsewhere, it shall fail at the city gates. The city will ever remain dominant, and the Church that would wear the crown of the future must win the city to the sovereignty of Christ.

Another truth which these facts carry is that the Church which will command the future must not be content simply with the methods of the past. The causes which have multiplied and magnified the cities have done much, and in many ways, to modify and to change the habits of multitudes of the people. The Church is called upon to-day to adjust itself to essentially new social and moral conditions. These changed conditions call for revised and improved methods of treatment. This does not mean that any vital truth or really effective means is to be set aside. It does mean that the all-vital truth shall be coupled with the best possible appliances. It may be that the guns of the new navy are charged with the same kind of explosive that was used in the days of Paul Jones; but the missile that to-day goes crashing through twenty inches of solid steel armor is fired from a gun compared with which those of Paul Jones were mere toys. The Church of Christ is confronted in these days with almost invincible dominions of spiritual wickedness in high places. It needs to be perfectly organized and armored for the highest type of spiritual warfare and of conquest which the ages have yet demanded. Few things in current history are more phenomenal than the wondrous way in which the business world in the last few decades has readjusted itself to new conditions. The methods of twenty-five years since, especially in cities, would mean for any firm of to-day an early assignment in bankruptcy. Keenest ability, concentration of capital, most efficient organization of forces, vigilant and aggressive push—these are now the conditions of business success as never before. But the changed conditions of life demand the spirit of adaptation on the part of the Church not less than in the business community. Unfortunately there is an inveterate conservatism in the Church that makes it traditionally slow in adjusting itself to new conditions. This is the

opposite of what ought to be. The Church of Christ, by virtue of its divine mission, ought to be the most progressive, the most resourceful, the most adaptive society among men. Satan has a most inventive genius. He not only subsidizes all the ancient forces of human depravity, but he boldly lays under tribute every available modern discovery to strengthen and to make more deadly the reign of his kingdom in the earth. Let it not be doubted: the Church which shall finally destroy this kingdom must be not only the Church of the Holy Ghost, but a Church that shall be most fertile in the creation and employment of every method and of all methods which the success of its great mission may require. A closer than a theoretical view must be taken of the situation. Fortunately, for the first time in history, we are now able with some approach to mathematical accuracy to locate the forces of the Church. The work of the Census Bureau in gathering the religious statistics of the country is monumental, and the result is worthy of all commendation. But a general survey of the situation will leave little or no room to doubt that thus far no form of church life has appeared which does not show itself relatively weak in presence of the moral needs of the cities.

It will be convenient for purposes here sought to classify the populations dealt with into two divisions—the non-Catholic and the Catholic. The method of the census is to enroll as communicants of the Roman Church only baptized persons above nine years of age. It is estimated that the children under this age constitute really about fifteen per cent of the Catholic population proper of the country. We secure approximately, therefore, the total Catholic population by adding to the number of communicants this allowance of fifteen per cent. This may, or may not, furnish too liberal a basis of computation; but it is the basis which will be accepted for the purposes of this article. For convenience three classes of cities are dealt with. In the first are included only those which have 500,000 or more people; in the second those which have 100,000 or more, up to 500,000; the third containing those from 25,000 to 100,000.* In the first class there are but four cities, namely,

* For the basis of the computations here made we are indebted to the admirable work entitled *The Religious Forces of the United States*. This work was prepared by Dr. H. K. Carroll, who had charge of the Division of Churches for the Eleventh Census. The results which we here present, so far as we are aware, now appear for the first time.

New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn. Of the total population of these four cities a little more than twenty-six per cent are Catholics. In these cities the Catholic communicants are entered as numbering 1,012,968; while the members of all other communions combined, including evangelical, liberal, and Jewish societies, number but 576,930. Thus in the four largest cities the Catholic communicants outnumber the membership of all other communions in the ratio of nearly two to one. Of cities of the second class there are twenty-four. In this list also the Catholics number a little in excess of twenty-six per cent of the population. But these cities of the second class show relatively to the population a much larger membership in non-Catholic communions than appears in cities of the first class, so that here the Catholic communicants number only in the proportion of about eleven to eight of all others. In the third class of cities there are ninety-six. In these ninety-six cities the Catholic population numbers about twenty-two and one half per cent of all. But here we find, for the first time, that the Catholic communicants are outnumbered by the total membership of other communions, the numbers standing as follows: Catholics, 807,580; all others, 869,476. Aside from the one hundred and twenty-four cities in the classes named, the country has a population of 48,633,312. This estimate includes three hundred and nineteen cities, each containing 8,000 or more inhabitants. Of this population the Catholics number somewhat less than eight per cent. But if in this area we group the bodies known under the general names of Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Congregational—these being presented in the order of their respective numbers—we find that here the communicants in these Protestant bodies alone outnumber those of the Catholic Church nearly three to one. The fact concerning the Catholics may be explained largely in the mere locations of their populations. Very nearly one half of all the Catholic population of the country dwells in the one hundred and twenty-four cities classified. The Catholic Church, from the very method of its enumeration, must be assumed to hold its own relatively to its own proper population the country over. But, as the non-Catholic populations are seen to be distributed, the fact of location cannot, and does not, explain the

relative weakness of the non-Catholic communions, taken collectively, as they approach the great cities.

A suggestive way, perhaps, of approaching the problem will be, eliminating all Catholic populations from consideration, to study the field occupied by non-Catholic forces only. On this basis we discover that in the four cities of the first class there are 176 communicants of all societies, including, as before, evangelical, liberal, and Jewish organizations, for every 1,000 of non-Catholic population. Analysis will show, in these four cities, as follows for every 1,000 of non-Catholic population :* 29 Presbyterians (all bodies); 28 Methodists (all bodies); 28 Episcopalians; 23 Lutherans (all bodies); 20 Baptists (all bodies); 15 Jews (all bodies); 7 Congregationalists; 6 members of the Reformed Church (three bodies); 3 members of the Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Association, and Friends (combined); 11 Unitarians, Universalists, and miscellaneous (combined). In the twenty-four cities of the second class the same process discovers for us 220 communicants of all societies for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population. Analysis by denomination will show as follows: 43 Methodists (all bodies); 32 Baptists (all bodies); 29 Lutherans (all bodies); 27 Presbyterians (all bodies); 21 Episcopalians; 10 Congregationalists; 10 Jews; 5 members of the Reformed Church (all bodies); 39 miscellaneous. In the ninety-six cities of the third class we find 260 communicants of all societies for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population. The following is the analysis by denominations: 69 Methodists (all bodies); 47 Baptists (all bodies); 27 Presbyterians (all bodies); 23 Lutherans (all bodies); 20 Episcopalians; 19 Congregationalists; 49 miscellaneous. Pushing the investigation still further, we find that the country at large, aside from the one hundred and twenty-four cities, shows as follows for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population: 91 Methodists (all bodies); 75 Baptists (all bodies); 21 Presbyterians (all bodies); 19 Lutherans (all bodies); 8 Congregationalists; 5 Episcopalians. For convenience of reference we subjoin a tabulated statement setting forth the standing of the six larger Protestant communions relatively to

* In these tables we do not undertake fractional exactness. For instance, in cities of the first class there is a slight fraction above 28 Methodists in every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population; but 28 is much closer to the real fact than 29 would be.

the three classes of cities and to the country as a whole outside of these cities, giving the numbers of each in these respective locations for every 1,000 of the non-Catholic population:

	First Class Cities.	Second Class Cities.	Third Class Cities.	Country.
Methodists	28	43	69	91
Baptists	20	32	47	75
Lutherans	23	29	23	19
Presbyterians	29	27	27	21
Episcopalians	28	21	20	5
Congregationalists	7	10	19	8

From the above table it would appear that the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches are relatively stronger in the large cities than elsewhere. The Presbyterians and the Lutherans, however, are distributed with a somewhat noticeable evenness throughout the entire territory covered. The Congregationalists seem to reach their best in cities of the second and third classes. The Methodist and the Baptist communions show a marked and phenomenal decrease as they come to the larger centers of population. The decrease of these two denominations as they approach the great centers is all the more significant because of the relative rank they hold among the evangelistic agencies of the land. The Methodists and Baptists combined greatly outnumber all the other Protestant denominations of the country. The facts of the above table, applied to the absolute numbers of the six general denominations compared, will demonstrate beyond challenge that the evangelical Churches are numerically very much weaker in the great centers of population than they are in the country at large outside of these great centers.

The tabulations before us suggest many inferences —some, very probably, for which they do not present adequate grounds. We might ask why the Episcopal Church flourishes in the city as not in the lesser communities; why Presbyterianism, while relatively stronger in the city, yet sends its columns forward with such comparatively even front in both city and country alike. We might legitimately, and perhaps profitably, inquire for the special type or quality which gives one denomination advantage over another in securing for itself numerical increase in the city. But the one great and grave fact which stands

ever before us is that the evangelical Church of the land, taken as a whole, is numerically far weaker in the great city—the very place where by all the needs of the case it ought to be strongest—than it is elsewhere; and the larger the city, the more momentous the concentration of interests, social, political, moral, the more pronounced is the diminishment of evangelical forces. The facts tell us that the growth of the city tends practically more and more to carry it away from the control of evangelical agencies. There is in this fact that which should stir the heart of the American Church as with a trumpet of alarm. Any weakness of our Christianity in coping with the conditions of city life carries in itself the prophecy of defeat. A distinctively Christian civilization in this country, as a matter of manifest destiny, must rise or fall according as it shall show itself a dominant or a failing force in the life of our cities. Even now it requires no mysterious reading between the lines to discover that the Christianizing of the American cities calls for a Church wiser, holier, more opulent in its endowments, more Christlike in its consecrations, more heroic in its activities, than any which our history has yet produced. An evangelical Church has not thus far held its own within the American city.

Remembering that the figures before us deal only with the non-Catholic populations, the query naturally arises, Why should the evangelization of these populations in the great city be more difficult than in the lesser communities? Many elements enter into the complete answer to this question. The limits of this article forbid any attempt at an exhaustive discussion of these elements. Several facts, however, lie upon the surface:

I. The life of the great city is intense as is no other life. Here business absorbs, pleasures divert, as nowhere else. The Stock Exchange is but the concentrated type of the business life of the metropolis. Here the "bulls" and the "bears" engage in daily strife, filling the air with the din of fierce bellowings and hoarse growls, and each party is ever on the alert to vanquish the other and to enrich itself with the spoils of the battle. But this life is costly for the men who enter it. It lays a special tax on heart and nerve and brain; it requires that men shall be acclimated to cyclones, and the process is one which only the few long survive. So the business life of the great

city is reduced to hair-line scales of competition; success here means thought whetted to its finest edge, a business vision keen as an eagle's gaze. But all this implies the absorption of men in business affairs through the most enslaving and merciless exactions. But, at the opposite pole from this business intensity, and as, in some sense, its counterpart, there flourish the agencies of diversion and of relaxation. Theaters of all grades, operas high and low, amusement resorts of all varieties—these are all multiplied and patronized in the crowded city as not elsewhere. From these two features named, to say nothing of many others which also might be emphasized, the Church of Christ suffers impairment and limitation in its work. Intense business absorption, upon the one hand, prevents many of the ablest and most worthy sons of the Church from doing much of the spiritual work for which their gifts would richly qualify them; on the other hand, such worldly diversions and relaxations as flourish in the city tend to blunt and destroy in multitudes all taste for that spiritual thought and life which it is the mission of the Church to foster and to strengthen.

II. Again, the Church suffers limitation from what may be called the chasmic "divides" that run through the life of a great city. An impassable ravine will check the march of an army. One group of these "divides" may be defined as the polyglottic. And this feature especially characterizes our American cities as almost none others. The life of a British or of a Continental city is mostly homogeneous in its racial composition. Not so the great cities of America. New York, in the sense of representing many races and tongues, is doubtless the most cosmopolitan city in the world. But the Church, before it can successfully reach and evangelize these diverse race groups, must bridge the chasms of language, of customs, of traditions that now separate them each from each, and all in some measure from approach by an American type of Christianity. Another "divide" which confronts the movements of evangelical life in the city is that artificial chasm which has been opened deep and wide between the wealthy and the poor. This chasm, however artificial or unnatural it may seem, is nevertheless one of the most real and portentous facts in our modern life. It runs like an impassable gulf between two widely different social worlds. Upon the one hand is a world of privilege, upon the

other a world of want. Upon the one hand is that wealth which in winter shelters itself in costly homes upon the city avenues, and which in summer feasts its senses upon artistic landscapes and fragrant breezes from the verandas of suburban palaces; upon the other hand are the swarming and grimy masses who in winter huddle and shiver in the stuffy and cheerless apartments of the cheap tenement house, and who in summer writhe and swelter under the heat that smites the overcrowded city. The gulf that separates these two worlds is one but too rarely crossed by the dwellers on either side. The dwellers on the one side do not know how those on the other side live. Not that the needs of the one are never responded to by the wealth of the other; but the aid given, in far too great measure, is bestowed through such mediums as not to bring the heart of the donor in direct contact with the heart of the receiver. The aid received at the mechanical hand of a charity organization or disbursed on business principles by a committee having the matter in charge is not the kind that awakens a redeeming and transforming gratitude in the breasts of the depressed, discouraged, and fallen poor. The deep and abiding lesson of the ages is, that life can be saved only by life; hearts, even the hearts of the poorest and the humblest, can be won and swayed only by the giving of hearts. Between the two worlds of which we now speak there is altogether too little interchange of heart to insure any generally vitalizing or uplifting result upon the less favored community. However close the proximity geographically of these two worlds, they are separated from each other by the widest social distances—distances that can never be vitally spanned by long-distance telephonic processes, nor even by the establishing of freight lines for the carrying of food and provisions from the one over to the other.

III. Another quality of the great city which makes it a difficult field for evangelistic success is what Dr. Josiah Strong has well characterized as its isolation. There is no place where human society so secludes and bars itself in as in the city. In a rural parish or in the village the new pastor is at once known to all and has access to the entire community. There everybody knows his neighbors. Not so in the city. Let the popular pastor of the country village be transferred to the great city, and he very soon awakes to the discovery that he is only

an ordinary individual lost in a great sea of humanity. Four fifths of all living with him in the same block neither know nor have interest in him. In the city proximity of residence does not mean, in the deeper things that draw men together, community of interests. The social life of two families with only a partition wall between them may have practically as little interchange as though these families were separated by the width of a continent. Many results naturally grow out of this condition of city isolation. One is that the religious worker finds here greater difficulty of access to the subjects of his work than is to be encountered elsewhere. Another result is that a stranger is apt to receive but a cold or indifferent welcome, even when he enters the doors of the city church. The pew-holders of the church know not this person; they, in all probability, will never see him again; in any event they must incur no social risk by too warm a welcome, even to the house of God, of a pilgrim who has strolled within their gates, but whose social credentials they have not yet received. Another tendency of this isolation of life is to make men indifferent as to the claims of society upon themselves. And this is one of the worst results that can happen. When a man loses his sense of responsibility to society he is in danger of losing his sense of responsibility to himself. Reputation is a thing of social relations; real character is apt to flourish under the quickening sense of social responsibility. It is for the want of inspirational and uplifting social environment that multitudes of young men and women, who come from the country to the great city, become in the city, first lonely, then desperate, then lost. Finally, this quality of isolation makes the great city the retreat of the criminal. There is no place where the man of evil life may so effectually hide himself. And so, as a matter of record, the city with its dense population furnishes many times over the number of criminals to the same number of people as the open country.

IV. From the many as yet unmentioned facts which are inimical to the evangelization of the great city we select but one more. The greatest need of the city next to its need of Christianity, and a need which, unmet, makes Christian success in the city itself impossible, is the need of homes for the people. A goodly home in the city is a luxury so costly as to be afforded

only by the few. Eighty per cent of the great population of New York city live in tenement houses. This means a population of fickle residence; a population that makes for itself only ephemeral neighborhood attachments; a population that wears but lightly a sense of obligation to society; one that is in such a constant state of passage as largely to elude all direct influence from the Church. This state of things is true concerning those who dwell in the better class of tenements. Christian effort must be doubly alert to discover and to win the people in any shifting community, as compared with those who dwell in permanent homes. But, passing from the tenement houses that in themselves are tolerable, there is in every great city a large tenement life which carries within itself all the elements of perdition. There is one compact district in New York, comprising not more than one twenty-fifth of the city's area, in which there is an average of more than a quarter of a million of souls to the square mile. If the ground room of all this section were apportioned equally among its dwellers each person would have twelve square yards as his own rightful domain. In this region people are not only piled layer above layer, but it is not unusual to find men, women, and children crowded together under conditions that more suggest the herding of cattle than the housing of human beings. Such tenement sections are always a fruitful breeding ground for all kinds of disease—physical, social, moral. Here are to be found poverty in its most helpless forms, vagrancy, theft, besotted appetite, marital lawlessness, incest, idiocy—every malignant growth that may be born of evil blood or vicious life. Where decency cannot thrive a pure religion cannot live. Before the people of these overcrowded tenement house sections can be Christianized their very physical environment must receive the purification of fire. We need first to have a civilization itself so Christian that it will absolutely permit no place in the great city where the Shylock landlord shall be able to swell his sordid revenues at the expense of all that may pass under the sacred synonyms of home, of health, of decency.

But now, not to pursue further the special difficulties of the city, all the facts converging upon the situation clearly and irresistibly enforce the conclusion that the great battlefield on which Christianity, in its struggle for moral supremacy in the nation,

will brilliantly win or disastrously fail will be within city walls. It is as clearly evident that our Churches as now constituted are not sufficiently empowered and marshaled for their needed mission in this field. Success, therefore, manifestly needs more power, better methods, a fuller loyalty to Christ, a more alert discernment of opportunity, movement more swift and aggressive—all of this in much fuller and better measure than now exists. To specify without elaboration, some things indispensable to the triumph of Christianity in the cities would seem to be the following:

I. A more perfect reenthronement in Christian conviction and love of Christ's estimate of man as man, irrespective of his social or material environment. Christ never once shrank from the presence of the poorest and the most degraded of men, because he recognized in every man the possibilities through redemption of an immortal and godlike manhood. All social affinities which tyrannously separate men in society ought themselves to be trampled into the dust when it comes to the question of seeking the salvation of the lost. If there is any fact which the Christian Church needs at this hour to domesticate, in the very holy of holies of its most practical convictions, it is that in all the range of human pursuits there is no work so godlike as that which seeks the salvation of men for whom Christ died—all men, whoever they may be and wherever found.

II. A wide and persistent publication to the Church of the facts and needs of the situation. Many are inactive and seemingly indifferent because they do not know the tremendous needs which call for their action. Conviction must precede action; but knowledge is essential to conviction.

III. A wider conception of the practical mission of the Church than that which has been prevalent in the past. The Church of the past, in its relations with men, has dwelt too exclusively in the realm of soul. Christ spent a large part of his ministry in dealing with the physical needs of men. The Church, in its failure more fully to imitate him in this respect, has narrowed its proper mission and has lessened its power over the world. There are innumerable benevolences in the world, the mission of which is essentially Christian, which are practically supported by Christian men, but which nevertheless

are conducted outside of the Church; and by so much the proper mission of the Church of Christ, to the detriment of the Church, seems to be relegated to outside agencies. The Church, before it can fulfill its mission with the souls of men, must have in many instances much to do with the bodies in which these souls dwell. A significant proof of how this general truth is forcing itself upon Christian thought is furnished in the fact that recently, in New York city, one hundred and fifty clergymen agreed to devote one service each on a given Sabbath to a discussion of the tenement house problem.

IV. The development of new and aggressive methods of church work. The historic and conventional method, as applied to large sections of our city populations, stands to-day a confessed failure. The shore-line of our great cities is strewed with the wrecks of once prosperous churches; and these wrecks stand in the midst of thronging communities. There has been what is now quite well known and defined as an "uptown movement" of the churches. This means really that the wealth and the culture of the Church have moved away from the communities that more and more are filling with the wage-earning, the poor, and the needy multitudes. The prosperous people of the Church did not do their duty by these multitudes when they moved away from them and left with them simply their old houses of worship. These houses are deserted and are falling into decay, or else they have been converted into something like profane uses; but in the meantime the dense populations around their doors are practically unchurched and ungospelized. The prosperous and cultured church life which has moved "up-town" will never have done its duty by the multitudes "down-town" until it organizes itself into a holy, enduring, and resistless crusade for the winning and uplifting of these multitudes into the real brotherhood of the Church and kingdom of Jesus Christ. The sons and daughters of wealth and of privilege must carry to their brothers and sisters to whom life is a struggle hearts whose love shall be Christlike. The times are not without cheering indications that the best life of the Church is increasingly stirred with a sense of its obligation to the unprivileged multitudes of the city. Such movements as the "college settlement," "Toynbee Hall," "Hull House," "Epworth House," and other like enterprises

organized for the purpose of carrying a privileged Christian life into the most neighborly contact with the most unprivileged poor—these are encouraging symptoms of a new awakening of the Church to really Christlike methods of saving the city.

Among all methods to be suggested, the institutional church should have a foremost place. This is the church that carries with its organization all appliances, so far as possible, for helping men clear around the circle of their needs—physical, intellectual, moral; the church the material support of which shall be amply guaranteed, irrespective of the financial ability of those to whom it ministers; the church that shall have a sufficient number of employed workers to keep itself ever in aggressive and helpful relations with all the needy life of its wide and populous parish. Such an institution will require a somewhat expensive plant, and will need a large income for its current support. But results will amply justify all financial outlay required. It will be an institution adapted to reach conspicuous success where all ordinary churches fail. It has already been tried on a sufficient scale and in sufficiently critical locations to place it beyond the sphere of a mere experiment. Wherever amply supported and wisely worked, the institutional church is a great success. The time is ripe for every evangelical denomination in every large city to undertake the establishment and support of at least one such church in some populous and strategic center of the city's needs. This will call for what we present as the final suggestion of this paper, namely:

V. The generous giving of money for an essentially new departure of church work in cities. There is much popular rumor abroad that church members are already called upon to give too much money for benevolences. We personally are not a convert to this view. On the contrary, we believe that the Christian community as a whole is under supreme obligation to give vastly more than it is now giving for the sake of advancing the victories of Christ's kingdom among men; and obligation is never divorced from ability.

To confirm the sanity of our view, we herewith present a statistical argument from the condition of Methodism in the city of Brooklyn, as shown in the Conference Minutes for 1893. These Minutes report for the Methodist Episcopal churches of Brooklyn a membership, including probationers, of 18,667. We

find, by examining two church manuals, that there is an average of one family represented for every two persons in the membership of these two churches. Accepting this as a basis, we should have represented in the entire membership of Brooklyn about 9,300 families. If we assume that the Methodist family has an average income of $800 per year—and we judge that this is clearly within the facts of the case—then we have as the aggregate income of the Brooklyn Methodists the sum of $7,440,000. The Conference year 1892–93 marks a very exceptional activity in the churches of Brooklyn in the paying of large debts, and also in the raising of large amounts of money for new buildings and improvements. It is, therefore, a year which gives an exceptionally favorable showing for the benevolence of the denomination in the city. We find that the total gifts for the year from all of Brooklyn Methodism as reported, including items of pastoral support, current expenses of churches and Sunday schools, all amounts paid for indebtedness, new buildings, and improvements, all benevolent collections—everything given for and through the churches—aggregate $430,630. Now, if we swell this amount by one third of itself to allow for the unreported benevolences of our people we shall have as the grand total of their giving for the year the sum of $574,173. This would indicate that the Methodism of Brooklyn averaged last year a benevolent giving of about seven and seven tenths per cent on its income. We would be first to recognize the possibility of many stray elements in this estimate. Any such estimate in its very nature can, at best, be only proximate. We would recognize also the injustice of applying the logic of this calculation indiscriminately to all of our people. Of the 18,667 Methodists included, many are giving grandly—giving all that they ought, and possibly more. But if this is true it must also be true that many are falling far short of what they ought to do. It should, moreover, be remembered that quite a percentage of the money reported does not represent the gifts of church members at all, but comes from non-members in the congregations.

It is our belief that the premises assumed for this estimate are conservatively within the lines of truth. If so, then Brooklyn Methodism as a whole, by the exhibit of a year of exceptional giving, stands convicted, in the full light of this Christian

age, of giving two and three tenths per cent less for Christ's kingdom than the very minimum amount which Jehovah, under the old dispensation, formally demanded of the Jewish people. And this deficit is permitted in the presence of multiplied moral and spiritual needs that urge their cry to the very heavens, in the presence of opportunities for spiritual achievement such as might excite the envy of angels. Let Brooklyn Methodism but give the added two and three tenths per cent which it now withholds, and its Church Society can safely guarantee with it to plant a dozen new, vigorous churches every year, and, in addition, will maintain in resistless strength where it would do immeasurable good the most perfectly organized institutional church as yet developed in Christendom. One of the last things that flame in the sunset of Old Testament history is the condition on which Jehovah promised to open the windows of heaven and pour out upon his people blessings which there should not be room to receive. This condition was that they should cease longer to rob God and that they should bring all the tithes into the storehouse. The Christianity which will save our great cities is not a Christianity that in the heart of these Christian ages can be content with a proportionate giving less than that which God required of his people twenty-five centuries ago.

George P. Mains

Art. V.—SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

When the Revised Version of the Old Testament was published many were surprised and disappointed because so few changes from the Authorized Version appeared. It was naturally expected, especially by those unacquainted with the form of the original text, that the number of variations would correspond in some degree with those that had been made in the New Testament. Some suggested that the severe strictures on the numerous alterations in the New had driven the revisers of the Old into the opposite extreme of undue conservatism. The criticism was without foundation. As a result of scientific progress in the study of the New Testament manuscripts many text emendations had been uniformly accepted, so that it was necessary that the revision be made to correspond, even at the risk of temporary condemnation. On the other hand, there were practically no differences in the Hebrew text, so that variations from the Authorized Version on this account were much fewer than in the New Testament. Various renderings or modes of expression in the latter are also possible, because of the philosophical character of the Greek language and the substance and form of revelation in the gospel dispensation.

The changes in the Revised Version of the New Testament have been generally accepted as amendments, at least in the matter of accurate statement, though they have not been received with uniform cordiality, owing partly to certain infelicities of language and a slavish adherence to literalistic idioms, and partly to their frequent deviation from accustomed expressions to which by the worship of the sanctuary we are almost indissolubly wedded. The simple and uninvolved structure of the Old Testament original, on the contrary, did not permit apparently violent transformations or marked alterations, except in those obscure passages on which recent discoveries in history and archæology had shed additional light. Moreover, the subject-matter is so largely historical or objective that it restricts the translator, except in choice of phraseology; and fortunately the sentences are so constructed that a simple and accurate reproduction of the word-sense is clearer and better

than free paraphrase. It is, therefore, natural and appropriate that the revisers should have made in the Old Testament comparatively few changes; and those made are almost universally approved, though many in the New Testament may not now or ever command general assent.

While the evangelical interpretation of the Old Testament is possible only in the light of the Gospel, it is evident that there must be some difference in the line and method of study for the pre-Christian revelation. Its independent value must be recognized, for it has been attested by inspired authority as "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." From a human standpoint it is to be viewed as the sole literary product of a race whose absorbing business was the development of a universal religion. The books which compose this incomparable volume have been much neglected, because they have seemed to be limited to local and temporary conditions. Their naïve simplicity of language has led many to read them cursorily; and their fine touches have not been noted by those who failed to observe that the most skillful artists had bent their best energies to the production of an inimitable picture. Unlike the language of the evangelists and apostles, that of the Hebrew poets and prophets is couched in classic form. There is an indescribable and elegant finish in the expression, showing that the author was convinced of the importance of the structure as well as of the substance of the truth. While the writer in the New Testament felt bound to observe the general laws of Greek etymology and syntax, he was under some sense of constraint in the use of a tongue not his own by nature, and further was more impressed with the matter of his message than concerned with the quality of the vessel in which he carried the news; though more credit than is often allowed must be accorded him in the use of Hellenic speech. The New Testament volume was completed within a comparatively short period, presumably by busy, active men on whom rested the care of the churches. Old Testament literature was composed at widely separated intervals, and much of it was in the thought and life of the nation for centuries. Style was a matter of study; so that an exegete, to be thoroughly equipped,

must be well versed in Hebrew temperament and its modes of manifestation. Any one who is filled with experiences of God, such as are portrayed in these wonderful stories, will be well qualified to comprehend and declare the lessons which they furnish; but a correct conception of the language principles, which reflect a peculiar inspiration, will be indispensable for intensifying the view and bringing forth many otherwise hidden suggestions that add beauty and force to the picture.

The term "picture" is used advisedly. All language is more or less metaphor; but the Hebrew is preeminently a series of forcible symbols. One needs only to consult a lexicon to see that almost every word has a concrete signification—a realistic power of representing an idealistic relation.* The Hebrew mind fed on signs, dreams, visions, fables, and types. The subjective was readily reflected in a materialistic medium. In a word there is often conveyed a world of meaning. A people comprehending such communications were well adapted for miraculous manifestations and anthropomorphic revelations of the Deity. Semblances and analogies could be legitimately employed in the revelation of truth. Some very grotesque theology has resulted from an inability to interpret a figure of speech. What applies to isolated words is also manifest in the construction of sentences, often in the order of the terms, and is especially marked in the combined effect of a completed essay. The frequent occurrence of אֵת, the sign of the definite object, and of the article and the suffix possessive pronoun in the story of Abraham's offering of Isaac shows how distinctly the duty of the ordeal was portrayed in the patriarch's mind; while there are certain other indescribable features that illustrate his determination and agony of spirit as pathetically as a painting of Rubens or the statuary of the Laocoön. Even the shape of some of the Hebrew letters has probably suggested their names.

* A few words taken at random will serve as illustrations: אֹהֶל, *tent*, root meaning, *shine, glitter*; אָמֵן, *verily, amen*, root meaning, *prop, be firm* (so יָמִין, *take right hand*); בּוֹשׁ, *be ashamed*, root meaning, *blush*; בֵּין, *between*, root meaning, *discern, distinguish*; בָּרַךְ (especially in Pi'el stem), *bless*, root meaning, *kneel, invoke God*; כָּבוֹד, *glory*, root meaning, *be heavy* (compare 2 Cor. iv, 17, "A far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"); כִּפֶּר (Pi'el), *at one for*, root meaning, *cover*; פַּעַם, *time*, root meaning, *stroke, tread*; רַע, *bad*, root meaning, *break*.

Parables, regarded as such, are not numerous in the Old Testament; but those that are furnished are exceedingly suggestive, and they prepare the way for those inimitable forms that Jesus employed to illustrate the kingdom of heaven. Jotham's fable of the trees seeking a king and Nathan's account of the seizure of the poor man's ewe-lamb are only more elaborate in structure than those that can be found on every page. The literary genius that dictated this striking imagery is apparent in all the writings. Historic events, or such as are to be so treated, are recorded not only for their own sake, but also because they vividly portray moral relations. What an object lesson, for instance, was presented to the descendants of Abraham in that singular and awful chasm of the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea, the traditional site of Sodom and Gomorrah, which were destroyed for their outrageous and unmentionable immorality! Was it surprising that the prophets of future generations, in reproving the Israelites for their aggravating vices, should so vividly warn them of a threatening doom by reminding them of that which in the distant past had actually befallen the cities of the plain? No wonder that the chosen people were deterred from committing the horrid crimes which were always so prevalent among the surrounding nations! Israel's wandering in the wilderness supplied a type to enforce moral lessons that concerned both the nation and the individual, and has been veritably spiritualized by New Testament writers, as well as by more modern expositors.

If this principle is remembered much of the apparent conflict of the Bible with other revelations of truth will disappear. No attempt at a reconciliation of Genesis and geology will be necessary if the story of the creation is treated as a panoramic display of the origin of all things, a most skillful work of art to portray a vital thought which must possess every reverent and believing mind. Observe the frequent insertion of the term אֱלֹהִים for the Deity in these first chapters, and ask yourself if this was not evidently designed to remind man that the great invisible Force must be recognized in the phenomena of the universe. Was it ever the purpose of a painting to be a criterion in chronology? Must every detail be subjected to the mathematical test? One might as well condemn Leonardo da Vinci's famous and helpful cartoon of the "Last Supper" be-

cause it is not faithful in every particular to the usages of an oriental house. Too often sincere Christians have made an appeal to the Bible as an ultimate authority on natural science and the events of history, whereas these are matters that are to be discovered, if at all, by human effort and ingenuity. It may be assumed that God's word, where there is a strict averment of fact, does not squarely contradict truth elsewhere revealed or discovered; but it must not be forgotten that the Bible is to be revered chiefly as the fountain of infallible moral teaching,* and that it incidentally utilizes the manifestations of nature and history for the inculcation of principles that are essential to the welfare of the human soul, both in this life and in that which is to come. It is occasion for congratulation that the discoveries of the archæologists in various ages confirm the actual reliability of the Old Testament record, especially in matters of history previously questioned;† from which we are assured that the writers were not willful impostors or misleading and incapable chroniclers. The work just quoted declares ("Introduction," p. xi) that "the Bible is now read and studied by many . . . as an invaluable help in the study of the past." We must, however, be able to recognize when it is the main aim of the inspired writer to record a fact in its literal form and when it is his ruling purpose to inculcate essential truth by emblematic statements. Of course, facts must not be perverted; but allegory and even legend may aptly teach the real philosophy of human life.

The Hebrew literature bears the mark of divine dealing and of the spiritual consciousness of a holy nation that gives expression to its faith by concrete acts and protestations. It seems providential, and even necessary, that the revelation concerning the soul's life should have been first committed to a people endowed with the imaginative faculty—to such as Abraham, who could commune with God for a day and two nights in succession; as Jacob, who prevailed after wrestling until break of day; as Moses and Elijah, who for six weeks uninterruptedly secluded themselves from human associations to sensibly

*Compare O. Pfleiderer, *Development of Theology*, p. 311, London, 1890. This and other references are made by the writer, not so much to indicate his approval or disapproval of the entire view presented, as to direct the reader to an interesting line of passages where the subject is treated in a manner not suited to the compass of this article.

†See H. A. Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, London, 1891.

realize the strengthening and enlightening presence of Jehovah. Only such were capable of originally conceiving God as a person, yet without visible shape, and as a being capacitated for emotion, yet infinitely superior to those who were made in his image. It is natural, therefore, that the language of these religious devotees should be a reflection of their spirit and faith.*

There seems to be interesting evidence that language reflects and at the same time modifies the sentiment of a people, in the idiomatic use of the ו, *waw* consecutive, of the Hebrew. It disappears in the later colloquial Aramaic; but its influence is again detected in the oft-recurring phrase of the New Testament, "And it came to pass" (*καὶ ἐγένετο*), also in the unusually frequent repetition of "therefore" (*οὖν*) in the Gospel according to John. The children of the covenant, being in constant remembrance of their theocratic relation, would naturally attribute all events to divine interposition; so that logical sequence must be postulated in connection with chronological order. This, it seems fair to say, is especially marked in the use of *οὖν* in the Johannine gospel, and is a point of no mean consequence in favor of the Palestinian authorship. *Waw* consecutive is the most common formula of Old Testament syntax. It is the very first expression in some of the books, so that many commentators have suggested that they must be connected with previous statements or relations of fact. The form is not invariably translated by the copulative conjunction *and*, but is often illative in sense, and in correlative sentences is expressive of the cause and consequence. It is quite generally admitted that the Jews in their later history showed a decided proclivity toward a philosophy leading to predestinarianism. Can it be that this bias was in any way brought about or betrayed by the oft-recurring consecutive particle?

The bearing of the Old Testament on the doctrine of the decrees is somewhat affected by the interpretation of the *Hiph'il*, or causative, stem of the verb, which may govern two accusatives—one, that which is the agent or instrument of the action, and the second as the direct object of the primal idea. There must be a distinction between hardening Pharaoh's heart and

* For additional illustrations consult M. S. Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, pp. 76–106; and Briggs, *Biblical Study*, pp. 46–59.

causing it to be hard.* Some may think that the difference does not amount to much in the final result; but the use of the stem in verse 3, quoted in the note, implies an intermediate agency, and seems to recognize in some degree the moral responsibility of the heart. This very common conjugation of the verb has had its influence in the Calvinistic interpretations of modern times, as well as in the exegesis of a people regarding themselves in covenant relation with Jehovah, who was bound to protect, preserve, and govern them. The causative stem does not play so prominent a part in the language and philosophy of the nineteenth century.

It has been stated that the *Pi'el*, or intensive, stem is sometimes causative in sense. It perhaps would be more exact to say, "in practical effect;" for surely two different forms will not be used to express the same idea. The root thought of קדשׁ is *pure*, *clean*, *holy*. The intensive stem means to *make holy* or *sanctify* (*sanctus*, holy, and *facio*, make; passive, *fio*, be made), applied usually to things, or to persons regarded as things. When used of persons, it does not signify so much a change of nature as of relation. It is employed where the object does not seem to possess the ability or right to exercise an option, as in the consecration of the firstborn (Exod. xiii, 2) or of priests (Exod. xxviii, 41). Where the *Hiph'il* is employed in Isa. viii, 13, and xxix, 23, and Num. xx, 12, apparently in the sense of a *Pi'el*, it will be observed that the moral responsibility of the people is involved. The lexicographer may be unable to perceive a difference in the abstract definitions; but the exegete and theologian will be bound to consider the terms in their concrete relations.

One of the most attractive and, perhaps, profitable features in the study of the original text of the Hebrew Scriptures is observed in the ingenious and suggestive variation of verbal stems. For example, the three intensives may not be distinctly marked in a translation, but they betray a state of motion or activity that no single phrase in English can convey. They often occur in quick and uninterrupted † collocation, even in a short passage, and disclose the author's purpose to represent

* Exod. viii, 3, 13. Observe the error of the Authorized Version in verse 13, corrected in the margin of Revised Version. The translators of 1611 took וַיְחַזֵּק as if it were *Hiph'il*.

† See Isa. i, 16-18.

with his pen the character of the event and the feelings of the actors in the scene. A capacity is evinced to produce a picture in which every detail is depicted in its proper color. Life itself is represented by the use of the intensive reciprocal, or *Hithpa'el*, in the phrase, "Enoch walked with God." The simple meaning of the verb employed is to *walk;* but in the *Hithpa'el*, here inserted, it signifies to *walk about* or *to and fro*, hence to *live* with God. The relative frequency of the seven stems is also worthy of note, those in the passive voice, both of the intensive and the causative, occurring not so often as the active forms. Fervor is not so likely to be marked where the subject is inactive. Isaac has less occasion for the *Pi'el* than Jacob. Irresistible causation is seldom recognized where responsibility is postulated.*

In the Hebrew verb tense is only subjectively represented, so that the time when an action is described as occurring must be determined chiefly by the context. The terms perfect and imperfect describe the stage of completion in the act, and may refer to the sphere of the past, the present, or the future. In English provision is made, especially in the active voice, for showing the exact instant of the verb's operation. A people absorbed in commercial transactions must command a language that will fix dates and determine to an infinitesimal part of a second when the ball drops at the Greenwich Observatory. Such precision was not necessary among the Hebrews, whose life was quiet, rural, and contemplative. Usury was forbidden. What use, then, for interest tables? Why, then, be so strict in marking time? Three days might be more or less. It was not so mathematical and prosaic to call six weeks forty days as to reckon them forty-two days. When men lived, like Isaac, in tents for one hundred and eighty years there would be no such loss or uneasiness as in a modern metropolis, where rents may be five or a hundred dollars per day and a business career must be closed in a third or a quarter of a century. When our fortunes are made to depend on such maxims as "Strike while the iron is hot," or "Make hay while the sun shines," the tense of the verb must be most carefully regarded. If success or

* Note the significant use of the *Hoph'al*, or causative passive, in Exod. xx, 5, "nor serve them;" literally, *nor be caused to serve them*, that is, under the influence of surrounding idolaters.

safety itself seems to lie wholly in our own hand, we must watch every minute and arrange our business according to the undeviating train schedule. The Semitic devotee, however, rested securely in the lap of nature's God, who would provide somehow or somewhere for his creatures. If there was famine in Canaan there was corn in Egypt. If the waters of Cherith dried up there was a widow in Zarephath with a handful of meal and a cruse of oil to feed the prophet for an indefinite period. It was this Hebraistic mental cast that made possible the long series of lessons inculcating implicit trust in God under all circumstances. The New Testament writer had been nurtured in an atmosphere which taught him to confidently believe that "the Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness." The promises are therefore possessions, as, "Unto thy seed have I given [נָתַתִּי perfect] this land" (Gen. xv, 18).* Such an idiom was especially fitted for the declaration of permanent truths, as in Gen. xv, 6, "And he believed [וְהֶאֱמִן perfect, with *waw* consecutive] in God."

In the Old Testament original there are some significant constructions to show that it is addressed to those who can exercise a moral judgment and make the proper application. Observe the common omission of the copula "to be" in such phrases as "I [am] Jehovah thy God" (Exod. xx, 2). Behold this and that in juxtaposition and draw your own inference. Think, says the inspired messenger, for yourself. So there is room for the operation of the moral and reflective sense, which may occasion the introduction of the very peculiar absolute infinitive in Gen. ii, 17, מוֹת תָּמוּת, *to die* (or *dying*, as substantive), *thou shalt die;* that is, Know assuredly that thou shalt die. Attention is called to death as a concrete fact, an objective reality. As if a teacher of the olden time should point to the rod very conspicuously displayed, or, on the other hand, to the red apple associated with an encouragement to study, so the absolute infinitive vividly fixes the self-apparent application in the mind of the person addressed. Usually the sentence in Hebrew is simple, plain, and direct; but the reader is expected to pose as an appreciative observer before a skillfully executed picture, and be able with the aid of his own thoughts to apprehend the exact nature of the situation. An elliptical idiom,

* Compare Gen. xii, 7, where the imperfect is used.

made necessary, if for no other reason, by the scarcity of stationery, afforded the reader some share of responsibility in apprehending truth.

To take a broader view of Old Testament composition, we may add that an imperfect understanding of the word sometimes results from neglecting to properly interpret the form and spirit of poetry. Nearly the whole of the ancient record is poetic in conception, and the usual license to free itself from dull and prosy literalism must be granted. Often the writer breaks out in strains designed to be memorized, as the lines of Homer among the Greeks. There is refrain and antiphone, verse and strophe; but the chief merit of Hebrew poetry consists in the aptness and beauty of the sentiment. Form and structure are not of as much consequence as the inspiration of the muse and the revelation of the divine. Poetry is a proper expression of religious conception, which is no less real because it is best communicated by means of metaphorical imagery. Are we to insist that the morning has wings because the psalmist uses the phrase, or that the stars sang together in an audible voice when the works of creation were made manifest? In truth, the real meaning is entirely lost by those who endeavor to reduce the sacred text to the interpretations of bare literalism.

It is important to notice that the Old Testament volume is composed of several parts. The same may be said of the New Testament; but the latter is less fragmentary, though both are pervaded by a common purpose and give many proofs of singular unity in their design. No matter what may be our judgment in reference to the conclusions reached by some exponents of the higher criticism, we must learn to appreciate the value of that method which deals with a writing as the product of its author, who was inspired by a distinct aim and affected by his environments, natural and historical, as well as supernatural and spiritual. Is the book a philosophical treatise, or the spontaneous effusion of an inspired sentiment? Is it a record of fact, a series of annals, or the sketch of a fancy all aglow to illuminate truth and cheer a fainting spirit, as well as to show the course of the nation and to immortalize its heroes? Is it all spiritual, or may any part be nothing more than a pleasing story from which a moral lesson may be derived? Was it written in its present form and order, or have stray leaves of

previously existing manuscripts or tablets been compiled by an enthusiastic patriot and devotee?* The imaginative faculties must be brought into very active exercise by the true interpreter to supply much that does not appear on the surface of the printed page. The parts exposed are merely the peaks of huge mountains of solid truth in the ocean of the universe, seeming often to be separate and distinct, but really united at the bottom so as to form an impacted mass originated from a single impulse. It was God who spoke "in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners;" but while the divine element must be invariably recognized, the human factor must not be ignored.

There need be no alarm at the suggestion that there are different degrees of inspiration, though the statement does not exactly convey the proper impression. If a work is divinely authenticated it is absolutely conclusive in so far as it is authority at all. One may be enabled to perceive more of God's truth in a certain passage than will be observed in others, and the character of the subject-matter is by many regarded as one of the criteria of inspiration. It is sufficient if the seal of Heaven has been attached, however vaguely in the opinion of some. That which may seem earthly or relatively of little value may be essential to the completeness of the volume. Though there may be more flowers in June than in February, in the order of Providence the month of winter rain must precede the season of summer beauty. There may not be as much literary finish in the Book of Daniel as in the first part of Isaiah's prophecy or in the First Book of Samuel; but it is not, therefore, unseemly that this Babylonian apocalyptic should continue to produce, as heretofore, marvelous and salutary results in spiritual life. Suppose the muse did seem not to maintain the same lofty level of oracular manifestation, either in artistic form or spiritual doctrine, one or the other or both, in all parts of the Scripture; shall we reject Esther and Ecclesiastes as uninspired because they are not as truly philosophical as Job or as clearly evangelical as the second division of Isaiah? Truth may be taught by implication. Who dares question

* On the importance of a correct view of the Old Testament writings consult Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, vol. i, pp. 12–27. In fact, the moral as well as the historical teaching of the Bible is affected by our judgment concerning authorship and proportionate relation.

that Mordecai would have staked his life on his belief in the providential destiny of his people? When paradox is a common figure of speech the strange reasonings of *Kohéleth* may not be unprofitable, especially when it appears that a mere animal life is, after all, disappointing. Mayhap the Song of Solomon is a harem tale, and the mystic interpretation of its prefiguring the union of Christ and his Church is baseless and misleading; yet is a love story containing such a beautiful lesson, especially to those familiar with oriental usages and scenes, unprofitable and unworthy of a sanctified pen? Jewish literature discloses a truth which this practical Christian age is beginning to recognize, that the thought of God is to pervade the entire movement of our being.

Many conscientious students of Scripture grant with hesitation that the declarations of the Old Testament are not originally absolute and universal. The ancient Hebrews were wont to assert very lofty claims in regard to their intimacy with Jehovah, and they were doubtless far, if not incomparably, in advance of their neighbors in the knowledge of divine things. They were ordained to be successful explorers in the regions of holy truth; but it is not unreasonable to infer that some of their excursions led to imperfect and unsatisfactory results. The accounts of their endeavors show that many of their efforts were experiments, some of them possibly blunders, at least in effect, and that the chosen people could only arrive at a true spiritual insight by a long and painful series of national disaster and individual suffering. Much lasting material for a sound orthodoxy was accumulated; but there were pieces in the old structure that could not be used in the new order. Indeed, they would have had a disruptive effect. It must be granted that the Holy Spirit is never limited or mistaken; but the human instrument may not have known all the truth which his words conveyed, and these words may not originally have meant all which they finally came to signify. Did Abraham understand that his natural progeny would be as numerous as the stars or as the sand of the seashore? Perhaps he knew more astronomy than we give him credit for; but there are very few now who entertain an adequate conception of the multitudes of the sidereal host. Doubtless some of his descendants supposed that God's covenant was literally fulfilled during

the reign of Solomon, when "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude." If the Jews supposed that the promise referred to a seed according to the flesh —and it is probable that this interpretation was practically universal until corrected by Paul—they were plainly in error, for the race has never been numerous. It cannot be positively denied that Abraham understood the promise in a purely spiritual sense; but this is hardly probable, though he was exceptionally celebrated for his prophetic faith. The treasure of revelation has been carried in earthen vessels, and those to whom it has been brought are human and may possibly fail to distinguish between the truth and its medium.*

Those who have become accustomed to the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, as illustrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, may be somewhat perplexed in admitting limitation of knowledge on the part of the original authors, who were not as fully acquainted with the possible consequences of their revelation as are those who now witness history as a progressive development of previous processes. Isaiah must be acknowledged as a truly evangelical messenger, even though he may not have distinctly seen the virgin's Son as Him who was born in Bethlehem seven centuries later.† The workman may be thoroughly competent for the piece assigned him without even knowing its place in the edifice yet unreared. The broader meaning of which the prophecies are capable through an allegorical or spiritual interpretation does not preclude a literal, historical, and originally exclusive application to the matter in hand; but the final import may be all the more prominent and distinct in consideration of what has preceded. The teaching of a text must not be made top-heavy. Let it be securely founded on its basal facts, and if there has been a growth, as of a plant, let it be observed what was the nature of the primal seed and the state of the soil in which it germinated and produced; "for of thorns men do not gather figs."

Messianism was a peculiar feature of the Hebrew faith. It pervaded secular and ecclesiastical life, so that almost every distinguished and heroic Israelite was regarded as a servant of

* On the same line good old Richard Baxter, in 1683, made some rather startling statements, as quoted by C. A. Briggs in *Biblical Study*, p. 243.

† For a fuller discussion of this view see *The Old and New Testament Student* for 1891, pp. 321–324, and for 1892, pp. 129–131.

Jehovah or some sort of messiah. Hence the perplexity of the Ethiopian eunuch in reference to the application of Isa. liii. All these notions converged toward culmination in One who was to be Prophet, Priest, and King, for in each of these offices the ceremony of anointing to a messiahship had been observed. Jesus Christ is the perfect embodiment of all the aspirations of a worshiping, backsliding, believing, hoping, chastened, and disappointed nation, which had repeatedly assured itself, especially in times of misfortune and disaster, that the Messiah was already on the earth. The most rigid critics grant that many of the psalms are directly messianic, though having no reference, immediate or remote, to Jesus as a human person. The condition which they describe may be far beneath the grace, benignity, and glory of the new dispensation; but the words are capable of the modern adaptation, and were composed in the spirit which has since stirred the heart of gospel believers. If, as Delitzsch supposes, Psalm xlv refers to the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah, the most devout disciple would be unwilling to compare this king with Christ, or the idolatrous daughter of Ahab with the purified Church. Nevertheless, parts of this impassioned lyric are utilized in the New Testament for proving the divine supremacy of Jesus. Some may be shocked at the thought that this psalm, now hallowed by its rapturous application to the Son of God, was once sung by an enthusiastic courtier, possibly at the marriage of a king who was neither strong nor good. The gospel writers adopted a plan of exegesis approved by contemporaneous Jews. Their imaginative sense could discern resemblances of lasting moral value in a hymn composed for an occasion far inferior to that which it is now used to celebrate. Metaphor and illustration deal with things of less importance than the truth. If by this method a particular passage on account of its real historic relation is deprived of some artificial dignity, there will be vastly superior compensation in the power gained to derive a spiritual lesson from the whole of sacred story.

John Poucher

Art. VI.—ROBERT FORMAN HORTON—HIS LECTURES ON PREACHING; HIS CRITICAL INQUIRY; AND HIS ATTEMPT AT RECONSTRUCTION.

The Yale Lectures for 1893, delivered by the English preacher, Robert F. Horton, will take rank with the best which have been given on the Lyman Beecher foundation. Here in the United States we began to know Mr. Horton (as he wishes to be called) through his compact *History of the Romans*, published eight or ten years ago—a book used in schools, and yet much more than an ordinary school compendium. In the Boston Public Library this history is even now the only book catalogued under his name, although the first edition of *Inspiration and the Bible* was published in 1888.

To anyone interested in the preacher's life at school the work of Mr. Horton at Oxford is exceedingly significant. He was a student of the finest type, reminding one of John Wesley in a point or two where he makes culture tributary to a religious ideal. It was in Oxford that Mr. Horton became, not what Henry James terms "a fingerer of style," but a master of style; though not yet is there such precision and temperance of phrase as we see in Matthew Arnold. Now and then Mr. Horton seems to enjoy verbal extravagance. And yet he has found out how to put his real self into words. For one thing, and a more important thing than many preachers deem it, he never makes an artificial quotation. He quotes a great deal, because he loves books and the choicest things in literature are constantly coming to mind; but these quotations are toned up by his own meditation, and so, charged with his personality, they become a living part of the whole structure of his utterance. Precisely so, in using illustrations of any kind, he takes them from various sources where he has had actual experience, either as a scholar, a pastor, or a man, and never plucks them by index out of a homiletical cyclopedia in which some doctor of humdrum has gathered, dried, and labeled specimens of all sorts. Thus Mr. Horton's utterance has the subtile aroma of his individuality. Everything conspires to give you the man. Long before you fully grapple his argument you can perceive his theme steeping in all his manhood. He also has a masterly way of securing

movement in his discussion. In all his speaking he has a defined purpose, and even his rhetoric must do honest work in relation to this purpose. Nothing is for show. In a profound way, there is an element of self-sacrifice in all his speaking. He understands that deep, deepest principle of great speaking, namely, "Whosoever will lose his life . . . shall save it." Everything working in this spirit of sacrifice toward the one unselfish end, there is progress, and the audience catches the impulse and thinks, "This man is really going somewhere."

But some would question whether the pastor of the Independent Church at Hampstead is an orator. Not in the academic sense surely. He has neither the presence, nor the voice, nor the finished elocution of the trained pulpit orator. To these things, indeed, he makes no claim. In his first Yale lecture we find this passage:

> It may be well to say at once that the noble gift of oratory and the fine art of elocution may be pressed into the service of preaching; but they have to be watched. They are saucy slaves who, with their castanets and bangles, will always be seeking to gain the upper hand, superseding their master and covering his absence with their noise and sparkle.*

Still, if we once drop the academic idea of oratory and consider it in a larger way; if we look upon oratory as neither more nor less than getting at men with earnest speech; if, for example, we are altogether ready to call Phillips Brooks a great orator, then Robert Horton is as true an orator as ever spoke in any tongue. Always he has a real word for you, and you cannot get away. His message has an eager fashion of coming at you as if an elder brother, with entire right to you, were pouring earnest words into your ear. Amiel says that Ernest Naville added to other gifts a "contagious cordiality." In our own land we have seen exactly what Amiel means, in that most fascinating of pulpit orators, Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Horton has not this contagious cordiality. His manner (if we heard him at his best) is not so friendly as his message. But he has what is much better than a cordial manner, namely, a spiritual mien and a power to make an audience feel that the preacher has just come from God. He has the prophet's way of lying quiet and bare before the Almighty until his soul glows with the divine presence. He also dares to "grapple with God,

* *Verbum Dei*, p. 19.

spirit to spirit, knee to knee, hand to hand." And so he comes down from "our Great Skellig" to the people with a wonderful light in his face and a burning message in his heart.

It is this (as he would like to have it expressed) prophetic element in his Yale lectures which give to them large worth. As mere didactic performances, as a discriminating treatment of the sermonic art, they are not equal to some we have had before; but as a great voice crying in the vast wilderness of finical and mechanical homiletics, as a solemn warning against all pulpit insincerity, and as a manly revelation of the real dignity of the preacher's work these lectures should call out only words of commendation. That wonderful sixth chapter, on "Receiving the Word," is enough, all alone, to keep the book in perpetual market. Any man who can write a chapter like that is, even if we must reject some of his conclusions, a man for whom the ministry of the Church should thank God.

These Yale lectures have, however, a theological importance which is perhaps even greater than their homiletical value. The title itself, *Verbum Dei*, suggests the key to the author's theological position. Of the word of God he has a notion which he deems constructive, or which he thinks can be made constructive over against all the destructive work of modern criticism. As a matter of fact, these Yale lectures do not stand alone. Theologically, anyway, they are closely related to the two books Mr. Horton had already published, *Inspiration and the Bible*, and *Revelation and the Bible*. The three books, taken in order as written, furnish a constructive scheme which may be outlined as follows:

I. A preparatory inquiry, to show that the Bible is inspired in the sense that there is in it a revelation or word of God.

II. A positive analysis, to show to what extent this word of God is in each portion of Scripture.

III. The practical outcome, to show that revelation is just as possible now; and each Christian preacher should be a modern prophet, giving to his generation as true a word of God as ever was spoken by Moses, Elijah, or St. Paul.

Before criticising this scheme it will be necessary to look at each one of the three books, at least sufficiently to get the author's spirit and teaching. In his preparatory inquiry Mr. Horton assumes the inspiration of the Bible; but he quickly

explains himself: "We mean by inspiration exactly those qualities and characteristics which are the marks or notes of the Bible." * His idea is to limit the discussion; and so he begins with what all Christians will readily grant, namely, that the Bible is a peculiar book. Now, then, he says, let us take this peculiarity (which is usually called inspiration) and study it inductively to see what it really is and is not. Let us examine the Bible as freely and as fairly as if the Church had never said anything about it. We must have the truth even if we have to give up our old theology. Not as a dogmatic, but as a tentative help, Mr. Horton makes a formula to take with him in his inductive study of the Scriptures. The formula is this: "We call our Bible inspired, by which we mean that by reading it and studying it we find our way to God, we find his will for us, and we find out how we can conform ourselves to his will." † The plan of study is: 1. The epistle in the inspired book; 2. The biographies; 3. The New Testament in general; 4. The prophet in the Old Testament; 5. The history; 6. The law; 7. The poetry and the miscellaneous writings.

Mr. Horton's conclusions, as far as we need to deal with them in this article, are these:

I. As to the old conservative view of inspiration, "the cast-iron theory," it must be given up altogether. It came out of the rabbinical theory, when "disputed Protestantism was seeking for some simple and final authority to set over against the discredited authority of the infallible pope." ‡ This old theory is very largely responsible for infidelity in the world, as well as for an inert Church.

II. As to biblical inerrancy, any inductive study of Scripture shows that such a doctrine is a pure dogma *a priori*. There are all sorts of errors in the Bible. Each writer is subject to limitations of culture and knowledge imposed by the age in which he lived. Historical writings are by no means protected against error, and therefore we must deal with biblical history critically, just as we deal with any history. Even in moral teaching the Bible is not consistent and complete in each part. Speaking of Prov. xxxi, 6, 7, Mr. Horton says:

> If our teachers insist in treating all the precepts of the Scripture as the direct utterance of God for the guidance of our life, then the publican has

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 10. † *Ibid.*, p. 13. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

as much right to quote this passage as the temperance lecturer has to quote that other passage, "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red."*

Nor in purely theological teaching is the Bible to be always relied upon. The old fashion that slumberous creature, the systematic theologian, has of quoting proof texts must be given up entirely. In 2 Sam. xxiv, 1, we are told that "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah." But the later author of the passage in 1 Chron. xxi, 1, cannot tolerate any such conception of God, and so he says that "Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel."† Not even the theological teaching of the New Testament will Mr. Horton accept as always revelation and always reliable.

III. As to the work of the higher critics, Mr. Horton thinks that they are doing much good. They rob us of nothing essential. What does it matter who wrote a certain book, provided the message of the book is left intact? Even in considering the gospels "we are not to treat the authorship as an essential factor." Also in regard to the date of composition, let the critics do whatever they can, the central word of God is not disturbed. What the critics do is to discover the fact; and this discovery helps us, for it brings out the local situation, which often suggests the clew to an adequate exegesis. In short, Mr. Horton believes that the higher critics are putting reality into the Bible. They are justly giving a new emphasis to that human side of Scripture which was a faint and vanishing thing under the artificial treatment of the traditionalists. One important feature of this human side is the pseudepigraphical; that is, writings were clustered around the nucleus of a great name. It was an ancient literary custom.

In modern times we should be apt to call this forgery. But in ancient times what we call forgery passed as a due humility; authors were more anxious that their books should be read than that they should have the credit of writing them.‡

IV. As to the doctrine of inspiration itself, there is no clear philosophical discussion of it in the book. From passages here and there it would seem that Mr. Horton's view of the

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 210. † *Ibid.*, p. 145. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

nature of inspiration is, at the bottom, about the same as the view of Dean Stanley. Accurately speaking, the Bible is not so much inspired Scripture as it is the record of an inspired people. We have to do with a nation in remarkable relation with God—a nation to whose leaders and in whose history God verily revealed himself. There were "the movements of the divine Spirit in the national life and faith of Israel, which give to the representative utterances of its literature a certain prophetic and universal significance."* Thus these Scriptures, if used in a large way, with historic sense and with Christian sense, do tell us what God is, and do show us the divine will, and teach us how to fashion our lives according to that will. In other words, Mr. Horton goes through his inspiring inquiry holding the tentative formula with which he started; and that formula is the core of all he has to say about the inspiration of the two Testaments. Here is the whole book in a sentence: The Bible is inspired because there is in it a revelation, or word of God; and this word, because it is of God, is not disturbed in the least by modern criticism.

Revelation and the Bible is not, as some think, merely an elaboration of *Inspiration and the Bible*. Naturally the two books overlap and interlace, but they are not alike. One is an inquiry, and the other is a positive analysis growing out of that inquiry. Having in the preparatory book reached the conclusion that there is in the Bible an unshaken word or revelation, the author now undertakes to point out this revelation, place by place, even according to his original plan. In the preface to the second edition of *Inspiration and the Bible* we find these words:

> If God grant me life and strength and opportunity it is my great desire to issue a companion volume, *Revelation and the Bible*, in which I shall try to review, sum up, and estimate those incalculable treasures of spiritual truth and practical help which have been stored up for our use by our gracious God in the inspired book.

The main points which determine Mr. Horton's method of analysis may be systematized as follows:

I. There is the truth of research. This truth man can get by working for it. God does not reveal it. "There is no indication that God ever intended to reveal a scientific fact." †

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 225.

† *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 8.

II. There is also the truth of revelation. This truth man can never get by working for it. "Revelation, in the strictest use of the term, is that body of truth which is made known to man in a specific way, because the ordinary methods of discovering truth would not suffice." *

III. This "special way" is the way of the Holy Spirit—"a direct operation of the Holy Spirit." †

IV. The main purpose of revelation is that we may know God. "Thus they are not far wrong who say that the only thing revealed in the Bible is God." ‡ Much else is told in the Bible that might have been told elsewhere and in other ways—ways powerless to give us a true conception of God as Creator and Ruler and Saviour and Judge of the world.

With these four points in mind one would expect Mr. Horton to say that much of Scripture is not the word of God. And this is precisely what he does say. We have already noticed how, in the preparatory inquiry, he emphasizes the various sorts of error; and he even goes so far as to assert that certain things are in the Bible for the very reason that they are not the word of God. It is important, he thinks, to have man in the book just as we see him in life, with all his boggling at truth and all his freaks of conscience and all his spurts of blasphemy. If this be so, if the Bible is such a conglomerate, how are we to decide which part is God's word and which is man's word? Here is Mr. Horton's answer: "The answer is very simple—come to Christ, accept him as your Saviour, and receive from him the Holy Spirit." § This answer amounts to the same thing as that given by Dr. Ladd in his larger and profounder study of the subject. It is placing the utmost emphasis upon the adequacy of the Christian consciousness.

With this test Mr. Horton takes up his tremendous task. He examines the Scriptures part by part, to show what is and what is not revealed truth. His examination is an exceedingly brilliant performance, but it is too long for us now to present in any detail. All we can do is to get a clear notion of his work and its outcome. In the inquiry he began with the epistle in the New Testament; but now he reverses his process and begins with Genesis, which he, with a stroke of genius, examines as "the book of the origins." Each Testament he

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 9. † *Ibid.*, p. 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 9. § *Ibid.*, p. 404.

divides into six parts; and even in the way he makes these divisions and relates them to each other you can see constant evidence of his scholarship and originality. To illustrate his method we can hardly do better than to notice his discussion of creation. From the standpoint of the higher criticism he puts the two accounts in Genesis side by side, without trying to harmonize them or to relate them in any way to science. Such an effort as that fine one of Mr. Gladstone in his "chapter theory" Mr. Horton would look upon as wasted. We have, as students of the word of God, nothing to do with scientific truth. The separation is as pronounced as it was when a certain Christian editor said to a certain physicist, "I know nothing about science, and you know nothing about religion." So it does not matter if the record in Genesis does contradict the testimony of the rocks. In fact, if there is any geological truth in this record, then that truth is not a part of the revelation. What, then, is the revelation here? Take the clay tablets found by George Smith and contrast their story of creation with this one in the Bible, and easily we see what was revealed in Genesis:

> This clear and firm conception of God as the Creator and of man as the image of his Creator is in itself sufficiently wonderful, and can leave no doubt on the mind of the student of comparative mythology that in this point lies the essential revelation of this chapter. If the chapter had been composed for the first time to-day in the schools of Darwin and Haeckel, for example—it would be a revelation; it would be not a scientific statement, but the assertion of two consummate truths which science is not able to discover.*

But this discussion of creation gives one no conception of the extremely negative side of Mr. Horton's method. He finds a great deal of revealed truth, surely, and the Bible is, even as he leaves it, the most precious of sacred books; and yet a man's heart beats a little wildly, it must be confessed, when he realizes what this Christian scholar asks the Church to give up. Ecclesiastes he considers "the most irreligious of religious books," and adds, "To speak of it as the word of God is an impiety."† Of the Book of Esther he says, "But no ingenuity of those who are bent on maintaining that every word of Scripture is given by inspiration of God has been able to show in what sense the Book of Esther is a revelation, or even contains

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 36. † *Ibid.*, p. 203.

a revelation."* Of the Song of Solomon he says that the most thoughtful minds of to-day will not "concern themselves with the questionable task of showing that it is a divine revelation."† Of the Book of Ruth he says, "Revelation, in the strict sense, the book does not contain."‡ Of the synoptic gospels he says that the revelation is but the picture they give us of Christ; the only claim to be made for them is that they are "the honest reports, delivered to posterity by those who saw it, of the most remarkable life ever lived upon earth."§ Even St. Paul must be watched and corrected by the exegetical omniscience of the nineteenth century, for he has his apostolic tricks in dealing with the Old Testament: "To cite him as an exegete of the ancient Scripture would be obviously absurd."‖ And Mr. Horton has such a poor opinion of the epistles of Peter and James that Marcus Dods cannot quite let it pass without comment. Reviewing the book in the *British Weekly*, he writes: "A profounder study of these epistles might lead him both to see the importance of these books to a complete canon, and to modify somewhat his definition of revelation."

We are now prepared to understand the theological significance of the *Verbum Dei*. The word of God is revealed to us in the Bible; but is the Bible the only place where there is this revelation? This very important question the Yale lectures frankly answer in the negative. The subject of the fifth lecture is "The Word of God Outside the Bible;" and in this lecture four points are made emphatic: 1. There is nothing to show that God has not been speaking to his servants since the first Christian century "in the same way he spoke to men of old." 2. There is much ground for thinking that in the ethnic religions and literatures God has also spoken, with "a fullness and richness which will greatly enlarge our conception of the God who is the Father of every family that is named in heaven and earth." 3. As man is God's offspring it is fair to assume that in the constitution of the human mind itself there is "a latent word of God;" further, that God's purpose is progressively revealed in human history, and all literature contains "manifold words of God." 4. The universe itself, as it is a creation of God, must reveal his thought and, "in certain con-

* *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 208. † *Ibid.*, p. 206. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 207.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 237. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

ditions, his articulate word." But this outline does not tell us of the astonishing prodigality with which Mr. Horton grants inspiration to all sorts of men. Such generous estimates as Balzac, in *The Brotherhood of Consolation*, gives of Thomas à Kempis are, in these Yale lectures, as common as tassels in a cornfield. Not only such saints as Augustine and Wesley are inspired, but the lecturer wants us to see a word of God even in Goethe and Walt Whitman! Is there, then, nothing protective in these lectures? Is the Bible no better than the individualistic sermon in *Faust*, or than the filthy liberty of the *Leaves of Grass?* Yes, the Bible is "the word of God *par excellence*." Mr. Horton says:

> It is a revelation of God, the greatest, the clearest, and the most complete that the world possesses; but it is one function of its divine teaching to open our eyes to other revelations of him which are outside itself.*

With such a view of the Bible and such a view of revelation Mr. Horton easily gets a basis for the central homiletical contention in his *Verbum Dei*. If the word of God is that kind of truth which God reveals to men by the Holy Spirit, because they can receive this truth in no other way, and if, although this revealed word of God is at its best in the Bible, yet it may be found, outside the Bible, in Christian books written since the New Testament canon was completed—in the heathen literatures, in the modern poets, and in works on history, science, and philosophy—then surely the Christian preacher may be earnestly urged to put his pious platitudes away and speak out a vital, modern "syllable of the Holy Ghost."

Looking critically at Mr. Horton's entire scheme, some features in it should be commended and other features should be condemned. As a whole, the work is, anyone can see, constructive and not destructive in purpose. The author wants to get the Bible safely out of contention, and the ministry quickly into a more effective way of preaching; and hence he introduces this view of the word of God—a view which probably he has received, directly or indirectly, from the mediating theology of Germany. But wherever the view came from it has been treated with marked originality and force by this noble English scholar. The result is the best evidence yet produced

* *Verbum Dei*, pp. 145, 146.

that Professor Cheyne knew his ground when he said, "The period of negation and destruction is past, and the work of gentle and gradual reconstruction has begun." Mr. Horton's attempt is, of itself, a practical failure in relation to the Church, for the Protestant Church can never accept his notion of revelation, and will never accept such a dismembered Bible as he offers; but it is something to have a really serious beginning in reconstruction, and yet more to have a pioneer who has not only convictions and courage to defend them, but spiritual insight. He may not have the delicate, special training and cool, judicial temper of some of the great critics; but he has what they often seem to lack—vision. He can see the profounder issues of the battle.

Yet more important, and perhaps not altogether unrelated to this spiritual vision, Mr. Horton has a Christological aim. To him Christ is not merely his personal Saviour, but also the true center of any theology which is worth the keeping. He means anew to build up the Church around the Master, and is honestly afraid that the conservative view of the Bible is blocking the way. He believes that we care much more about a final authority for opinion than we do about a living Lord for the practical redemption of man. In a few places he uses words which suggest that he may have been caught in the new Kantian drift; but the most that he says about Jesus rings thoroughly true. Here is a passage from one of his more earnest statements:

> To attempt to interpret him as an ordinary man, or even as an extraordinary man, is to falsify the whole record and so to reduce him at once to an unknowable quantity. We are on the horns of a dilemma from which there is no escape: either this record is historical or it is not. If it is, Jesus is the unique Son of God manifest in the flesh; if it is not, we have no knowledge of Jesus, we can say nothing about him.*

One can understand the joy of a certain preacher who, reading this passage after spending several hours drifting about among Mr. Horton's critical negations, exclaimed, "His anchor has grabbed the bottom at last!"

Over against these praiseworthy features there is now and again manifest a polemical spirit which is harsh and extravagant. Seldom does Mr. Horton refer to the conservative

* *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 93.

position with any measure of fairness. In this discussion over the Bible this easy explosion of the epithet on both sides, and about as much on one side as on the other, is doing no good whatever, and is sometimes making the separation between men much deeper than their argument.

> Friend, though thy soul burn thee, yet be still;
> Thoughts were not made for strife, nor tongues for swords;
> He that sees clear is gentlest of his words,
> And that is not Truth that hath the heart to kill.

This intense polemical bias has led Mr. Horton into some very rash statements. Take this one:

> The loose and careless habit of describing the Bible as the word of God is more than any other single cause responsible for the infidel literature which has flooded the Protestant world in the last century and the present. Poor Tom Paine shattered his soul and made shipwreck of faith in a frenzied protest against the obvious error, and was met by the sleek orthodoxy of the eighteenth century with loathing and vituperation.*

Does Mr. Horton really think that his own notion of the word of God would not have been obnoxious to "poor Tom Paine?" Deism had a profounder cause than any theory of inspiration whatever. The Frenchman was not far afield when he said, "The deist is an atheist lucky in classification." Just as superficial and extravagant is Mr. Horton's entire consideration of the conservative position. In all his chapters in the three books you will look in vain for any just, discriminating statement of what the conservative writers teach. Here is an example:

> For this alarm, of which we are beginning to be ashamed, the cast-iron theory of inspiration is no doubt largely to blame. We did not think that the Hebrew vowel-points were inspired, perhaps, but we thought that the headings of our chapters and the titles of the books certainly must be.†

He has in mind, I suppose, "the mechanical theory," which is often associated with the name of Quenstedt; but that theory has not, as far as I know, been taught in the Protestant Church in this generation. The "verbal theory" is taught in some places, but Mr. Horton has given no fair idea of it, and if he had, that would not be enough; for that theory is not dominant, is not even central, in the Protestant conservative

* *Verbum Dei*, p. 112.

† *Inspiration and the Bible*, p. 21.

camp. Why does he not bring before his readers the conservative defense as it really stands in conservative literature? Why not quote from such a book as *The Supernatural Revelation*, to show that those against him are not fully represented by any "cast-iron theory?" If in these days a Universalist should, in a serious argument against the doctrine of endless punishment, quietly give the impression to his readers that everyone holding the said doctrine believed in an everlasting torture by physical flame, would not his polemic be a misrepresentation? Precisely this kind of polemical misrepresentation is chargeable to Mr. Horton. There can be no fair and helpful polemical discussion unless it is made to bear upon the point of least difference between the two antagonistic positions.

Mr. Horton's Christology has already been spoken of in a spirit of admiration, and his view is so loyal and so close to the truth that I am loath to offer any further word of criticism. But the person of Christ is by Mr. Horton somewhat overemphasized. In this regard he is like many of the modern liberal writers. Their philosophy of Christianity, as far as they express it, seems to be about this: Take a natural or ethnic religion and add to it Jesus Christ, and the result is the Christian religion. With an evangelical estimate of Christ to begin with, the sum total here is so large that it satisfies a great many people; but for all that it is not large enough. In the Christian religion there is a long series of peculiarities. Now and then in this series the Christian view touches, for an instant, something in natural religion, but soon it springs away and rises to a positive contrast. An illustration is found, as Bishop Westcott has pointed out, in the large difference between the heathen notion of the immortality of the soul and the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Even more decidedly peculiar are the Christian views of God, of sin, of the world, and of religious experience.

In relation to Christ, the true Christian peculiarity culminates, not, as some try to make out, in the person of Christ; not even in the incarnation and the person considered together; but in the atonement for sin. Thus all this extreme modern emphasis upon the Sermon on the Mount as the heart or the one vital note of Christianity is a false emphasis. It was too early to express the heart of Christianity at any point before the Son of

God cried out, "It is finished." This explains the hold St. Paul has always had upon the profoundest thinkers in the history of the Church. Of all the inspired writers he is the one who has most nearly mastered the vast Christian peculiarity of the death of our Lord. When the pulpit is once again drenched with St. Paul, then we shall once more get a typical Christian sermon; and when we once get such sermons everywhere it may be that the day of the "new theology" and the "sanctuary orchestra" and the "ecclesiastical panorama" will have passed away. Never were there church leaders and workers more thoroughly honest and consecrated. But the trouble is that an imperfect philosophy of Christianity has got the ear of the century; and this indirectly produces all sorts of superficial and inadequate things, both in theology and in service. We may not understand Mr. Horton; but if we do understand him he has, under all his work, this imperfect philosophy of Christianity, and such a philosophy is a sad fault in a critic of the Bible. To understand, not merely the New Testament, but even the Old Testament, one must grasp all the peculiarities of our Christian faith. If all that is only grasped, then let the critic do what he must as an honest scholar with the precious records. Ah, what would we care what he did with these little questions of date and authorship and literary form, if at the last he really gave us back our Bible as the organic and supernatural revelation of God's entirely peculiar and only plan of redemption?

This necessarily leads us to say something about Mr. Horton's conception of the supernatural, although the subject is larger than can be thoroughly managed in this article. The Christian doctrine of the supernatural is just as peculiar as anything else in Christian doctrine. It is not the extraordinary, nor the extraordinary for moral ends, but the extraordinary doing of God in direct relation to the plan of redemption and for the very sake of that plan. So the true Christian supernatural is ever in wholesome check. Never can you push it into the queer and abnormal, as to-day the spurious miracle is often pushed. Dr. Frank, of Erlangen, in dealing with the school of Professor Ritschl, has shown how this spurious supernatural grows out of an overemphasis being placed upon man's superiority, as a rational, moral agent, to the whole

physical universe.* The emphasis Christianity puts upon God's laws is lost sight of in the effort to dignify man. Mr. Horton has enough to say about the supernatural; but his supernatural is not in full Christian check. It is so cheap that it is to be had in every pious market. Instead of discriminating between that natural revelation which M. Taine said he found in rocks and plants (and which culminates in the ethnic religions) and the Christian revelation (which culminates in Jesus Christ), Mr. Horton defines all revelation as that truth which comes to men, in extraordinary way, by the help of the divine Spirit. If his definition were sound, then there would be, as he says, revelation outside the Bible. But if his definition were sound it would not take much effort to do, what he himself unconsciously begins to do in his Yale lectures, namely, to break down his distinction between scientific and revealed truth.

But he has missed the Christian point of view altogether. Revelation, in the Christian sense, is not truth which is not scientific, but truth which is redemptional—truth which is a part of the supernatural plan of redemption. More precisely, revelation is all the truth the Holy Ghost himself put his seal upon in working out the peculiar plan of redemption. Thus the distinction Mr. Horton makes between the truth a man can get and the truth he cannot get is entirely irrelevant. As a matter of fact, the prophet or apostle did not, probably, ever make any very large personal contribution to the theopneustic utterance, although there often was a positive personal coloring. But it is useless to try to separate so finely between the human and the divine in man. Only a person with both feet in deism would expect to find the dividing line.

The matter of importance for us is, not the question of what the prophet or apostle could or could not get, but the question of what the Holy Ghost sealed. However this message started, whether from a vision at night or in looking over an old manuscript in the morning, whether by precise words given with articulate voice or by subtile suggestion given in the ordinary process of thinking, the main thing is that the message ended to the chosen man's consciousness in a word sealed by the Holy Spirit as belonging to the supernatural line of salvation. From this point of view, even the Old Testament is supernatural and

* *Dogmatische Studien*. See the *Critical Review* for April, 1893.

just as different from all other sacred literatures as Jesus himself is different from Confucius. From this point of view, the real word of God is finished; not because the Holy Spirit is gone, and not because he has nothing more to say, but because there is nothing more to say which is basal in redemption. I doubt not that the Holy Spirit did, as Mr. Horton so eloquently says, suggest to the missionary the thought so effectively preached to the Indians, "I know where all your dead children are;" but that is no more than a specific application of a portion of revelation already given in the word of the Bible. To-day the Holy Ghost is doing that kind of work; that is, he is helping us to understand and readjust and freshly apply old Scripture truth. And if one wants to call the result of this present pressure of the Holy Spirit a modern word of God, perhaps no harm would be done if one were as careful as Dr. Kübel of Tübingen, who insists that there is a word of God now, but calls this modern word "indirect," and leaves the Bible undisturbed as our final authority.* But Mr. Horton is not so careful; and his discussion at this point is theologically as reckless as it is homiletically glorious.

Here at the end, then, I find myself in difficulty. This great English preacher has been to me so helpful that I do not like to close this article in a critical spirit. But his teaching, if taken in a thoroughgoing way, would surely bring the ministry into that realm of vagary where the typical preacher would be a William Miller or an Edward Irving, and not a Robert Horton.

* *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1893, No. 2. See the *Thinker* for July, 1893.

Olin A. Curtis,

Art. VII.—METHODIST DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT.

The subject naturally divides itself into two questions: (1) What was the doctrinal position of original Methodism? (2) Has the Methodist Episcopal Church adhered to that doctrine? In answer to the first question we refer to the twentieth article of our creed:

> The offering of Christ, once made, is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone.

In the ritual of the Lord's Supper, in the Prayer of Consecration, occur the following significant words:

> Who made there, by his oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.

Space will not permit the discussion of the pedigree of these statements of belief. They contain the actual doctrine of atonement as accepted by original Methodism.

Watson's *Institutes*, constituting the most able and comprehensive systematic theology of original Methodism, is found to be in exact accord with the creed and ritual. Watson not only emphasized the words "propitiation" and "satisfaction," but ascribed a penal significance to the sufferings of Christ:

> But that Christ died for us directly as a substitute . . . is to be fully proved from those scriptures in which he is said to have borne punishment due to our offenses. . . . The death of Christ was primarily intended for the expiation of sins with respect to God, and not to us. . . . We call the death of Christ a satisfaction offered to divine justice for the transgressions of men, with reference to the effect upon the mind of the supreme Lawgiver. . . . The term *satisfaction* is taken from the Roman law, and signifies to content a person aggrieved. . . . God is love; but it is not necessary, in order to support this truth, to assume that he is nothing else. . . . In the case before us the wrath turned away is the wrath of God.

These quotations will suffice to show in what sense Mr. Watson used the terms "propitiation" and "satisfaction." In these fundamental matters Richard Watson is found to be in exact accord with Arminius.

The way is now prepared to consider the second question. "Does the Methodist Episcopal Church of to-day stand on

the same doctrinal platform?" As to creed and ritual there can be but one answer. There has been no change whatever in these. But when we turn to the assigned Course of Study and find Miley's *Atonement in Christ* we are compelled to hesitate. The stream of tendency has set in strong for Dr. Miley's views; and it is no mean compliment that our chief pastors have decided in his favor. A work to gain such recognition must possess something besides a superficial fascination, luxuriant rhetoric, and the ability to cull extended quotations. Dr. Miley's work is a strong book, showing unusual analytical power and the rare faculty of letting go the thread of a subsidiary thought at the right moment. But when we place it by the side of Watson's *Institutes* and ask, "Are the doctrinal lines parallel?" we cannot give an affirmative answer. Dr. Miley loads the word "satisfaction" with opprobrium and relegates its use to those whose views he repudiates; but he concedes that his "rectoral theory" is in process of gradual evolution, and this concession has a tendency to create suspicion. He seeks the groundwork of his theory, not in Watson or Arminius, but in Grotius.

Is it not true that Grotius, when he made his attack upon Socinianism, was answered by Crellius, to whom he never replied, but thanked Crellius for the answer? Is it not true that Unitarians quote Grotius in their published tracts as on their side? Did not his biographer try to defend him from the charge of Socinianism? Was he not declared to be too broad for any sect?* When a man is found to have been so broad that, after he is dead, the orthodox and liberals strive together concerning his doctrinal position, and when such a man supplies the groundwork of a theory of atonement, even though that theory does seem capable of scientific adjustment, should we not as Methodists do well to pause for another hundred years before committing ourselves to a theory built upon such an equivocal foundation? The rectoral theory is Grotian and not Arminian. Grotius was primarily a jurist, not a theologian. Law took possession of his mind first and held it by right of possession. To Grotius belongs the honor of being the pioneer writer on international law. How natural that he should have come to survey the atonement first of all as a governmental expedient—with-

* See Wallace's *Anti-Trinitarian Biography*, vol. iii, p. 574.

out reference to the inherent nature of the Lawgiver—and as a plan of adjusting serious embarrassments between two sovereignties? To pass over in silence or with briefest mention the fact that the sovereign of the skies is that God who has declared, as distinctly as he has declared his love, that vengeance is his prerogative alone is to distort the just proportion of revealed truth and to court the favor of Universalism.

Not so with Watson. That they may prove that propitiation, in the proper sense, cannot be the doctrine of Scripture, he charges his Socinian opponents with denying that there is wrath in God. The governmental theory is significant because it withdraws attention from the actual personal displeasure of the Almighty toward sin and locates the embarrassment chiefly in governmental necessity. The governmental theory appears to the writer to have a direct tendency to divert the mind from that necessity which lies deep in the nature of God himself and fixes the mind upon the matter of legal adjustment; and, in so far as this is accomplished, the tremendous sanctions of holy law are weakened as they reach the mind of the recipient. Therefore, we are unable to conclude that the doctrinal basis of the Methodist Episcopal Church is in accord with that of original Methodism. Without imposing any burden upon the imagination, we may claim, what any well-informed minister or layman will scarcely deny, that a change has come over Methodist preaching. Brimstone Corner—so called in derision of the faithful proclamation of the sure penalties which should overtake impenitent transgressors—once was located in nearly every city where early Methodism had won its trophies. Of late we have had so much of natural law in the spiritual world that ministers allude to law as if it were older than God, as an impersonal principle of operation or evolution; and the rectoral theory is in accord with this manifest trend.

We might also note the natural effect of this theory upon experimental and practical holiness. Holiness in the creature implies likeness to God. Hence the command, "Be ye holy; for I am holy." The root of this command is to be found in the nature of God. Christ, when he unfolded the principles of the kingdom of God, in his Sermon on the Mount, said, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." The ground of required holiness in the creature is

not primarily in law, but in the essential nature of the Lawgiver. Under the economy of redemption the promise, yea, the expectation, is that we shall be "changed into the same image from glory to glory." This seems to be the Scripture viewpoint of holiness. What, then, if the vision of the believer be in any degree diverted from God himself to some governmental adjustment? Alienation, in the Pauline sense, means something more than being out of harmony with environment, law being included in environment. It is alienation from the life of God, for under redemption everything points Godward. This brings us to the pivotal point of so preaching the atonement as to fix the vision of the inquirer on God himself. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself"—not simply to his law, but to himself. Are we not warranted in cherishing apprehension lest the governmental theory shall be found to divert faith from its true objective?

Another objection to Dr. Miley's work is its inadequate recognition of Old Testament typology. If Christ is indeed "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," and if the Bible contains the gradual unfolding of God's chosen method of redemption, strange would it have been had there been no Old Testament symbolism of the supreme fact of history. If the ceremonial law was replete with shadows of good things to come, then any theory which is adequate to cover all the revealed elements of redemption must be tested by the elements of Old Testament symbolism, as well as by New Testament revelation. One of the palpable features of Dr. Miley's book is its scanty treatment of the typology of redemption; and this feature, so manifest, seems to confirm the justice of the language of a recent author that, while the governmental theory "contains a valuable element of truth, namely, that the sufferings and death of Christ secure the interests of God's government, it is false by defect in substituting for the chief aim of the atonement one which is only subordinate and incidental."* A single quotation from the *Atonement in Christ* will show that we have not mistaken the tenor of Dr. Miley's theory:

> With these facts, the atonement of satisfaction must be excluded from her system of doctrines [referring to Methodism], and the rectoral theory maintained as the only doctrine of a real atonement agreeing with them.†

* A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, p. 403. † Page 215.

Take the very title of Dr. Miley's work, *Atonement in Christ;* as if a single proposition could tell the whole story of Christ's mediatorial work—a translation of a Greek particle by one preposition of restricted sense—a particle which has such varied significations as *in*, *at*, *on*, *upon*, *by*, *through*, *with*, *among*, *on account of*, *concerning*, *toward*, *against*, *before*, *near*, all these significations put into a philological compress and reduced to the dimensions of an English particle. This may be a convenience in constructing a theory, but it is open to the criticism of unjust restriction, or putting a part for the whole; and it is precisely this objection which must stand against the rectoral theory. We object to its principle of exclusion; it practically excludes, by retiring to the background, the primary truth of the immanent holiness of God. Dr. Miley's book is consistent with his theory, but cannot be reconciled with the doctrinal basis of original Methodism. He has evidently been more industrious in setting forth a philosophical adjustment of the facts of atonement as recognized by himself than in pressing the inquiry as to the possibility of the omission of any revealed element in this matter of adjustment.

Again, what must be the result of denying that there was any penal element in the sufferings of Christ? Does not such denial require a theory of accommodation unwarranted by Scripture? If he suffered only a substitute for a penalty, then his sufferings had no penal significance. Then we must read in Isaiah that the Lord laid upon him a substitute for the iniquity of us all. Isaiah represents the Messiah as "stricken," "smitten of God," as undergoing "chastisement," and that "it pleased the Lord to bruise him." He was "cut off," but not for himself. Can we see nothing retributive in such language? Did he, indeed, bear "the sin of many," or only bear a substitute for their sins? From what passage of Holy Writ is such a conclusion reached? We read that Jesus Christ "by the grace of God" tasted death "for every man." Death is the original penalty for sin—a penalty which has not been annulled. Aside from its penal relationship, death is an insoluble mystery. Where do we learn from prophet or apostle that in Christ's case the penal relationship was detached and a substitute for a penalty projected? When "in the days of his flesh" the Son of God "offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying

and tears unto him that was able to save him from death." Is there anything on record to show that those tearful supplications were moderated by any assurance in the heart of Jesus that the death which confronted him had all the penal element eliminated? If philosophy is what we are after how shall we understand those awful symptoms of soul distress when Christ felt such a sense of abandonment that it extorted from him a loud lament? Truly, we cannot understand how the penalty which was our due could in any form touch his immaculate personality? No more can we understand how he could suffer a substitute for a penalty. Dr. Miley is not alone in modern Methodist authorship in advocating this theory. All the greater, therefore, is the reason for careful circumspection of doctrinal trend. One thing is evident, namely, that no great Church organization can permanently and without unrest continue to teach one thing in creed and ritual and another and contrary doctrine in a text-book of its course of ministerial study.

What if it be true that the revealed elements of atonement involve facts which are in their essential nature transcendent; is it within the province of mundane philosophy to deal with the "how" or "why?" Whether the philosophy of the plan of salvation has ever been enshrined in earthborn language, oral or written, is a subject which would seem to call for another essay. If Paul the apostle, even after he had been caught up to the third heaven, referred to the fundamental facts of redemption as a great mystery, and if another apostle referred to the same facts as things which the angels desire to look into, and if God has forewarned us that these are secret things which belong to him, then there is room for an appropriate reserve or hesitation before we seize upon fractional knowledge and attempt to compel such knowledge to square itself with the metes and bounds of a preconceived theory.

S. Th. McElwee

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Anarchy is a ferocious folly, a mixture of dense ignorance and murderous insanity. Nothing more stupid or more malicious can be imagined. The anarchist is the enemy of mankind, a species of human mad dog. Vaillant, awaiting the guillotine in the dungeons of La Roquette, refused to see the prison chaplain, saying, "I do not believe in religion; it is all a sham. Let those who profess religion give some evidence of it by extending a helping hand to the deserving poor. This will do more to crush anarchy than all the armies of the world." Such is the brutal libel against godliness and the godly which comes hissing from the livid lips of anarchy, gnashing its teeth in bitter rage. For centuries the followers of Christ have been piling up the very evidence he calls for. In times of distress and destitution it has never been seen that any society or body of men went before the members of the Christian Church in gifts of benevolence and deeds of mercy for the succor of the needy and the relief of the suffering; or, if it has ever in rare instances so been seen, then, by so much, those who bore the Christian name and fell behind were not true to its teachings and obligations nor in any way worthy of it. From the beginning every Christian church was a benevolent association, a humane society. Justin, giving, in his *Apology*, an account of Christian customs in the second century and a description of Christian worship, with its baptism, its eucharist, its reading of the gospels or of the writings of the prophets, its admonitions and exhortations by "the president of the brethren," says, "And those of us who are wealthy help all that are in want." After relating that every Sunday there is a meeting of all Christians who live in cities or the country, he adds more particularly that, at these assemblies, "of those that are well-to-do and willing everyone gives what he will, according to his own purpose, and the collection is deposited with the president, and he it is that succors orphans and widows and those that are in want through sickness or any other cause, and those that are in bonds, and the strangers that are sojourning; and, in short, he has the care of all that are in need."

In like manner Tertullian, in his *Apology*, early in the third century writes in vindication of the Christians:

> We are made a body by common religious feeling, unity of discipline, and the bond of hope. . . . Our presidents are the approved elders, obtaining that honor not for a price, but by elevated character; for, indeed, the things of God are not sold for a price. Even if there is a sort of common fund it is not made up of money paid in fees as for a worship by contract. Each of us puts in a trifle on the monthly day or when he pleases, but only if he pleases and only if he is able, for no man is obliged, but contributes of his own free will. These are, as it were, deposits of piety; for it is not paid out thence for feasts and drinking and thankless eating-houses, but for feeding and burying the needy, for boys and girls deprived of means and parents, for old folk now confined to the house; also for them that are shipwrecked and for any who are in the mines.

Likewise we learn from Eusebius, the "father of church history," writing about the beginning of the fourth century, that there was current in his day an Epistle of Dionysius to the Romans, in which that writer said to the Roman Christians: "For you have from the beginning this custom of doing good in divers ways to all the brethren and sending supplies to many churches in all the cities, in one place refreshing the poverty of them that need, in another helping brethren in the mines with the supplies which you have sent from the beginning." Although Dionysius here speaks only of aid and comfort given to the brethren, there is no room for anyone to suppose that the early Church was merely a mutual benefit association confining its kindness to its own members. No such policy of exclusion ruled. Its benevolence was as universal as the offer of salvation. The whole spirit of the Gospel, as well as the distinct teaching of Christ and his apostles, is in harmony with Paul to the Galatians, "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men;" nor is that exhortation contracted or curtailed by his adding, "especially unto them who are of the household of faith."

The mental habits of a scientific age make more vividly absurd some of the unscientific procedures of those thinkers who undertake to decide by *a priori* determination exactly what is knowable and what is not, what is possible and what is not. Philosophy takes on the tone of dogma and prescription. Spencer, in his *First Principles*, draws the line of the unknowable, as Hume and others have drawn the line of the impossible. Certain omniscient critics who know more about past events than the eyewitnesses thereof dogmatically affirm that the Bible miracles must be regarded as

unhistoric because miracles are incredible, being in the nature of things so impossible that no amount of evidence can prove them to have occurred; the observed uniformity of nature forbids them. The same learned gentlemen, with their exhaustive knowledge of the contents and potentialities of this mysterious, wondrous, and immeasurable universe, inform us that Bible prophecies must be rejected for the reason that they are miracles of foreknowledge, and therefore in the very nature of things impossible. For the purpose of giving Holy Scripture a momentary rest, it might be lawful to create a small diversion by asking these knowing rationalistic critics to employ their superhuman talents and keen implements for a while in deciding what shall be done with the indubitably authentic letter written in the middle of the last century by Sarah Pierpont, afterward the wife of the great Jonathan Edwards, in which she narrates a singular dream that she had about the time of the birth of the famous, or infamous, Aaron Burr. Is there anything in this dream which seems prophetic of the subsequent career of the infant then in arms? Can it be that this good woman received in the form of allegory a revelation of things to come? Was this a supernatural event, a *miracle*, or is it a *natural* power of the dreaming mind to foreknow future events? Is there a divine Spirit who has a way of giving intimations and revelations to the human spirit? Here is the letter as published in an old magazine:

STOCKBRIDGE, *May* 10, 1756.

DEAR BROTHER JAMES: Your letters always do us good, and your last was one of your best. Have you heard of the birth of Esther's second child at Newark? It was born the 6th of February last, and its parents have named him Aaron Burr, Jr., after his father, the worthy president of the college. I trust the little immortal will grow up to be a good and useful man. But, somehow, a strange presentiment of evil has hung over my mind of late, and I can hardly rid myself of the impression that that child is born to see trouble.

You know I don't believe in dreams and visions; but lately I had a sad night of broken sleep, in which the future career of that boy seemed to pass before me. He first appeared as a little child, just beginning to ascend a high hill. Not long after he set out the two guides who started with him disappeared one after the other. He went on alone, and as the road was open and plain and as friends met him at every turn he got along very well. At times he took on the air and bearing of a soldier, and then of a statesman, assuming to lead and control others. As he neared the top of the hill the way grew more steep and difficult, and his companions became alienated from him, refusing to help him or to be led by him. Baffled in his designs and angered at his ill-success, he began to lay about him with violence, leading some astray and pulling down others at every attempt to rise. Soon he himself began to slip and slide down the rough and

perilous sides of the hill, now regaining his foothold for a little, then losing it again, until at length he stumbled and fell headlong down, down, into a black and yawning gulf at the base.

At this I woke in distress, and was glad enough to find it was only a dream. Now, you may make as much or as little of this as you please. I think the disturbed state of our country, along with my own indifferent health, must have occasioned it. A letter from his mother, to-day, assures me that her little Aaron is a lively, prattlesome fellow, filling his parents' hearts with joy.

Your loving sister, SARAH.

ITALIAN SORROWS.

THE difficulty of judging respecting the value of things contemporaneous is generally felt, though the feeling does not prevent the making of a full record of judgments upon current events and opinions. The feeling is that of sobered wisdom; the record is made by inexperienced enthusiasm. Every considerable event carries with it some unexpected sequences. We may know these sequences to be possible, but we are so much occupied with the first results of a change that the results farther away get no attention. In some cases this is well for us; the change may be a beneficent one, but we might not make it if we saw all the consequences. A good case to illustrate all this is the Italian revolution of 1859–70. Each step of that great march of Italy —from Solferino to the entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome— was witnessed by philanthropists abroad and Italians at home with gratification. The creation of an Italian nation and the abolition of the temporal power of the pope—giving the new nation its capital in the Rome of the Cæsars—furnished the lovers of progress one of several nineteenth century occasions for exultation. Nothing has happened to make us regret the triumph of liberal Italy. But much has happened which was not foreseen; had it been foreknown the chilling vision might have checked the ardor of the revolutionist and the joy of the philanthropist.

If the actors and spectators of that great drama had been able to read the journalism of 1893 and 1894 would the change have come which made Italy a nation? Perhaps not. The journalism would have shown brigandage in Sicily, riots in Carrara, deficits in the treasury, poverty everywhere, and national bankruptcy looming threateningly in the future. The philanthropic spectator sees the young nation humiliated and discouraged. He knows that the actors in this afterpiece are in their hearts weary of their

accomplished desire, or at least but languidly reciting their ritual of liberty and independence, while some are rehearsing litanies of despair. We need not share those melancholy emotions or distrust the final outcome of this historical performance. Nothing has happened which does not logically follow from the revolution.

We have ourselves gone through as a people a similar experience. A decade after our emancipation from British rule our prospects were clouded by sectional controversies, by debts, by the languor of a diminished confidence in our ideals. We had a painful march to make toward our real unity and our national repose. The march did not really end until the emancipation of the slaves. The sense of security in our political institutions had none of its present strength when Webster made his immortal plea for the Union. Few of those who fought for deliverance from Great Britain lived long enough to outlive a fear that what they won was worth too little in comparison with its cost in blood and suffering. And yet not one trouble or pain came that might not have been foreseen as a necessary accompaniment of the toil of building the American colonies into a nation.

The dramatic entry of the King of Italy into Rome did not complete the unification of Italy; it began it. That which seemed the end only removed the obstacles long interposed between the people and their desired opportunity to rear aloft the temple of liberty; they began to build from that hour of triumph. They have builded, as men must always do, both wisely and unwisely. Their errors and failures were necessary, because they were only men. Perhaps another and happier future may commend them for the rare wisdom of preparing the minimum of sorrow. They did not, like our fathers, build on virgin soil. They inherited an old estate, discrepant in its powers as related to the demands upon it, disordered in management, and overgrown with every kind of weeds. Differences in dialects and in history made unity of blood and speech rather a possibility than a reality. A vast number of "improvements," such as railways, required wealth which did not exist. The vast majority of the people could not read, and the government had to become a schoolmaster. Besides, all history warned the Italians to beware of the men beyond the Alps, and to provide arms and soldiers for their own defense. All this, and vastly more, which an American can scarcely weigh, Italy has wisely and rapidly accomplished. If there be room for doubt, it must be whether it lay within the power of humanity to make a new, self-governed, and independent Italy out of the people

who in 1870 called themselves the Italian nation. If any well-grounded fear exists that the nation will stumble and fall this fear must attach itself to the immense difficulties of the task which rose up to confront the man of 1870. It is not mistakes, not bad alliances, not bad financeering, not political antagonisms in the last quarter of a century, but the legacies of other centuries, making all these things inevitably a part of the new national life, which still weaken our hope of the political and social redemption of Italy. The burden of history is the weight upon Italian shoulders.

This is a load which nations must carry. It is a fond delusion that in an inspired moment a people may disburden themselves of all hateful things. They would need for that the power to die all at once and leave behind them a generation they had not reared into manhood. The brigandage of Sicily is as old as the exploits of Spartacus. No quarter of a century of free institutions will change the character and habits of a people—a character and habits stamped into their inmost being by centuries of despotism. We get now and again a glimpse of these habits when the Mafia embroil New Orleans or a murder in New York is traced into the black ooze of secret society bogs. Distrust of the next man, intrigue against the authority of law—these are not passions such as we experience. In Italy they run down into the roots of the manhood out of which the new nation must be built. So of every difficulty and failure in the well-beloved peninsula—the cause of it all lies back in the terrible past. The census of this last twenty-five years is a ground of hope; it is more, not less, than was to be expected. The sorrows of Italy as they confront us in the daily press are the sorrows of a people measurably successful in a vast undertaking. And they are less grievous to know than the voiceless sorrows of the ages whose legacy they are.

The future has a large investment in the new Italy. She is one of the historical glories of the age. We had doubtless underestimated the vastness, moral and social, of the enterprise. But the possibility of success is rather proved than disproved by events. If there be any new reason for doubt of the future it is that, though education is spreading, the moral rehabilitation of the people of southern Italy is still delayed. That work, the bracing of the moral character, is not to be expected from schools or polling booths. It is the work of sound religious training; and we are compelled to distrust the agencies officially or by historical right intrusted with the moral culture of the people.

JEWISH OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIANITY.

Jewish objections to the invitations of Christianity and to Christianity itself, as formulated in an editorial of the *American Hebrew*, under date of September 29, 1893, kindly criticising an article in the September–October number of the *Methodist Review* in which the questions, "Is Christianity progressing? Is Judaism progressing?" were discussed, are of critical, theoretical, and practical character. They are couched in terms of appreciative manliness, candor, and fairness, and also of scorching rebuke to certain workers whom it brands as a "hungry, sordid, and ignorant crowd of conversionists."

Into the merits of Jewish quarrel with the latter it is foreign to our purpose to enter. The Christianity of Christ, which we endeavor humbly to personify, has nothing of feeling, purpose, or method toward Jewish brethren that is inconsistent with profound respect for their intellect and learning, deference to their right of private judgment, and unselfish love for them as children of our common Father, entitled, equally with ourselves, to all the blessings of his providence and grace. With any "manner of disseminating religious truth" discordant from this spirit no true follower of the great Teacher can have the least sympathy. Neither force, nor fraud, nor "profligate wretches," nor aught save the truth spoken in love should or can avail to effect Christian ends. "Degrading methods" constitute ground of just "practical objection" to spurious Christianity, but not to the Christianity of purity, love, and beneficence. While of one mind with the *American Hebrew* in repugnance to iniquity, howsoever manifested, we should be glad for that very reason to see all its coreligionists walking in fellowship with the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the only and true God.

The critical objection to Christianity that it "has not accomplished its ostensible mission," and, therefore, is not preferable to Judaism, is stated by the *Menorah Monthly*, June, 1893, in many forms. Among them is the sadly true assertion that "the Churches as organized bodies have preserved an ominous silence in those questions that affected the Christian standing. Can the Church approve a policy which denies refuge to the unfortunate exiles that are driven from house and home because of the faith that is in them—because of the faith which rests upon the same pillars upon which the Church rests, acknowledged to be of divine

origin by Jew and Christian? What has the Church done as an organized body to counteract the spread of sentiment opposed to the very first principle professed by Christianity, that of the brotherhood of man? And in the face of such culpable negligence can the Church still claim to have progressed and to be entitled to the recognition of living up to the divine command, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself?'" Answer who chooses. "*Peccavi*" should be the confession of each of the Churches as organizations in reply to these questions. Nevertheless, whether this be a "reason at all that counts for much with Jews" is, in the candid opinion of the *American Hebrew*, "to be seriously questioned." It is "reasonable enough and honest enough to admit that it [Christianity] has achieved enough to warrant the presumption that it will do still more for humanity."

The principal Jewish objection to Christianity is theoretical. Its real ground is alleged to be "the fundamental recreancy to the teachings of Judaism involved in the Christian dogmas, notably the sonship, the divine sonship of Jesus, [and] the necessity of his mediation as a condition precedent to the hope of salvation to humankind. These doctrines, and others affiliated thereto, which constitute the distinguishing trait of Christianity, are absolutely antagonistic to the principles of Judaism."

In order that adherents of the old faith and those of the new, or of the immature and the perfected respectively, may understand each other and the points whereon they differ, it is essential that the term "Judaism" should be accurately defined. If in Jewish usage it denote "the law and the prophets," or the entire contents of the Old Testament, we have no objection to it or its teachings, but cordially accept both. If in addition to these it include the traditions of the fathers, the sayings of the sages, and the miscellaneous lore of the Mishna and Gemara, or Talmud, then are we bound by principles of the inspired prophets to judge of the latter by their concord or discord with the former. "The Lord is our lawgiver" (Isa. xxxiii, 22). "The law of the Lord is perfect" (Psalm xix, 7). "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them" (Isa. viii, 20). Whatever is agreeable thereto is to be received, whatever is incongruous therewith is to be rejected. These are the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth also, and of those eminent Jewish Christians, the apostles John, Peter, Paul, James, and the evangelist Mark. All accept and continue that consensus of faith in the Old Testament canon, established

by the overwhelming authority of predecessors to whom were intrusted the "oracles of God."

Just as systems of physical science are human interpretations of facts and phenomena, so systems of theology are human interpretations of divine revelation. All are more or less truthful and more or less erroneous. As knowledge increases systems of faith, whether scientific or spiritual, change, expand, and bring believers into ever closer approximation to, and possession of, absolute and relative truth. In nothing is this process more obvious than in the doctrinal history of the Jewish Church. Fresh light is perpetually breaking forth from the pages of "God's word written," and is, or should be, gladly welcomed by those who love the truth, through whatever media and from whatever quarter that light may come. In the blending lights of past centuries and of present time what is the best representation—confessedly imperfect at the best—of biblical doctrine concerning "the sonship, the divine sonship of Jesus?" "The principles of Judaism"—modern Judaism—may be "absolutely antagonistic" to any Christian representation; but the teachings of "the law and the prophets," as constituting the ancient or biblical Judaism, may necessitate, and so far forth assist to, the best representation. Each earnest searcher after truth must do the best he can for himself. Our representations, like those of the natural sciences which deal with life and force, cannot exhibit geometrical exactitude, because it is life, not matter, and life in its highest forms, with which they are conversant. Representations must necessarily differ, just as the representers differ in natural endowment and moral quality. None can rightfully claim infallibility nor attempt to compel belief or profession of belief.

Yet, notwithstanding diversity of representations, the things represented remain just what they are. Jews, equally with Christians, believe in the fatherhood of God. He is the infinite and eternal Spirit, immanent in all things, and transcending all things. In him "we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii, 28). Personality is his, together with omniscience, omnipotence, independence, absolute supremacy, and perfection of every intellectual and moral attribute. Before and above all cosmical things, when neither means nor being was in existence outside himself, he brought the whole into reality of his own free will. The author of Heb. xi, 3, in his sublime confession testifies to historical fact: "Through faith we understand that the worlds [κόσμος, universe] were framed by the word of God, so that

things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Nothing has, or has had, or will have being without the *logos* of God. Gesenius affirms that *bara'*, "create," with plural subject, is rather employed with respect to the new production of a thing (see Gen. ii, 3) than to the conformation and elaboration of material. So also most of the rabbins hold that creation is the production of a thing from nothing. In the doing of this, to us inconceivable, work the moving force was eternal love. His plan embraced the creation of myriad worlds, and especially of our world, which was to be peopled by many generations of sentient, responsible creatures. His purpose was consummated with majestic ease. "He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast" (Psalm xxxiii, 9). In the solemn, deliberate creation of Adam, in whom was seminally the human species, God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. i, 26). "Us"—is this the *pluralis majesticus?* Aben Ezra says that it is not; that the plural of majesty is foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the earliest language degrading to the Deity, and that seeming examples in the Hebrew Scriptures, in Num. xxii, 6, and Dan. ii, 36, do not justify the opinion. In the latter passage, moreover, it is an Aramaic form of speech. Maimonides impliedly denies that "us" is the *pluralis majesticus* when he includes in "us" the earth, as cooperative, "mediately and obediently through the divine word," as Professor Tayler Lewis puts it, with the Eternal acting "directly and sovereignly." "In *our* image." This pronoun points out an original view of distinction in the divine personality, which afterward developed into the distinction of *Elohim* and *Ruach Elohim* (or of God and his wisdom, in Prov. viii) with reference to the creation. The trinitarian idea is here unfolding itself germinally. Maimonides defines *tselem*, "image," as the specific form, or that which makes a thing inwardly what it is. Gen. ix, 6, shows that this "image" was not wholly destroyed by the fall. Man, in his relations to the universal Father, may "put off the old man with his deeds," and "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him" (Col. iii, 9, 10). This "new man" is, "after God," "created in righteousness and true holiness," or holiness—*wholeness*—of truth (Eph. iv, 24). Physically, man may be an architectural product of divine power operative in the processes of nature; but as the *tselem*, "image," of God he is also a metaphysical, a spiritual being. The image of God is his distinguish-

ing type. By virtue of this he and all his descendants are a peculiar species, lifted far above the level of what is commonly called nature into the realm of the supernatural and divine.

Whether, as optimists believe, the plan of creation adopted by Jehovah is the best of possible plans or not, it is a fair deduction from his postulated infinite and necessary perfection that his prescience included and still includes all the events of the future. The temptation and fall of man and the long train of awful ills thence resulting—were all foreknown by him. For the redemption of the lapsed species his plan provided. So the revelation of his mind and will declares. Father of the spirits of all flesh (Isa. lvii, 16; Zech. xii, 1; Heb. xii, 9), whether by direct creation, or through traduction and growth by means of mechanical forces—which we call natural because evidenced by visible phenomena and by that minute providence in which he numbers the hairs on every head and plentifully supplies the wants of all beings—he from the deep love of his own paternal nature constructs the way by which his banished ones may be brought home again to his heart and likeness and to consummate bliss.

In all his grand designs concerning the future of the Adamic family the wisdom of God is gloriously evident. He compasses the highest ends by the use of the best means. In Prov. viii, 12–36, is a beautiful poetic personification of his unerring wisdom. Some interpreters, mistakenly, we think, understand this personification to be identical with the *Logos* or "Word." Others believe it to represent the mediative element of God's omnipresence, while the Word represents the mediative element in his action. "Wisdom," according to Philo, "corresponds to the *immanent* word, while the Word, strictly speaking, was defined as *enunciative*." Both ideas are signified by prophetic language. "The one prepared men for the revelation of the Son of God, the other for the revelation of the Holy Spirit." Immanent wisdom and enunciative energy were manifested by the Father in the execution of his creative plan. His eternal power and Godhead are "understood by the things that are made" (Rom. i, 20). In this projection of self-force and wisdom into the field of creative energy the Father becomes objective to himself. Himself in creation and conservance is contemplated by himself. What is contemplated is the *Word*—that which expresses with infallible precision and fullness his ideas and purposes. This Word is personal, and is the "brightness" of the Father's "glory, and the express image of his person," "upholding all things by the word of his power,"

"by whom also he made the worlds" (Heb. i, 2, 3). The Word speaks, is spoken of, acts, demands, and receives worship as the divine Son of the Father. As an hypostasis he is in some respects differentiated from God, and yet at the same time God himself.

In the prologue to the Gospel according to John it is stated that the Word was in the beginning with God and was God, that he was the Creator of all things, the original possessor and source of life, and the light of men in all their spiritual and moral relations. In the Lord's communings with men after the expulsion from Eden he appeared as the *Debar Jehovah*, the *Logos* or "Word" of God, and disclosed to them the way of salvation. In various revelations of the divine will to the patriarchs and to other persons under the law the *Logos* appeared as the angel Jehovah. In visions, voices, and symbols there were also revelations by the *Logos*. In the *Shekinah* was the visible token of his presence with his people. We read a thrilling description of his glory in the theophany to Isaiah (vi, 1–13). All these revelations of the Word were foreshadowings of future disclosures in the fullness of time of God as Father, Christ as redeeming Son, and the Holy Spirit as Comforter and Sanctifier.

The most ancient uncanonical writers among the Jews, namely, the Chaldee paraphrasts, ordinarily use the name *Memra* where Moses uses that of Jehovah. The idea that under this designation they allude to the Son of God is at least probably true. They lived before the era of Christ, and voice the sentiments of their people on this subject. In most of the passages where the sacred name occurs they substitute *Memra Jehovah*, the Word of God, and ascribe to *Memra* all the attributes of deity. The inference seems to be inevitable that they believed in the divinity of the Word. According to them *Memra* created the world, appeared to Abraham on the plain of Mamre, and to Jacob at Bethel. To *Memra* was the appeal as witness of the covenant between Laban and Jacob, "Let the *Word* see between thee and me" (Gen. xxxi, 49). "The same Word appeared to Moses at Sinai, gave the law to Israel, spoke face to face with that lawgiver, marched at the head of that people, enabled them to conquer nations, and was a consuming fire to all who violated the law of the Lord. All these characters, where the paraphrasts use the word *Memra*, clearly denote Almighty God. This Word, therefore, was God, and the Hebrews were of this opinion at the time when the Targum was composed."* The author of the Book of Wisdom expresses

* McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia*, Supplement, vol. ii, p. 980.

himself after the same manner. All these writers, men of godly character and large erudition, simply adumbrated the great truth which, in John's gospel, shines out with such splendid effulgence that to the *Logos* belong eternal existence, distinct personality, and proper Deity, including "the possession and exercise of perfections which absolutely exclude the idea of derived or created being."

As we conceive it the ground-consciousness, the mind, and the will of the Father are permanent and changeless. Projected into the *Logos*, they are fundamental to the nature and character of the Son. But in the Son is also the consciousness of his own creative, conservative, judicial, and executive functions. Thus, while one with, he is relatively differentiated from, the Father. As the Son divine, only begotten, unique, in all his work he is approved, loved, and publicly acknowledged by the Father as one "beloved, in whom" he "is well pleased" (Matt. iii, 17; Luke ix, 35).

In the more extended and endlessly differentiating application of unlimited potential energy the Father through the Son is objective to himself as the Holy Spirit. In Gen. i, 2, we are told that "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters," brooding over the surface of darkest chaos, and implanting within the ruck of primitive and tempestuous elements the invisible, indestructible germs of every possible form of vegetable and animal being—germs that should await in the concurrence of favorable conditions the hour for embodying the architectonic ideals concealed within themselves. These formal organisms appeared in due order, some to survive indefinitely, others to vanish and give place to successors of greater dignity. In Psalm xxxiii, 6, we read that "by the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath [Hebrew, *Spirit*] of his mouth." This reveals a field of activity indefinitely large, but high and wide enough to elude all attempts at human comprehension. Job xxxiii, 4, says, "The spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life," the second clause being exegetic of the first. In the "continued creation" of preservation the Holy Spirit is ever efficient. In what Alexander Von Humboldt declares to be the best description of the cosmos extant in literature we have the following passage: "These wait all upon thee; that thou mayest give them their meat in due season. . . . Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy Spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth" (Psalm civ, 27, 29, 30). The work of the Holy Spirit was appar-

ent in the inspiration of the prophets, and is now experienced by vast multitudes that no man can number in the light that shines upon their minds, in the admonitions of conscience, in the bitter sense of personal guilt, in the peace that passeth understanding, in the force of moral fruitfulness, and in the confidence of a blissful future. His might is purifying and uplifting, working, both in the physical and spiritual contents of the universe, to grander ends than John on Patmos could set forth in his revelation of what shall surely come to pass. The unity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son is manifest in perfect temperamental accord, identity of teaching, and flawless unity of aim and working. As teaching, working, saving, sanctifying, the Holy Spirit is personal, speaks, is spoken of, demands and receives coequal divine homage and worship with the Father and the Son. In his personal consciousness is the ground, the projective, the volitional consciousness of the Father, the creative, conservating, soterial, regnant, and judicial consciousness of the Son, together with the official consciousness of perpetually applying in unspeakably differentiated ways all the energies and perfections of the infinite and eternal Personality, who is the source and sustenance of all that is. "From the Father, through the Son, by the Holy Spirit, all things are." Christianity is no less monotheistic than trinitarian. It gives meaning, application, and fruitfulness to the undeveloped truths latent or half concealed in Judaism. Tritheistic it is not. Its intuitions, logic, and theology are as repugnant to tritheism as those of Judaism are to the millioned gods of pantheon, pagoda, and heathen shrines of every form.

The divine sonship involves and demands the human sonship, both in the Father's purpose and in fact. In the hypostatic unity of the Christ the two natures, divine and human, possess divine filiation. Edersheim, the eminent Jewish Christian minister and author of the *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, in an appendix to his monumental biography gives a long list of Old Testament passages messianically applied in ancient rabbinic writings. Among them is not that of Isa. vii, 14, which is quoted by Matt. i, 23, as a prefiguration of the virgin birth of Jesus, and as a pledge that in the latter case, as in the former, the divine promise of salvation shall be fulfilled. Parthenogenesis to Mary, as to modern materialists, appeared to be in the category of impossibilities, until reminded that "with God nothing shall be impossible" (Luke i, 37). This at once classed it with the certainties. Unbelief often confounds the uncommon with the impossible. Yet

Ernst Haeckel, the pantheist, avows his scientific belief in the "nonparental generation of an organic individual, the origin of an organism independent of a parental or producing organism."* He argues, as does the late Judge Wright in his *Genesis of Life*, that under suitable conditions organic forms of life have arisen without organic parental predecessors. This, he reluctantly concedes, is "perhaps no longer possible." "Life can come from life only" is the accepted *dictum* of modern science. And it is a true one. But there was life in the creative ideas of God—ideas immanent in the physical nature that the brooding Spirit had reduced to order—that embodied themselves in all the species of paleozoic flora and fauna—"every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew" (Gen. ii, 5). The sublimest creative idea of the Father was that of his Son, the God-man Christ Jesus. His omnipotence, cooperative with powers of purest virginity, gave birth to the central being of the world's history—that Messiah who in relation to the Father is the Son of God, and in relation to humanity is the Son of man. This was miraculous, or extraordinary, manifestation of divine power for worthy moral ends. The miracle is frequent and familiar in Jewish history. And why not? The divine Architect and Organizer of all things, animate or inanimate, is free as he is able to vary his methods of working and to introduce new instruments suited to the accomplishment of his purposes. His human son by the Jewish virgin—one with humankind by his kinship, brother to us all, and yet different from us all by reason of his sinless generation and character—is one with his divine Son in consciousness of unity with God, spirit, moral character, aim, and activity. In the unity of the dual Christ-nature "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. ii, 9). The Christ-life reveals the Father (John v, 17–47). As the Son is in all spiritual and moral attributes, so is the Father; as is the Father so is the Son. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv, 9).

The divine Sonship in the order of the Father's redeeming grace necessarily involved the human sonship. Sin and suffering are in the world. How they came the Old Testament records narrate. Behind these records and into the realm of inscrutable mystery wherein God's deep designs are shrouded it is not now our wish to peer. How to remove sin and suffering from the world—or, if that be altogether beyond human power, correlated

* *History of Creation*, vol. i, p. 413.

as it is, within time limits, how to convert sin and suffering into means of higher blessing—is a problem whose solution is of infinitely greater moment. Through the twofold sonship of Christ and his redeeming work in that relation we believe that the problem is entirely solved. The more deeply its contents are studied the more truthfully the nature and work of the Christ are apprehended, the more clearly does it appear that the divine involves the human sonship, the more thoroughly demonstrable is "the necessity of his [Christ's] mediation as a condition precedent to the hope of salvation to humankind."

All of humankind, arrived at years of amenability to law, are stained by sin, guilty before God, and under the curse of that law which saith: "The man which doeth those things shall live by them" (Rom. x, 5; Lev. xviii, 5), and "The soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezek. xviii, 20). Consciousness of condemnation, exposure to just wrath, and the suffering which is the inevitable result of unconformity to the laws of that power which "makes for righteousness" is the common experience of our race. It needs an upright, wise sympathizer, whose love is as great as his power; and both, to be efficient, must be unbounded. It needs a sufficient redeemer, through substitutionary sacrifice of himself, in view of man's relation to universal, inexorable law. This is the object teaching of Mosaic ritual and of sanguinary offering, the wide world over and throughout all time. This is the doctrine of the prophets (Dan. ix, 26; Isa. liii, 10), and it is also the doctrine of Him whom we intelligently and devoutly receive as the Christ of God (Mark ix, 12; Luke ix, 22, 24, 26, 27), the anointed to be the Saviour of the world. Did not Isaiah in glowing strains predict the coming of such a holy, sacrificial, triumphant Saviour? All his writings—all the writings of Isaiah, or of the two Isaiahs, if two there were—are a glorious evangel of the sufferings of Christ and of the glory that should follow. Such is the Christian, and such to a very wide extent is the rabbinical, interpretation of them. Is not Isa. ix, 6, expressly applied to the Messiah in the Targum? Is there not also, as Edersheim affirms, "a very curious comment in Debarim R. 1 (ed. Warsh., p. 4*a*) in connection with a Haggadic discussion of Gen. xliii, 14, which, however fanciful, makes a Messianic application of this passage; also in Bemidbar R. 11?" And what says Isa. ix, 6, 7: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor,

The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this." Here is the human and the divine sonship, the prophecy of that dominion over faith and morals which becomes more apparent with the march of days, the manifold characterization of his oneness with the divine Father, the prediction of his ever-waxing power and beneficence, of his perfect administrative agreement with the will of Jehovah, and of the unerring judgment and equal justice with which all the affairs of his kingdom shall be directed. And of that kingdom—which is not of this world—there shall be no end. Daniel's dream (Dan. vii, 13, 14) foreshadowed what is now becoming more and more a glorious reality: "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man [a name given to himself by Jesus of Nazareth, according to Matthew thirty times, to Mark fourteen, and to Luke twenty-five times] came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." This day is this prophecy fulfilled before our eyes. Do not Kohler and Grätz and Gottheil, and many other manly, magnanimous, and godly masters in Israel, speak of the Nazarene in terms consonant with part fulfillment of these inspiring foretellings of glorious blessings yet to come? Does not faith in the God-manifesting Christ generate love and issue in the glad obedience of countless lives? Do not ever-increasing multitudes of human beings feel the expulsive, transforming power of this love—to them a new affection? So multitudes of those who are the kinsmen of Christ according to the flesh do eagerly testify. So vaster multitudes of remoter kinsmen, yet kinsmen because human beings, bear witness. "In his name shall the Gentiles trust" (Matt. xii, 21; Isa. xlii, 1–6).

The God who created and preserves the human family, who (for reasons that we may conjecture, but not here and now certainly know) permitted his earthly children to fall into sin and misery, himself provides the Saviour, the all-sufficient remedy for all their ills. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only

begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John iii, 16). This is the *Magna Charta* of Christianity. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself" (2 Cor. v, 19). There is no other Saviour; nor could Christians possibly desire another or different one. There was, is, and will be imminent, pressing necessity of this wondrous mediation as condition precedent to human hope of salvation. Christ is "the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe" (1 Tim. iv, 10). "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life" (Rom. v, 10). Our Jewish brethren are more indebted to the Christ of Christianity than they think. Where he is most cordially and extensively received as Lord and Saviour they are coequals in all legal rights and privileges. To him is their salvability, like that of all men, due (Rom. v, 12–19). For all that is excellent in spirit and morals in the Montefiores, Schiffs, and multitudinous magnates of the Jewish faith we are profoundly grateful. But could they see in Jesus of Nazareth the promised Messiah—a Messiah for all—as Saul of Tarsus, Neander, Edersheim, Saphir, and innumerable others have done; would they model their lives wholly by his example and accept that fullness of divine life which enters into and abides in the soul through faith in him, then would their lives be purer, sweeter, richer, and more fruitful of every good word and work. The future would be more attractive and eternal life more blessed, because springing from and filling larger capacity. Such is the faith that is in us. Therefore we appreciate and share the spirit of the whilom persecutor, but then distinguished apostle to the Gentiles, who wrote: "My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved" (Rom. x, 1). Respectful of Jewish dignity and rights as of our own, we cannot insult them by the slightest wish to force or desire to beguile them into acceptance of Christianity. Neither is it in our power, nor if it were would it be exercised. Christians are not made in either way; and any attempt would only yield results as barren as the attempt itself would be absurd. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—in one word, the only and true God—appeal to the understanding and reason, and through them to affection and passion, and through all to the free and sovereign will in order to bring all men to knowledge of the truth and harmony with the divine will, and through these to realization of the highest ultimate possibilities of humanity here and hereafter.

THE ARENA.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR SIN.

Moral freedom is a postulate of moral character in created moral beings. As of the structure and essence of their moral nature, it must be predicated of them all. In the acts of such creatures only can there be, in ethical sense, merit or demerit. A consideration of these truisms makes evident that no act can be sinful which is not free. Hence, however evil in itself, if the action of a moral being is conceived as under divine compulsion, by that fact it cannot be sin.

One certainly may assume that if God could have made moral beings to whom sin was impossible he would have done so. That for heaven and earth he did the contrary, the record proves. Sinless angels for one sphere and sinless men for the other were created, and they sinned. Hence the conclusion that it was inherently impossible to create a moral nature to which sin would not be a possibility. This view is also emphasized by the fact that Christ was "tried" and "tempted," as men are. Sinlessness, then, with freedom to sin, must be regarded as the utmost extent to which infinite power and wisdom could go, in the nature of the creature, to prevent sin, if moral beings were created. Moreover, as their creator, God is to be considered as cognizant of the moral constitution and possibilities of action in these creatures, the work of his hand. Therefore, directly to him are to be traced the conditions out of which sin might come, and to the volitions of his moral creatures the acts by which sin came.

How is this result affected by the doctrine of God's prescience of sin? If foreknowledge of an act is to be conceived as compelling it, the palpable consequence is to destroy its freedom. But with that also goes its moral quality, and so its character as sin. Hence, in this conception of it, prescience must be rejected. But if it be held to involve only certainty of action to which it relates, and not its necessity, then the doctrine becomes consistent with freedom, in which view moral quality may attach to an act, though foreknown. The latter form of the doctrine, therefore, is open to the freedomist. But if a necessitated act comes of this foreknowledge, then he is driven to the theory of nescience. On the old debate between certainty and necessity, as conditioned, one or both, by foreknowledge, it need only be said that, in itself, either notion is conceivable, and neither is capable of absolute proof. Prescience with freedom seems to be at least as free of difficulty as nescience. Under each God's responsibility for the existence of sin is obviously the same.

As respects a scheme of redemption from sin, however, the case is different. That, we assume, like the impulse to create moral beings, had its spring in God's love. On the theory of his prescience, the creation and redemption of man should be complemental parts of one grand plan. But with nescience taken as true, salvation would be provided after the divine

mind had been surprised by the unwelcome fact of sin. Further, prescience and nescience appear to accord equally well with God's hatred of sin and his desire that his creatures should not sin; or, at least, the harmony is as perfect in the one view as the other—unless we hold the necessitarian notion of foreknowledge.

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THE UNFAIRNESS OF SOME BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR TOY, of Harvard, in a recent article, severely condemns the use of the Bible in the pulpit, or rather its misuse, by the custom of detaching a text from its context and appending to it a discourse upon another theme, as if the minister should say, "I call your attention this morning to a passage from Scripture about which I shall not say anything whatsoever." He also deplores the ministerial habit of substituting for the historical and literal meaning of the passage a wholly modern and fanciful interpretation. In both criticisms there is some truth. It is assuredly a lack of critical honesty to wrest a passage from its context in the Scriptures in order to use it merely as a catchword for our own reflections or fancies. It is no aid to clear spiritual perception to have confused and ignorant impressions of the historical sense. We must lay aside our preconceptions, our nineteenth century habits of thought, to understand truly the primitive and rough-hewn men of the old scriptural history or, indeed, the simple, untaught fisher-folk of the synoptic gospels. A true interpreter of Holy Scripture, above all things, should be honest. He must honestly set forth what manner of men these were whose lives are recorded here, what thought they had of the Jehovah or Elohim they worshiped, and what were their actual laws of conduct, the relations between man and man then, and, a yet more crucial test, the relations between man and woman. He must not read our later morality between the lines, nor gloss over "hard sayings," nor shrink from any ascertained truth because it contradicts our traditions. Truth is not served even by well-meaning deceit. Yet, being honest in all things to the history and meaning of the past, does he owe nothing to present truth? Have these histories, these poems, these prayers no present meaning, no spiritual thought contained in the literal one, as the perfect rose sleeps within the close shut bud?

To treat the word of God thus, to limit it to one age and one generation, is obviously unfair, for these same critics would not so interpret any other work. Even the myths and legends, the struggling thoughts of races in their childhood, have within their rude and simple forms lovely germ-thoughts, only half understood by those who uttered them, but which feed the imaginations of poet and artist to-day. Would any critic demand that we should restrict ourselves to the confused, half-seen impressions of the barbarian, and refuse to read the larger inner meaning as truly there as the winged creature within the oval egg? Or in studying a great writer like our English Shakespeare, because we ought to under-

stand the conditions of the Elizabethan age, its ambitions and struggles, its coarseness of expression, its fermenting and vigorous life, its time, impress, and color, must we, therefore, force ourselves back into the ruder mold of Elizabethan thought, the interpretation of his contemporaries, deaf and blind to his merit? I do not hesitate to say that if we do we will get little good out of our Shakespeare. We may learn the outside cut and fashion of his intellectual vesture; we will surely miss the inner meaning, the spirit burning within, but throwing far-reaching light. And shall we grant that Shakespeare has a word for us as well as his heedless contemporaries, and declare the writers of the Scriptures mute save to their own age, in the face of the fact that thousands of brains and hearts to-day draw sustenance from them?

The fact that a writer may not see the full meaning of his word does not invalidate the reality of the meaning. It is not necessary, it is not possible, that any true teacher should know the fullness of the truths he declares. The old prophets, setting forth a higher sacrifice than the blood of bulls and goats, could not know the height and depth of their saying. All truth is living, growing, unfolding in its very essence. It is for man; and the tongue of a child may stammer its syllables or the prophet and sage proclaim its wisdom, each in a different fashion. And, though the historical meaning and setting of a life is important, the vital and essential meaning is the moral or spiritual truth which it teaches to us to-day, read more clearly by the long education of centuries. True historical criticism does not seek to cast the past adrift from the present, but to show the living connection.

As an illustration we may quote a recent writer, who explains the meaning of the words, "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost," as referring merely to the disowned publicans and sinners of the Jewish race on whom the upholders of the law looked with scorn. It is surely well to see the vivid picture of these race-aliens, hating and hated by their own people. It gives a more piercing accent to the pathetic words. But who that fairly reads the life of the Son of man cannot see within this local and temporary meaning a fuller and deeper spiritual one—compassion for these spiritually lost by alienation, not from the Jewish race, but from the human brotherhood? Restricting the meaning to its political significance is indeed false to Him who broke all barriers between man and man. A criticism which, in bold adherence to the letter alone, is blind and untrue to the spirit of truth is no trustworthy guide to knowledge.

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ANSWERS TO PRAYER.

ARE the answers to prayer preordained? Are they prepared from all eternity and kept on hand for the occasion when it arrives or when acceptable prayer is offered? That may seem to be a strange theory, and yet we find it sometimes in speculative theology. But is it true? Is it scriptural? Is it Arminian or Calvinistic theology? Manifestly it

belongs to the latter system, which predicates everything of divine sovereignty and eternal decrees. Calvinism, as a system of doctrine, is a unit; its peculiar tenets, its fundamental principles, stand or fall together. If God has preordained one class of human events why not another, why not all? And, as the final result, we have full-fledged Calvinistic predestination. How can God preordain the answer to a prayer and leave its acceptability contingent? If the character of a prayer be contingent, then the answer to that prayer must also be contingent or uncertain. God can only foreknow contingent events as contingent and uncertain; for if he foreknows them as certain, then they are not contingent, but must come to pass. Does the Bible anywhere teach this doctrine—that is, that God has preordained the answers to all acceptable prayer? If so, where is the scripture proof? We have been unable to find it and seriously doubt its existence. We do know of some passages which, to us, appear to teach directly the opposite, as, for instance, the case of Nineveh. The wickedness of the people in that great city came up before God, and he was about to punish them. He sent the prophet Jonah to warn them of their danger, that they might repent of their sins and thus escape the penalty. "So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest even to the least of them. . . . And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not." Dr. Clarke says, "He therefore changed his purpose, and the city was saved." But if God had preordained to answer their prayers, with a complete absolution of all their sins, then the declared purpose to punish them was in conflict with the eternal purpose to hear their prayers and to save them! "And he did it not." If God had foreseen their repentance and foreordained a gracious answer to their prayer, then it must follow either that God did not intend to punish them when he threatened to do so, or else that prayers, the answer to which had been preordained, might not have been answered after all. In this case the penalty was contingent upon persistent rebellion, and the gracious deliverance must have been equally contingent upon the prayer of penitence and faith, and neither was preordained.

But take another example, the interposition of Moses in behalf of the idolatrous children of Israel when they made and worshiped the golden calf. It is written, "The Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: now therefore let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them: and I will make of thee a great nation. And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt with great power, and with a mighty hand? Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own

self, and saidst unto them, I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have spoken of will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it forever. And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." "He thought to do." He had in his mind a purpose to punish them, but "the Lord repented;" he changed his purpose in answer to the prayer of Moses. Now, if the answer to this prayer was preordained, then God did not really intend to destroy this idolatrous people and to make of Moses a great nation. Was it a false pretense? It does seem to us that, in the light of this theory of the preordained answer to the prayer of Moses, the above narrative is little better than a caricature of the Deity. It represents him as being very angry and threatening to do terrible things, which he knew at the time that he would not and could not do, because he had from all eternity ordained a favorable answer to the prayer of Moses. If the answer to this prayer was preordained it could not possibly fail to be given, and in that case actual punishment was never impending. Was the fearful threatening all for effect? Was it intended simply to terrify the people and prompt Moses to pray, so that God might display his sovereignty, if even it be at the expense of truth? We greatly prefer to believe that God meant just what he said, that he did really intend to punish this rebellious people with national destruction, and that he changed his purpose in answer to the prayer of Moses. This change of purpose was evidently wrought in the mind of God at the time, and not fixed by an eternal decree. Here is a most beautiful and sublime example of the prevailing power of prayer, and it should inspire us with confidence and courage in all our approaches to God.

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THE QUESTION OF "ZENANA BAPTISMS."

A CASUAL glance at the difficulties that confront our missionaries in the Orient, as suggested in an article under the above caption in the last number of the *Review*, might seem to present a case of an irresistible object coming in contact with an immovable one. But fortunately the case is not so bad as this, for deeper reflection will prove that such a thing is impossible, as in physics, so in morals. It may safely be assumed, indeed, that Christianity is irresistible. It must, and will, move on to the accomplishment of its divinely appointed mission, for it is assuredly destined to be the religion of the whole earth. But that heathenism, either in its religious beliefs and manifestations, or its social structure, presents an immovable barrier to its progress, no Christian believer can admit.

Truly, the question of providing baptism for women "who have become Christians in heathen lands, where social customs of an inexorable order immure them in zenanas," is "no small problem," and before it can be solved something must give way; for the exclusion of women from the public, whatever may have been the occasion of such a social eccentricity at the beginning, is at variance with the spirit and teachings

of Christianity, and as there can be no compromise of the principles of the latter, the logic of the circumstance requires that the former shall yield. And why not? It will not be the first, or only, instance wherein "social customs of an exorable order," or even religious or political dogmas and practices, have been disturbed or annihilated because they did not harmonize with the ethics of the New Testament. We instance Judaism, polygamy, slavery, etc. Whenever and wherever they have existed, on the introduction of Christianity they have been compelled, sooner or later, to give place to its higher moral standard. And this we conceive to be the fundamental idea of that aggressive system established by the Galilean Teacher, that it shall accomplish the reform of the human race in every particular in which it is found to be contrary thereto.

Must Christianity confess that "it is idle to force an issue with the custom [purdah system of India] under present conditions?" When will the conditions for the emancipation of the women of heathen lands from their social bondage be more favorable? There is no necessity for, and we do not insist upon, any "sudden and severe modification" of the present social economy of those lands. Christ's kingdom can afford to go slowly and give time for the "development of moral resistance to justify the removal [eventually] of artificial restraints." Meanwhile, the whole heathen community must be effectually taught to believe and know that Christianity does not endanger the purity of its homes nor attempt "to lower moral fastidiousness among people" so lacking in knowledge of the true principles of social ethics; and it is a sad mistake to place it side by side, in comparison, with that "freebooter in morals," Mohammedanism, in its relation to the most sacred of all earthly shrines —the home. On the other hand, Christianity will not only have instructed the heathen to revere the home and to preserve it "inviolate," but will have also so imparted the power of "moral resistance" to its inmates as to render perfectly safe in general the association of the sexes.

The twenty thousand women in the zenanas of India who have espoused Christianity, and are to-day "unbaptized by virtue of the embarrassment of this social condition," are to be pitied on account of the privation they are called to endure; yet their eternal salvation is by no means at stake, and should they die before the opportunity for baptism comes we cannot believe that their souls would be lost. When in God's good providence the barrier is removed, and they, or their children, or their children's children, are emancipated, then, and not till then, will their duty be imperative to publicly acknowledge their faith by seeking baptism.

The Church need not teach nor allow "lay baptism" (not that baptism is "a matter of indifference," nor yet that it is "a matter which requires that they must violate" any "sense of moral propriety and womanly decency);" but it may, and will, if consistent and faithful to its great Head, teach and insist that heathen women shall set aside, when it becomes possible, "their standards of existing society." W. A. Carver.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE FOUNDATIONS STILL FIRM.

The press is teeming with speculations on religious topics, especially those relating to religious beliefs. We are gravely reminded of the fact by clergymen and laymen who do not believe in the orthodox ideas of the atonement, punishment, the person of Christ, etc., with the inference that therefore the old views are to be regarded as obsolete. The modern form of putting the case is about thus: Rev. Mr. —— no longer believes in endless punishment of the wicked; Rev. Dr. —— has doubts on the subject of the divinity of Christ, etc.; therefore orthodox views of Christianity are declining. A few names are thus made to go far, and the most sweeping conclusions are based upon grounds the most insufficient. Suppose that all whose names are thus paraded as authorities on these questions reject the doctrines out of which they grew and take rank among the liberalists of our time. What then? The evangelical Church of Christ was not built upon them nor founded by them. It existed long before they came upon the stage of action, and it will continue when they cease to live. The truth is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."

There has rarely been a period in Church history when the same argument could not have been used with equal force, and there has never been a time when the truth of the Gospel has not marched right forward. It is one of the proofs of the credulity of this superficial age that so many intelligent people are borne away from the truth by mere declarations of subjective conclusions which rest upon no foundation of fact. The truth is that the thinking people of this country and of the world are not moved away from the truth. The appeal of Scripture and of religious truth is to the hearts and consciences of humanity in general. These beat as loyally to the old theology as they ever did. The real difficulty is that so many who are called to instruct them, mistaking the voice of magazine and review articles for the voice of the people, neglect to feed them with the truths which their hearts so earnestly crave. Wherever the pulpit is loyal to the rich inheritance of truth handed down from our fathers there is warmth and Christian life. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? The truth must be sown in order that the truth may be reaped. If the churches of our land were numbered to-day and the views of the people were accurately taken the Church as a whole would be found as loyal to Christ as ever. It is not true that the people of our Churches are drifting away. It is a figment of the imagination of them who would have it so. So long as our people are true as they are there is little danger from the attacks which are now being made.

Nor is the scholarship of the country drifting away from the evangelical faith. We have said that the people are loyal to their faith. We go a step further and say that the scholars are loyal also. Far be it from us to

depreciate the talents of many who hold the views we here antagonize. No question is raised as to their conscientiousness or their ability. But biblical scholarship is mainly orthodox, especially in England and America. Bishop Ellicott, the greatest of modern grammatical exegetes, is in harmony with the soundest evangelical teaching. So, too, are Lightfoot, Vaughan, and others. The biblical thought of our own country is almost entirely on the same side. Where, however, says some one, is the scientific thought of the times? We answer at once, it is drifting—drifting as to science, drifting also as to religion. Unstable as water, it cannot have any force over the religious mind of our age which we can consistently accept as authoritative. Failing to answer the final questions which the religious world must ever ask as to the origin of sin, of goodness, and of hope; failing to give any satisfactory method by which a wicked world is to be made better; failing to solve the deep problems of our higher nature which have come up through all the ages, it cannot be regarded as a teacher of religion.

What if many clergymen have wandered? Does that shake the fabric of religion? Is not the edifice as perfect as ever? Are orthodox pulpits destitute of ministers, are orthodox churches empty? Are the churches filled where a modified and, as they say, improved Gospel is proclaimed? Let us estimate all that is claimed at its full value, but let us not be led away by false ideas as to the nature and strength of the inroads which are being made upon the Church. It is the constant weakness of our adversaries to misunderstand the forces on the side of the Church of Christ. A supernatural religion will not be overthrown by natural causes.

The faith of the Church is strong in the supernatural forces which underlie its progress. Those who have gone have not affected with disloyalty those who remain. It still remains true that "the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his."

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTERS III–V.

These three chapters have to do with the linguistic character of the Old Testament, namely, its language, its manuscripts, and its versions. These are logically presented, inasmuch as it is necessary to know the original language in order to study its manuscripts or its versions. The student of English who has never studied the classical or biblical languages will find these chapters difficult to comprehend, and he can scarcely hope to master them. Indeed, the classical student who is unacquainted with Semitic languages will be embarrassed. The peculiar features of the Semitic languages will in the nature of things be obscure to such persons. And yet every preacher ought to master the general facts which are presented by the author.

The subjects considered in the third chapter are:

1. The language in which the Old Testament was written (p. 41).

2. The family of languages to which the Hebrew belongs, and what is included in that family (p. 42).

3. The two forms of Aramaic, namely, the Syriac and Chaldee (pp. 42, 43).

4. The peculiar features of the Semitic languages (pp. 43, 44).

5. The periods in biblical Hebrew (pp. 44, 45).

6. The scholars who have chiefly promoted the advancement of Hebrew learning, and the books most valuable in Semitic studies (pp. 46, 47).

It may be remarked that for the student of Semitic languages it is best to begin with the study of Hebrew, which combines simplicity with completeness in a way which will enable a student to grasp readily the general principles of language formation that are found in the other languages of the same family. It is a very easy road from a mastery of the Hebrew to a knowledge of Syriac, and Chaldee, and Ethiopic. Arabic is more difficult, and the student is embarrassed by its extensive vocabulary.

Chapter IV is devoted to "The Condition of the Text of the Old Testament," and also gives a catalogue of the chief Hebrew manuscripts. It is here to be noted that the Hebrew manuscripts are few in number as compared with those of the New Testament, and the reasons are given by the author for this fact. It is also to be noted that the existing Greek manuscripts are of a much earlier date than those in Hebrew. The student should further note that the vowel pointings of the Hebrew are a late addition, and should remark the influence of the Masorites on the sacred text. It must be borne in mind, however, that a manuscript of late date may represent a text of a very early date.

Of almost equal importance with the manuscripts of the Old Testament is the study of versions (Chapter V). The value of the versions, both of the Old and the New Testament, is well understood by the critical student. Dr. J. A. Alexander's statement of the value of the study of the Septuagint is equally applicable to the study of versions in general:

> In the first place, it is an important aid in determining the text of the Old Testament (though often misapplied in this way), by showing how these old translators read it. In the next place, it affords assistance in determining the sense, by showing how these old translators understood it. In other words, it is, when properly employed, a help both in criticism and interpretation.*

The emphasis of this chapter is justly placed upon the Septuagint, which is recognized as the most important of all the ancient versions. Its chief importance arises out of a fact already indicated in the quotation just given, namely, that "it is an important aid in determining the text." Its use and abuse in this particular involve great principles and deserve more extended mention than is possible in a brief space. The history of the Septuagint, its character and authority, its text, the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and its corruptions, are distinctly set forth. The attitude of the Jews toward the Septuagint has been strangely inconsistent. There was a time when it was their Bible and was held in high esteem. Alexander says:

> It . . . was highly valued by the Jews themselves, until the virulence of antichristian controversy led them to denounce it as an inexact translation. . . . The violent revulsion in

* *Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History*, p. 97.

the feelings of the Jews with respect to this time-honored version may be gathered from the foolish and extravagant expressions of the Talmud; for example, that darkness overspread the earth when it was finished and that the sin of making it was equal to the sin of making the golden calf.*

There are now very diverse views as to its value, some regarding it as containing a representation of an earlier Hebrew text and thus placing upon it an extravagant value; others regarding it as valuable chiefly as a specimen of Hellenistic Greek and because of its bearing upon the study of the language of the New Testament. There can be but one inspired text, and that is the original Hebrew. So far as the Greek translation throws light upon the original we may profitably employ it; but it cannot be a substitute for the original, and it cannot by itself constitute a sufficient authority for the existence of another supposedly purer text. The author's discussion of the various texts and of the corruptions in the text will show that the Septuagint cannot be an absolute and final arbiter as to the Old Testament text. The further discussion of the Targums, the Syriac translation, the Latin versions, Egyptian translations, etc., constitute the balance of the chapter.

It is again proper to urge the English student to obtain a clear conceptions by fixing these topics in outline clearly in the mind. This part of the book will serve as a stimulus as well as impart information. It will show what wide reading is necessary in order to have a critical understanding of the Holy Scriptures. It also shows the value and necessity of a knowledge of Hebrew in order to a critical apprehension of the great problems confronting the Old Testament student. Appliances are so numerous for aiding those desirous of improving themselves, especially in the department of languages, that any one of energy can lay a foundation of great value without interfering with his ordinary work. The prosecution of these studies is especially incumbent on those who have been through a college or theological course. If, however, linguistic studies are not possible a careful study of Harman's *Introduction* and of cognate works will do much to familiarize him with the profound problems in the Holy Scriptures.

AN IMPORTANT PAPAL ENCYCLICAL.

A RECENT encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, on "The Study of the Holy Scriptures," is important because it has not been supposed that the Roman Catholic Church was particularly given to biblical studies, especially to the study of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages. The encyclical is dated at Rome, November 18, 1893, and has been summarized by Cardinal Gibbons. We take from his summary the following passage of great importance:

Leo XIII exhorts the priesthood of the Catholic Church, and in particular its patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, to whom the pontifical epistle is addressed, to study the Bible. Two principal reasons impel the pope to take this step. The one is his desire to see "this glorious source of revelation more safely and more abundantly opened for the use of

* *Notes on New Testament Literature and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 92–94.

the Lord's flock." The other is his unwillingness to "tolerate that the same should in any way be violated by those who either by impious daring openly attack the sacred writings or imprudently are scheming new and fallacious doctrines." He refers his readers to 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

The maintenance that the Bible is a supernatural revelation is strongly insisted on, as is also a thorough study of the Bible by all the prelates and high officials of the Church. He thus assumes that the Bible is to be the instructor of all who hold authority in the Roman Catholic Church. But he does not stop here. After citing the examples of the fathers of the Church in favor of the study of the Scriptures the pope discusses the methods of study of the sacred oracles:

About twenty pages are filled with special regulations and provisions for the searching of the Scriptures in the Catholic schools, academies, and seminaries "according to the requirements of the times and the importance of this department of study." The pope counsels a more prudent and careful selection in the choice of the teachers and professors of this important discipline. He then lays down certain detailed rules for a thorough and scientific course of biblical interpretation, which ought to be both comprehensive and profound. Adopting the *Vulgata*, or recognized Latin version of the Bible, as the true and generally accepted text-book, Leo XIII, upon the indorsement of St. Augustine, advises the use and study of the Greek and Hebrew originals of the New and Old Testaments respectively.

In what follows the dogma of the Church is considered, subject to its verification by the Bible and the authority of God's revelation in it, as interpreted by the divinely ordained sacerdotal faculty of ecclesiastical teachers. These must be well versed in oriental and classical lore and languages. They ought to study the more ardently, and acquire the more of secular as well as religious wisdom, the more the signs of the time and the advance of secular learning and scientific research sternly demand the apologetic exertion of the defensors of the Christian faith and a keener critical acumen, sharpened by a stricter and more assiduous application to historical and linguistic studies.

The apparent conflict between biblical doctrine and the discoveries of modern science, faith, and knowledge is referred to and denied. Natural and supernatural revelation, the God of creation and the Lord of salvation, do not contradict each other. Besides, says Leo, with St. Augustine, it must be remembered that the sacred writers, or rather "God's Spirit, who spoke through them," did not intend to teach men things that were of no use for their salvation. The writer confirms constantly his assertions and pontifical admonitions by concurrent quotations from the fathers and the decrees of the Church, and after an eloquent peroration concludes his encyclical.

We cannot, of course, accept the statement that the Vulgate should be accepted as a basis, for the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures can be the only solid foundation. But we may still indorse his plea for the study of originals, and also his advice as to the character and capacity of those who shall give instruction: "These must be well versed in oriental and classical lore and languages." He further recognizes the necessity of meeting the current antagonism to faith, and maintains that there can be no real conflict between science and revelation. While there is much as to the authority of the Church in interpretation which we cannot accept, we cheerfully note this encyclical as one of the signs of the times and a movement on the part of Leo XIII which must be of great advantage in the advance of that knowledge of God's holy word which is so essential in order that mankind may become "wise unto salvation."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE TEL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS.

Viewed from an archæological standpoint, the accidental discovery of the above tablets by some fellahin, or, more correctly, by a peasant woman, is one of the greatest discoveries of modern times. No records or monuments of the past, of any kind, have yet been found which contribute more to our knowledge of the exact state of civilization at the period when the Hebrews under Joshua invaded Canaan. For that reason they will be welcomed by every student of the Bible, and especially by those who regard it as the inspired word of God. These tablets contrast singularly with previous monumental discoveries in Egypt, which are all almost, if not wholly, silent concerning the sojourn of the Hebrews in that land, as well as concerning the exodus. If the identification of a few proper names is established we have recorded in this correspondence found at Tel-el-Amarna a number of events corroborating in many ways the biblical account given in Joshua. This becomes doubly significant when we remember it is generally agreed by those fittest to judge that many of these tablets were written about 1500 B. C., or when, according to Usher's chronology, the Israelites were wandering in the wilderness (compare 1 Kings vi, 1). They consist, for the most part, of dispatches to at least two, possibly three, kings of Egypt from petty rulers, governors, and consuls in Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria, imploring immediate assistance against the several nations in revolt against the Egyptian government. Several are from allies or friendly kings in Armenia, Babylon, and Assyria. Those from Armenia and Babylon are of a private nature, matrimonial alliances being the chief subject discussed; while the letters from Alasiya, probably Cilicia (compare "Elishah," Gen. x, 4), are also friendly in tone and discuss, among other things, an extradition treaty (see B. M. 5*). They are generally addressed to the kings of Egypt, three of whom are mentioned, namely, Mimmuriya, Babylonian for Neb-Mat-Ra, or Amenôphis III; Naphuriya, that is, Nefer-Cheferu-Ra, or Amenôphis IV; and Manachbiiriya, that is, Men-Cheferu-Ra, or Thothmes IV. The first two kings have been identified beyond doubt as Amenôphis III and IV. Bezold, Budge, and others agree in this with Professor Erman, of Berlin, who first established the fact. The number of the tablets is not definitely known, since quite a few were sold to private parties. There are, however, one hundred and sixty-six in the museum at Berlin, eighty-two in the British Museum, and at least sixty in the Gîzeh Museum in Egypt. They are made of clay, varying in color and composition, showing that they were not made in one place. The writing is also, though cuneiform, in several different styles. They are rectangular or oval in shape, varying in length from two to eighteen inches. Many of them are so damaged and broken as to be of little value.

* B. M. 5 means tablet in the British Museum marked 5.

Tel-el-Amarna was comparatively unknown till 1887, though the scientific men attached to Napoleon's army in the Egyptian campaign discovered there some objects of interest to archæologists. The ruins of this ancient capital are in a large plain on the eastern bank of the Nile, about equally distant from Thebes and Memphis. Though its former glory has long ago departed, Tel-el-Amarna was at one time a city of great splendor and the capital of Egypt. It is well known that Amenôphis III married several foreign wives, one of whom is said to have been the celebrated Queen Thi, probably a daughter of Suturna, king of Mitani, that is, Armenia, or a portion of it. These foreign matrimonial alliances did not increase the king's love for the national religion. Therefore the priests of Amen in Thebes became displeased; for, as in the case of Solomon, these foreign wives, with their foreign servants and courtiers, exerted, as might be expected, an influence upon the religious life of the court hostile to the established Egyptian cultus. Amenôphis III died when his son, afterward Amenôphis IV, was only thirteen years old. Brought up under the guardianship of his mother, it is not strange that he, like his father, married an Armenian princess, Taduchepa, probably his own cousin, the daughter of Dusratta, Queen Thi's brother. Influenced by his mother and wife, he not only changed his religion, thus earning the title of "heretic king," but also his own name, evidently because the first part of it was the name of the Egyptian god Amen. Henceforth he is called Khu-en-aten, "the glory of the sun-disk." He went still farther; he even transferred the seat of government from Thebes, which, with its great temples, could not but constantly remind him of the old religion. It is very remarkable that the change from polytheism to monotheism took place about the time when the Hebrews were in Egypt. That Queen Thi was a woman of great influence and power is sufficiently attested by the sculptures and other works of art in the rock-hewn tombs and in several places in and around Tel-el-Amarna. The discoveries made here during the past few years, by Dr. Petrie and others, prove that the reign of Amenôphis IV was one of great splendor, luxury, domestic happiness, and idyllic love, no less than of great effeminacy—just such an age as would render the conditions of things described in these tablets possible.

Though the Tel-el-Amarna tablets were discovered in 1887 and were sold in 1888, and though several distinguished scholars have been working hard to decipher them, it must be admitted that there has not yet appeared any translation in every way complete and satisfactory. Several translations or abstracts of a portion of these letters have been made by Winckler, Bezold, Budge, Sayce, and others. "Sayce," writes Professor R. F. Harper, of the University of Chicago, "as usual has made translations; and Sayce translations, as usual, cannot be regarded as reliable." This criticism may seem a little hard; but certainly it would have been better for Professor Sayce's reputation had he manifested less haste and more thoroughness in what he calls his tentative translation. One edition after another of the *Records of the Past* contains corrections of some former translation. Some of his renderings are not only meaningless, but ridic-

ulous. Take the following, pointed out in an English review. It is from the proclamation against Aziru, the son of the king of the Amorites: "If thou art a servant of the king in verity, why dost thou not eat his stomach before the king?"* Major Conder translates the same passage: "If thou art, as is assured, the servant of the king, how is his cutting off lawful in the sight of the king?" Professor Sayce mistook also the age of the tablets (though he has since corrected himself) and ascribed them to Nebuchadnezzar's time. These things are said simply to warn students not to place too great reliance upon "Sayce translations" unless supported by some competent authority. Major Conder, the veteran explorer and writer on Bible lands and biblical archæology, is the first to publish anything like a complete translation. His renderings are often stiff, stilted, unidiomatic, and probably incorrect in places; yet it is not likely, as he says in the preface to his book, entitled *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, that "the general result or the historical value of these most important texts will be affected." He continues: "I may at least claim that the language in which they are written is the mother tongue of that Syrian dialect which became known to me by speaking it daily for seven years."

By far the most interesting are the one hundred and seventy-six tablets from Palestine. A large number of them are from southern Palestine, and not less than six from Jerusalem. If Major Conder's views can be substantiated at least three kings are mentioned who figured prominently in the war with the Hebrews on their entrance into the promised land. These are Jabin, king of Hazor, Japhia, king of Lachish, and Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem. Even then were it impossible to prove them the same as those mentioned in Joshua it would be of interest to compare the two records. In B. M. 50 we have: "To the king, my lord, etc., thus says Japa'a, the chief of the city of Gazri [Gezer]." In Josh. x, 33, we read that Joshua smote Horam, the king of Gezer, who had come to the help of Japhia, king of Lachish. In a country so full of petty kings it is very possible that Lachish and Gezer were both ruled by Japhia, and that Horam was simply a sub-ruler under him. B. 48† has the following: "To the king, my lord, by letter, thus says Jebaenu [Jabin], chief of the city Hazura [Hazor]." The reader will notice that the consonants are identical in these two sets of words, and that we are told in Josh. xi, 1, 10, 11, that Joshua took Hazor and smote Jabin with the sword. The identification of Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, killed by Joshua, is not so fully established. The name of the king, as found in the letters from Jerusalem, is generally transliterated Abdhiba. It may seem strange to some readers that there could be any doubt about the correct forms of these proper names, or that there could be any confusion. Let us remember that the cuneiform script is not in letters, but that the signs represent sounds no less than ideas. Thus names are not always written in syllables, but by ideograms, like the various signs in mathematics. Professor Sayce illustrates as follows: "In English, the ideograph + may be pronounced

* See *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. v, p. 92.

† B. stands for Berlin, and this is tablet marked 48 in the Museum at Berlin.

plus, added to, or *more*." Hence the different spellings so common in proper names from ancient Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

In the letters from southern Palestine, especially those from Jerusalem, a people called the 'Abiri play a most prominent rôle. They are said to have come from Edom, for the king of Jerusalem writes (B. 104), "They have fought against me as far as the land of Seeri [Seir];" and again (B. 103), "They have fought all the lands that have been at peace with me." Still in another letter (B. 109) he sends this plaintive message: "Truly we are leaving the city of Jerusalem; the chiefs of the garrison have left without order." Tablet B. 101, from Keilah, informs us that the 'Abiri had destroyed thirty temples of the Amoritish gods. This shows that the 'Abiri acted precisely as the Hebrews were wont to do. One line in B. 102 is of great value, if Conder's translation is correct. He renders it, "They have prevailed, they have taken the fortress of Jericho." There can be but little doubt that the 'Abiri are the Hebrews of the Bible. The two names are almost identical, and the events described in the tablets and in Joshua have much in common. Some render 'Abiri "allies," meaning the Babylonians. But Egypt and Babylon were at peace at this time, and the Babylonians had refused to join the northern revolt against Egypt. The 'Abiri came from the south; they are not even mentioned in the northern letters. Besides, another word is used for "allies." Finally, the initial sign corresponds to the Hebrew *ayin* (ע), as in עַזָּה, Gaza, not *cheth* (ח).*

The Egyptian soldiers left Palestine just about the time of the Hebrew invasion. We read (B. 102): "The 'Abiri chiefs plunder all the land. Since the chiefs of the Egyptian soldiers have gone away, quitting the land this year," etc. This confirms the fact, already known, that since the time of Thothmes I there had been Egyptian garrisons all along the coast as far as Beyroot, and thence east to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and that Thothmes III, after the defeat of the Hittites and Phœnicians, had occupied central Palestine. This perhaps explains why the Hebrews selected the desert route. While they were in the wilderness there was a general uprising of the northern nations tributary to Egypt. It is very possible that there may have been civil war in Egypt at this time, occasioned by the king's repudiation of the national religion; for it is not likely that the powerful hierarchy at Thebes would submit without any resistance. If this supposition be true it will be seen that this was a favorable time for the powerful Hittites and other nations, which Thothmes III had subdued, to throw off the Egyptian yoke and drive its soldiers out of their countries. Be that as it may, the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, if we have read them correctly, show that the Hebrew invasion of Palestine took place when the Hebrews were in no danger of resistance from their greatest oppressors, at a time when there was a general uprising all over the Egyptian empire, and when the several tribes who occupied Palestine had been greatly weakened by internal wars among themselves.

* See Conder's *Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 141.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSION INCOME.

THE differences in the methods of tabulating the incomes of the several missionary societies often makes it very difficult to institute comparisons which are both desirable and us ful. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists include in their receipts the moneys raised by the woman's boards of their denominations. The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society accounts only for what goes to its own treasurer, each woman's society having a separate treasury and disbursing its own funds. There are, besides these, two societies reporting separately, those of the Building and Transit Fund, originated by Bishop Taylor, and his African Fund, each independent of the other. Now, if we add these incomes together we will have the following result: Regular receipts of the treasurer of the Missionary Society for the year ending October 31, 1893, $1,196,608; receipts for "contingent appropriations" and "special gifts," $35,060; Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, $277,289; the Bishop Taylor African Fund, $39,676; the Transit and Building Fund, $15,000; Woman's Home Missionary Society, in cash, $130,000; the whole making a grand cash total of $1,693,633, exclusive of $77,000 worth of "supplies" (parts of which were cash) of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

How much of this goes to foreign missions is not precisely determinable except by a little ciphering. The treasurer of the Missionary Society paid out last year $676,107 to the foreign missions directly. But as fifty-five per cent of the appropriations are given to foreign missions it is fair to charge up that proportion of the office and incidental expenses to this part of the work. This would add for last year fifty-five per cent of $118,714. If, however, we take but fifty per cent, it gives to the foreign account $59,357 more. There is still another small item which is outside of both these accounts, as per the treasurer's books, that of $8,900 for salaries of missionary bishops. But we must add the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society's income, already stated, and the two Taylor funds, which are exclusively foreign in their use; and thus we get for foreign missions $1,076,329, omitting the foreign part of the "contingent" and "special" appropriations of $35,060.

But what of the current year? We hope the depressed condition of the finances of the country will not cause any falling off of the income of these societies. The *Missionary Chronicle*, of London, is the organ of the London Missionary Society, which proposes to celebrate its centennial anniversary in 1895; and the *Chronicle* recalls the fact that it was amid the wreck and ruin in the commercial circles attendant on the disasters of the French Revolution that the society was organized. Carey began his foreign missions in the midst of a financial panic. As a matter of fact, there is no more reliable factor in the financial world than the income of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is this

that has made its credit sound enough to borrow, in emergencies, a half million of dollars from the banks, without giving mortgage securities on its property. But the chances are that there will be a good deal of unusual self-denial necessary if the income shall be advanced within this financial year. But the Church has this cause on its conscience and heart as it has no other form of organized benevolence, and will strive to honor the trust of the General Committee as expressed in its appropriations.

AMERICA A MISSION NATION.

THERE is food for thought in the utterance of George Smith, LL.D., of Edinburgh, Scotland, in one of his lectures at New Brunswick, N. J., to the effect that the foreign politics of the United States of America are foreign missions. Dr. Smith is the Convener of the Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society, was once editor of the *Friend of India*, and for a long time was intimately associated with the Serampore Mission. Dr. Smith's thought was the high vantage ground of American Churches as world-evangelists. "In the whole development of mankind during six thousand years there has been only one people and one land ready-made, as it were, to be itself free and, to all beside, the apostle of liberty in its highest form—the freedom which is in Christ Jesus. . . . The Americans were from the first prepared to become the chief messengers of Christ to the human race."

These is much besides encomium in this statement. It presents a view of our opportunity and responsibility which, there is much reason to suspect, has not been adequately grasped by the Christian public of this country. A map on a Mercator's projection which places the Americas in the center will show at a glance that the United States is on the highway of the world's travel. The shortest route from London to Australia, for instance, is across the United States. Europe is nearer to India by any route than is America; but all of eastern Asia—Japan, China, and Korea—is separated from us but by a Pacific lake, bridged by an easy ferry. European missions enter into the policy of aggrandizement of every European country, and are thus hopelessly entangled with European politics. America seeks no geographical extension, and does not even apprehend that missionary advance is allied with the increase of her commerce. Missions from America have, therefore, the unmixed meaning of unselfish benevolence which none apprehend more quickly than the heathen themselves. Thus America not only represents the evangel of Christian liberty, but her missionaries have a "clearance" for every spot on the globe. The opportunity involves the responsibility.

That a thousand Japanese should be converted on our Pacific slope within a few weeks and admitted to the Methodist communion, that twenty thousand of India's people should ask baptism at our hands in a single year, and that other thousands in China are seeking admission to our altars, is the providential indication that, for us, the hour has struck. It is for such a time we have come to the kingdom.

OUR MISSIONARY METHODS IN THE CHURCHES.

THE *Methodist Recorder* (London), calling attention to the action of the Wesleyan Conference in reference to some newly instituted measures for inspiring the churches in behalf of missions and advancing the collections for the same, says:

> The missionary secretaries have opportunely called the attention of superintendents and circuit Quarterly Meetings to the decision of the last Conference on the subject of Circuit Missionary Committees. In order to bring the affairs of the Foreign Missionary Society into closer relation to the circuit and under more careful supervision, a committee is to be appointed annually in each circuit, by the September Quarterly Meeting, of persons specially interested in the work of foreign missions, and is to have entire management of all matters throughout the circuit which affect the interests of the Missionary Society. A report of its doings, with an audit of the accounts and the amount of remittance made by the treasurer, is to be made to the September Quarterly Meeting. We do not know anything which is more likely to infuse vigor into circuit missionary affairs than this quiet piece of legislation, if only the committees be wisely selected. No pains ought to be spared in this. Especially let there be an energetic lay secretary elected.

In this connection we are constrained to ask for a special reading of Paragraphs 353, 358, and 360 of the Methodist Discipline. It will be seen that we have long since incorporated substantially these same features into our economy. They will be found to be efficient in the exact ratio in which they are exercised. But, to quote Sir William Jones, "Laws are of no avail without manners," which means that they will be of no beneficial effect unless the people can be brought to the disposition and habit of conforming to them. In our economy it is incumbent on the presiding elders and pastors to bring the people to this disposition and habit.

SUGGESTIVE FIGURES OF THE LAST INDIA CENSUS.

THERE are a good many anomalous facts stated in the last census of the British government in India. Among these is that there are six millions more of the male sex in India than of the female sex. Usually we have to account for the relative disproportion of males to females in the countries where a census is taken with any accuracy. This is attributed to the exposure of men to wars, the perils of the sea, or other dangerous and deadly occupations which fall to men rather than to women. But there is the reverse problem in this case. It is more than suggestive of the thought that the British government is not able to arrest female infanticide in its eastern empire. The census-taking of India was one of the marvels of modern organized action, the census of the whole empire having practically been taken simultaneously at the same hour. Hence there is little reason to suspect its accuracy. But as the zenana is always protected by a species of inviolable privacy it is barely possible that the count may not have been as perfect for women as for men. On the other hand, an ignorant apprehension as to the uses for which the census might be employed would be as likely to lead to falsifying the number of males as well as of females.

Another condition anomalous to Europeans is that the numbers of

married men and women are substantially equal, which shows that, notwithstanding the religious approval of polygamy, the mass of the people are monogamists. Other contrasts are suggestive also. There are over twenty-one million more unmarried men than unmarried women, while there are sixteen million more women who are widowed than men who are of this class. The widowers remarry in many cases; but here are twenty-three millions of widows, old and young, including child-widows, who are debarred from remarriage. The pathetic part of this lies in the destiny of Hindoo widows and the youth of many of them. There are 10,165 widows under four years of age; 51,876 from four to nine years; 140,734 from nine to fourteen; 280,942 from fourteen to nineteen; and 545,465 from nineteen to twenty-four years old. Of those that are more mature now a large proportion were widowed at a much earlier age. The illiteracy of the female population would be a source of alarm in any civilized State. No less than 127,726,768 are returned as illiterate, and only 543,495 as literate; and, still worse, only 197,662 are under instruction. If this mass of women is ever to be elevated there is vast work for somebody, and it will be no afternoon's task.

It may seem discouraging to note that there are sixteen million more non-Christian people in India than there were ten years ago, while there are but 2,284,380 Christians returned for all India, of which the Church of Rome counts 1,315,263, the ancient Syrian Church 200,467—leaving but 768,650 to represent the numerical result of a century of Protestant work. But we must never forget the ratio of increase, which is always an important feature of such estimates. The Protestant Christian figures were, for 1830, 27,000; for 1850, 102,951; for 1870, 318,363; for 1880, 528,590; and for 1890, 768,650. If anything like this ratio of advance can be kept up the gain must be very marked in the next fifty years. Nor must we ever forget that these systems of error are being constantly undermined. If there are more Brahmans there is less Brahmanism. Let us bear in mind, too, that the stream of new births, in this country in particular, adds to missionary opportunity. The progress of Christianity in India has been greater within the century than during the first century in the Roman empire; and there are many more Christians in the world to evangelize India than there were ten years ago.

The magnanimous offer of the brethren who have in charge the Transit and Building Fund, inaugurated by William Taylor in aid of self-supporting missions in South America, by which they tendered to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church the work and property that had been accumulated in Chili, subject to conditions which the General Committee felt they could accept, means not only a gain of two hundred thousand dollars' worth of property, more or less, to the Missionary Society, but the other advantage of contributing to the solidarity and unification of missionary administration. Friends of this mission can favor it through the regular Missionary Society.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Friedrich Spitta. He stands among the foremost of the theological faculty at Strasburg. He is well prepared by scholastic training, by natural talents, and by long practice to exercise the office of a New Testament critic. He is courageous in the expression of his opinions, yet careful to conciliate, so far as possible, the minds of the more conservative, from whom he often differs so widely. On account of the vast interest awakened during the last few years in the criticism of the Apocalypse, and because he has risen to the rank of a first authority on the subject, it may be well to give his views. He denies (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*—The Revelation of John) the unity of the book, claiming that, while the language throughout differs materially from that of other parts of the New Testament, this alone does not prove its unity. He believes that it is a compilation of Jewish and Christian apocalypses. The *Grundschrift* he takes to be the Christian portion, including the seven epistles to the Churches, and several other of the more favorite passages. Besides this there are two Jewish apocalypses apparent, one composed in the time of Pompey, and another in the time of Caligula. Besides these elements there are the additions made by the redactor who brought all these portions together in the time of Trajan. The Christian Apocalypse he supposes to have been composed by John Mark about a decade prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. He thinks it likely that the redactor did not suspect the Jewish origin of the non-Christian elements of the work he gave to the world. The redactor has done his work so well that it is only by the closest scrutiny that we would suspect its composite nature. Spitta thinks that his view is not only justified from the standpoint of biblical science, but also that he does not deserve to be cast out from the fellowship of the saints because of his conclusions. In the first place he has done his work in the interest of Christianity and the Church. Besides, he compares his conclusions with those of Luther and Zwingli, and finds that while they judge the Apocalypse with such severity as to give it no place in their New Testamen the has clearly proved the Christian origin of at least a portion of the book. He thinks, furthermore, that he has done a good service to religion by making clear which portions are of Christian origin and which of Jewish, to say nothing of the simplification of the apocalyptic problem for the ordinary reader. It will be noticed that, while Vischer makes the *Grundschrift* Jewish, Spitta makes it Christian.

Hermann Weiss. The theologians of Germany generally have the reputation of being specialists in the most restricted sense. Yet it must be said that most of them are capable of treating a great variety of themes. Weiss, although a professor of theology at Tübingen, is called upon to

write a work on Christian Ethics (*Einleitung in die christliche Ethik*) for the collection of theological text-books, of which Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* forms a part. This places him at once among those of the first rank in German thought. It may be well, therefore, to confine our representations of him to his views on Christian ethics. Of these we can only touch upon anthropology. He affirms that in every individual there is a religious as well as ethical predisposition and capacity. So far as religion is concerned this capacity must not be confounded with the conscience, however closely they may be related to each other. Conscience is indeed the voice of God in the soul, but it is incapable of producing confidence in God. For this a religious capacity of another sort is imperatively demanded, which as really as the other is in man's nature. True morality can only be developed in connection with true religion. But while he asserts an innate capacity for religion in man he denies that the natural and spontaneous development of this capacity would ever cause man to attain the goal of his religio-ethical destination. For this the continual educational influences of the divine Spirit are necessary. This is proved not only by the heathen world, but by the constantly recurring condition of error and sin in the whole human race. This shows how absolutely necessary for the establishment of the religio-ethical consciousness and life is a special revelation from God. The experience of Christendom teaches that from Jesus Christ, especially as portrayed in his word, and not from the development of an original capacity, proceed the specifically religious and moral renewal and perfection. But this does not prove any contradiction between the revelation of God and the natural religious capacity of mankind. Here we have a side of human nature which has not been studied with sufficient care. The majority of theologians have been content to investigate the attributes and powers of God, but have neglected those of man upon whom divine influences operate. Weiss has gone into this department of investigation with all the zeal of a scientist, and yet with all the reverence of a sincere Christian. The profound remark of Augustine that the soul was made for God and cannot rest until it rests in God is constantly proved to be true, and the enemies of Christianity should take note of the fact.

Daniel Völter. His chief prominence is due to his views of the Apocalypse in his *Entstehung der Apocalypse* (The Origin of the Apocalypse). It is through his researches that the more careful study of the Apocalypse has been pushed with such energy during the past ten years, giving rise to so many theories, and raising the criticism of this book to as great prominence, although not to so great importance, as Wellhausen's theories lent to the criticism of the Pentateuch. No better illustration can be found of the extent to which the critical spirit will lead one who gives himself up to it than that furnished by Völter. The most recent criticism of the Pauline letters has been noticed previously in these pages. Völter is one of the most radical. A professor in a Dutch university, he took his

hint concerning the Pauline epistles from the Dutch professors Loman and Pierson, and the Swiss theologian Steck. But he is more radical than any of his teachers. Not only does he reject the principal Pauline letters along with the smaller ones, but he rejects the Acts of the Apostles as well. Nevertheless, he holds (*Die Komposition der Paulinischen Hauptbriefe*—The Composition of the Principal Pauline Letters) that Romans contains a Pauline element which he can distinguish. Following are the portions which he designates as Pauline: i, 1; i, 5, 6; i, 7; i, 8–17; chapters v and vi (except v, 13, 14; v, 20, and vi, 14, 15); chapters xii, 13; xv, 14–32; xvi, 21–23. The great reason which he gives for the belief in the spuriousness of the Pauline letters is that the Paul of those letters is an impossible character judged by the laws of development. He thinks him isolated from original Christianity and without influence upon the age immediately following. He is a phenomenon which, instead of making clear the early history of Christianity, renders it inexplicable. But we shall understand this better when we see how Völter sums up the views omitted from the letter that he has reconstructed. In it he finds no speculative construction of the person of Christ. There is no hint in his Romans of the preexistence of Christ, nor of two natures within him, but he appears as a man only. Here the real reason appears for the rejection of the other portions of the Epistle to the Romans. Glad indeed will be the day when men who profess to be purely scientific theologians shall be able to carry on their investigations without presuppositions which invalidate their results.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus" (History of Spanish Protestantism), by C. A. Wilkens. The history of the Reformation in Spain during the sixteenth century is scarcely at all known to the general reader, except through the history of the Inquisition. Wilkens has made himself master of the subject, and has produced a work of great interest and beauty. He treats the theme with all possible brevity, but gives the most weighty and characteristic features of this section of Spanish Church history. His work is increased in interest and value by the fact that he does not confine himself so closely to his subject as to ignore Spain and the Spanish people among whom the scenes are laid, but describes landscapes, localities, customs, politics, science, art, and important Spanish leaders, thus surrounding his subject with an air of concreteness otherwise impossible. There is a refreshing fairness in his treatment of the principal characters of the Spanish Reformation. He does not try to make them appear greater than they were; and so far as they are justly censurable by their Roman Catholic slanderers he does not undertake to defend them. In his sight the justness of their cause does not excuse their excesses. On the other hand, he does not treat with unnecessary harshness the leading personalities of Romanism during the

period. He appreciates whatever of excellence he sees in Spanish Roman Catholicism, while judging the doctrines according to the principles of the Reformation. In other words, he refuses to pay back the Romanist historians in their own coin when they abuse and slander everything Protestant. Nevertheless he does not fail to give the facts of the history. His work will in this respect prove unsatisfactory to the partisan, and may give comfort and even encouragement to the enemy. Roman Catholics are strangely incapable of gratitude for a spirit of fairness exhibited toward them. They are so wanting in magnanimity and so implacable that they will accept any advantage which that spirit may show them, but they will employ the advantage to destroy the one who affords it. The chivalric honor of knighthood may not safely be attributed to the Roman controversialist. But the true historical spirit has undoubtedly been caught by the author, and his work will be appreciated accordingly. With all its mildness it exhibits in a fearful light the cruelty and un-Christ-likeness of the Roman Catholic Church, which claims exactly to represent Christ on earth.

"**Der Paulinismus des Irenæus**" (The Paulinism of Irenæus), by Dr. Johannes Werner. The question here discussed has to do with the important problems of the canonization of Paul's epistles and the introduction of the Pauline theology into the Christian world. The conclusions of the author regarding the first of these are as follows: The first to use the Pauline epistles comprehensively in his writings, and as canonical, was Irenæus. These letters have indeed hitherto been reckoned as Pauline and estimated accordingly, but had not been reckoned as Holy Scripture. While gnosticism undertook to employ these letters as sacred Scripture in its own interest the Church was compelled to do the same; that is, the Church must turn the weapons of gnosticism against gnosticism. The Pauline epistles thus became canonical by being employed as such from necessity, not from conviction. The apostolic authority of Paul was undoubtedly held by Irenæus, but out of dogmatic considerations. It rested upon the leveling of the individualities of the apostles in the interest of the ecclesiastical tradition. It is independent of the historical Paul as he appears in his letters. Consequently Irenæus did not understand the individuality of Paul, but conceived him as dogmatic interests required he should be. Notwithstanding the mass of Pauline citations in Irenæus, it must not be concluded that he was penetrated with Pauline ideas. The investigation of these citations rather proves that they were employed in the interest of antignostic unity, the mystical and moral tendencies, and the eschatological inclinations of Irenæus. For these purposes Pauline ideas were cited, explained, and misunderstood. On the other hand, the citations hardly touch the specifically Pauline ideas of the plan and nature of salvation, and the measure of properly understood and genuine Pauline thoughts is very small. What Irenæus took from Paul corresponded with his own standpoint; but this was not essentially influenced by Paul. The result of all this is that we must

not suppose the letters of Paul to have been canonized by the choice of the Church, but by an accidental necessity. We may draw either one of two inferences from this: 1. That the Church knew Paul's letters to be unworthy of canonization, or, 2. That the Church wickedly refused them their rightful place in the sacred Scripture until the providence of God interfered to compel it. This book takes the former position. Space forbids the consideration of the doctrinal portion of the book.

"**Das Buch Judith**" (The Book of Judith), by Arthur S. Weissmann. Another contribution by a Jew to Jewish theological literature is here presented. It will be welcome to many who know but little of the book or its heroine. The story lacks indeed but little of being as interesting as Esther. But to the Jews at least the history of the latter is well known because of the Feast of Purim which celebrates it, while to the deeds recorded in Judith no festival is dedicated. To the Christian the Book of Esther is better known because it is among the canonical books of the Old Testament. Weissmann says that Judith is denied a place among the trustworthy historic books, not because it relates improbabilities or monstrosities, but because it makes Nebuchadnezzar reign at the time of Arpaxad, who lived at least two thousand years previously, and because of the difficulty of placing the events related in any date of Jewish history known to us. He thinks that Nebuchadnezzar was a typical name for a violent ruler, and that the events well fit into the period about B. C. 312. As to the refusal of the Synagogue to canonize the book, he thinks that several reasons conspired. But the principal reason was that Judith sprang from the tribe of Simeon, and that this tribe had for more than a thousand years been under the pressure of a curse. Jacob had cursed Simeon. Moses, before his death, blessed all the tribes of Israel except Simeon. The song of Deborah had a word of praise and encouragement for all the tribes except Simeon. And the Bible seems to heap upon this tribe all manner of reproach. The other tribes treated Simeon with such harshness that many of the tribe were obliged to leave the country to whose conquest they had contributed. If, as he supposes, the book may for a time have found a place in the canon, then he would explain its subsequent rejection and displacement on the ground that during the Maccabean period the general sentiment was against the admission of women to a share in any great or noble deed. He thinks the tendency of the book is decidedly in favor of the introduction of a higher state of morals, a deepening of religious feeling, and the selection as leaders of those only who are and who have always been above such suspicion in their lives. The author is an enthusiast in favor of the activity of woman in the realm of religious endeavor, citing Judith, Esther, Miriam, and Deborah as examples of this activity, and calling upon the Jewish women of the present and future to assist in securing to the race the precious treasures of truth, morality, and brotherly love, feeling assured that the result will not fail of success.

The Christ of the Biographers. Students of recent theology have come to take it as a matter of course that we shall have biographies of Jesus. Since the days of Strauss the attempts to write the life of Christ have been so numerous, and so much weight has been attached to these attempts, as to form a most striking characteristic of the theological thought of our times. But while these biographies can hardly fail to interest their readers there is a dubious side to the entire biographical tendency. Were the writers content to produce works giving a clear chronology of the life of Christ, and setting him in his proper historical surroundings, no fault could be found. Or were they chiefly anxious to give us a portraiture of his character drawn from the New Testament narratives, in contrast with the character given him by the development of Christian dogma, all would be well. But the writer who should do this would simply be ignored by the learned world. Two characteristics usually combine in the modern histories of Jesus. The first is a critical estimate of the sources of information. These are professedly the gospels, and in part the Acts and epistles. But it is not difficult to discover the bias of the authors of these "Lives" in the manner in which they deal with these sources. These are not allowed to speak for themselves. They are assumed to be incapable of harmonization. Wherever there is the slightest hint of contradiction in the recorded stories, the historians feel at liberty to choose between them, or to reject both. If the biographer disbelieves the miraculous he alters the record accordingly. And, in short, the sources are accepted or rejected as the biographer is suited or not suited with their contents. The excuse for all this meanwhile is the plea that the historian cannot do otherwise. He must deal with the gospels as with any other source of information. The second characteristic of the biographies of Jesus is the disposition to make him fit into the period in which he lived. According to them he was not so much the beginning of a new order as the culmination of the old. Preceding and contemporary conditions are studied in order to show how completely Christ was the product of historical forces in action and reaction upon his peculiar nature. As in the life of any individual the parentage, the climatic and topographical environments, the schools, and the views of life held by the people among whom he was brought up all combine with his special peculiarities of intellect and sensibility to produce the subject of the biography, so it was with Jesus. It is evident that written upon such principles a biography of Jesus is largely an invention of its author, and hence we do not find any considerable agreement among these writers. They attempt to rid themselves of the Christ of dogma, only to become themselves creators of a new dogma concerning him. For all this biography serves mainly to develop the Christological conceptions of its authors. In fact, one has a sense of having been deceived by the titles of these works. Professedly they are portrayals of the life of Christ. In reality they are Christologies under a more attractive name; or this, and also critical-historical studies of the gospels. With great flourish of trumpets this is announced as the recovery of the

historical Christ as opposed to the Christ of dogma; and in a way we must admit that the biographers have rendered a valuable service. The method of Christological study by accretion and ossification which distinguishes dogmatics has perhaps been forever superseded. We no longer go to dogma to learn of Christ, but to the Christ himself as portrayed in his word. But our chief gain has been in the securing of a better method, not in the results achieved by its application. For if the Christ of dogma was a being whose divinity almost excluded his humanity from our vision, the Christ of the biographers is one whose humanity almost denies the existence of his divinity. In either case the Christian must cry out, "They have taken away my Lord." The dogmatism of the historian is as evident and as injurious as that of the maker of a theological system, and as truly influences all his conclusions. The only difference between them is their presuppositions. It is therefore in the promise of the future rather than in the achievements of the past that we find satisfaction. The true historical spirit will some day be applied to the gospels. They have left many questions unanswered, and these the historian will leave unanswered. Dogma tried to fill the gaps left by the sacred narrative. Critical history is now undertaking the same task. The work of both will be rejected, and we shall be brought back to the blessed simplicity which characterized the disciples who, though they had not seen the Lord, yet believed and rejoiced in him, because of what they had heard concerning him and what they experienced of him. The Gospels give us data sufficient for a reconstruction of his person, but not sufficient for his history.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Protection of the Innocent. The Woman's International Association for the Elevation of Morals recently held an important Congress in Basel. The object of the general organization is to abolish the public houses of shame, and to create a sentiment which shall hold men to as strict a purity as is demanded of women. But a branch association is called the "Association of Friendly Females," whose special object is to afford to all girls whose duties call them to strange cities protection from their own inexperience and the wiles of the seducer. In every large city of continental Europe this society has its representatives, thereby spreading a net of love and protection over a large portion of the earth. These agents are to be found in the railroad stations of all the large cities, where they may be distinguished by a red-covered booklet containing all manner of information suited to their purposes. In many places "Homes" are established which afford hospitality to girls. In Basel about 100 girls, mostly governesses or saleswomen, are gathered together on Sunday afternoon by ladies who entertain them with song and conversation, from which the religious element is not excluded. Refreshment is also furnished free on these occasions. During the week these girls are visited in their homes or boarding houses, and helped in every possible way.

Evangelical African Association. Berlin has recently originated another organization in the interest of Africa. The more particular beneficiaries are to be the freedmen, or such children and youth as have been returned to freedom by slavedrivers in German Africa. To these more especially will be given the advantages of good schools and education. But the work of the society also includes the sending of physicians to Africa, the founding of hospitals, the Christian care of the sick, as well as all other works of mercy. The association hopes to win the masses of Germany to active sympathy and cooperation with its efforts. The cost of membership is to be but one mark annually, so that the very poorest can become identified with the work. The society will employ printed matter for the purpose of instructing the people concerning the needs of the work and the activities and achievements of the organization. The auxiliaries are to be organized territorially according to provinces. We may ridicule the tendency to organization as much as we please; but it is the only way of carrying on any good work.

Temperance in Belgium. This small nation has 150,000 places where drink is sold, and but 5,000 schools. For every 39 of the population there is one saloon, and but one school for every 1,176. If it be supposed that no children patronize these saloons, then there is one saloon for every 25 of the population. The value of the alcoholic drinks consumed during 1891 was 450,000,000 francs, or about one third the entire wage of the laborers of the country. The communal authorities of Luxemburg have had posted in all the public schools of the province statistics of which the following are a part: Of 125,000 cases of death annually, 25,000 are traceable to drink. While the population increased but 14 per cent, the consumption of alcoholic beverages increased 37, cases of insanity 45, crimes 74, suicides 80, tramps and beggars 150 per cent. This terrible increase of crime and misery is openly laid at the door of the drink habit, while the saying of Gladstone that alcoholism is a greater plague than pest, famine, cholera, and war, is quoted with approval. It is evident that the authorities who dare utter such things are not under the control of the saloon.

Female Superintendence for Female Prisons in Germany. The movement to secure this much-desired end did not spring from the authorities, but from the German Inner Mission. However, the authorities look upon it with favor. The proposition is to educate unmarried young women and widows, whose duty it shall be to labor among their unfortunate sisters in bonds, and if possible to accomplish their moral regeneration, a task which of course the State cannot accomplish. The course of study required continues six months. This ended, the candidate has to remain on probation for a given period, and then is entitled to assume the duties of her office. It would seem that immense good might result from such a plan. It certainly must increase the chances for those released to lead an upright life thereafter.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The biography of the great men of the world is never finally written. Current literature always has room for their names and deeds. The world wants to know the uttermost fact about the cradles in which they were rocked; whether, like Stanley, they sported on the playground at Rugby, or spent their boyhood years in premature work, like Dickens; up what hills of difficulty they climbed from the log cabin to the senate; whom they loved, betrothed, and wedded; with what self-poise they carried themselves in victory; how they went away from the world; and what memorials in books or institutions they left behind. Biography is therefore a perpetual instructor. Under the fellow-feeling that makes the generations kin the reader for the moment puts himself into the place of the world's great heroes, lives over again their finished lives, and learns new lessons of patience, persistence, power. The intermixture of biographical sketches with the metaphysical, sociological, and religious discussions of magazine literature is therefore timely, and is the particular feature in the latest exchanges to which attention is now directed.

Noticeable among these biographical articles is a reminiscence in the January number of the *Nineteenth Century* on the late Professor Tyndall, its author being Professor Huxley. The first meeting of the latter with Tyndall was in 1851, when he found a kindred spirit who justified the old shikaree's definition of a friend as "a man with whom you can go tiger-hunting." Of their association in those earlier years at such gatherings as the British Association in Ipswich, and of their close relation in scientific pursuits, Professor Huxley now indulges in genial remembrance. With a tourist's zeal they kept each other company on a visit to the mountains of Switzerland, Tyndall's permanent love for Alpine scenery and climbing becoming "intensified into a passion" at the time of their attempt, as told by Huxley, to climb Mont Blanc. Together they belonged to the mysterious "*x*" Club, in which membership was finally conditioned on the name of the candidate containing all the consonants missing from the names of the old members. "In the lack of Slavonic friends this decision put an end to the possibility of increase." In Tyndall, according to the showing of the article, were found such varied characteristics as "active veracity," unusual power of exposition and a "wealth of experimental illustration," high aims, and "a tenderly affectionate nature." Altogether, his life, of late so pathetically ended, is traced in felicitous description by his distinguished associate, who ends his sketch by saying, "We have all lost a man of rare and strong individuality; one who, by sheer force of character and intellect, without advantages of education or extraneous aid—perhaps in spite of some peculiarities of that character—made his way to a position in some ways unique, to a place in the front rank not only of scientific workers, but of writers and speakers."

Anselm of Canterbury is next noticed by the late Dr. Philip Schaff, in

the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January. To the general reader the average mediæval theological leader is not the most attractive of characters, and the musty eleventh century is too remote to stir his particular enthusiasm. For the ecclesiastical student, however, Anselm, "the father of the schoolmen," who "fought the battle of the Hildebrandian hierarchy against State despotism in England," must ever be an important figure. Dr. Schaff's estimate of Anselm is in the superlative words that he was "one of the greatest and purest men of the mediæval Church." His doctrine of the existence of God, his theory of the atonement as set forth in his *Cur Deus Homo*, and his mysticism are among the points which Dr. Schaff notices. One could wish, after reading the article, for more than a speaking acquaintance with Anselm.

A distinguished trio, composed of Pusey, Lowell, and Ruskin, appears in the pages of the *London Quarterly Review* for January. The notice of Pusey covers such matters as his parentage and early years, his studious career at Eton and Oxford, his post-graduate work and honors, his marriage and ordination, and the gradual development of that extreme ritualistic movement with which his name will always be associated. A study of Lowell's character as set forth in his correspondence is the aim of the article on the great *littérateur*. His charming personality is well suggested in the description given of him by the parlor-maid, "He didn't leave no card, ma'am, but he had the coaxingest eyes ever you see." As to John Ruskin, the present notice is entitled "A Study in Development," and well shows the inevitable influence of childhood training upon adult years and performance. Unfortunate in being an only child, he was brought up by his mother "with a show of serene severity which, to gossips, appeared almost too Spartan." He was forced for his curiosity to touch a hot tea-kettle; he was whipped for falling down stairs; his dessert among the fruit trees was one currant; at four years his daily Bible readings began, with their molding influence on his literary style; at five "little John was a bookworm;" at six he had begun to write books; at nine he commenced "a didactic effusion in several books," called "Endosia, a Poem on the Universe;" and while yet a little boy he was paid for study at the rate of one shilling for a page of Homer, one penny for twenty lines of composition, and one penny per article for mineralogy. "It is always instructive," says the sketch, "to dwell on the childhood of a great man; but more particularly so when, as in this case, the germs of every power and every failing that maturity displays are to be observed in the boy." From which starting-point the article as it proceeds is captivating in its delineation of Ruskin the man, the scholar, the teacher of art.

The *North American Review* for February spreads a rich banquet for the satisfaction of intellectual hunger. The first article, entitled "My American Experiences," is by the President of the Swiss Republic. Coming as a young man from the University of Jena, in November, 1860, he enlisted in an Illinois regiment at the outbreak of the civil war, saw several battles, was captured at Gettysburg, and for over eighteen

months suffered imprisonment at Richmond, Salisbury, and Danville. The article is one of those vivid reminiscences of the rebellion which only an old soldier could recall. In the second article, under the title, "The South Carolina Liquor Law," the Hon. B. R. Tillman, governor of the State, tells of its recent legislation on intemperance. He proves his opening assertion, that in South Carolina the prohibition sentiment is very strong, by showing that at the primaries in 1892 "prohibition" received 38,890 votes, and "no prohibition" 29,464 votes, with 20,008 voters not casting their ballots. The new law, known as the "Dispensary Act," was a substitute measure passed by the Legislature on the last night of its session. Looking to the restraint of the drink evil rather than its absolute eradication, the State has become the regulator of the traffic. In the first four months of the operation of the law, ending October 31, 1893, the net profits of the State Dispensary were $32,198, and of the Counties', $20,295. The decrease of arrests for drunkenness and disorder is another noticeable effect, there having been but 126 in September, 1893, against 230 for the same month in the previous year. The experiment will be watched with interest by sociologists. The third article, by the Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, is on "The Income Tax in England." After tracing its history his conclusion is that, while the tax is a permanent part of the English fiscal system, it should be kept "within moderate limits." In "A Menace to Literature" Margaret Deland affirms that "journalism and literature stand to each other very much in the relation of the big boy and the little brother." The newspaper, in other words, is subversive of true art in its "miserable and silly personalities" and its cheap "symposiums." The fifth article, by the Brazilian Minister at Washington, Salvador de Mendonça, is on the "Latest Aspects of the Brazilian Rebellion." Next, Henry George writes on "How to Help the Unemployed," and, true to his shibboleth, argues for "freedom of access to land." The true way to cure scarcity of employment, in his estimate, is "to take taxes off the products and processes of employment, and to impose in their stead the tax that would end speculation in land." Following this is the inquiry by W. D. Howells, "Are We a Plutocracy?" Under "Needed Municipal Reforms" the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst discusses "Our Present Opportunity," and John W. Goff speaks trenchantly on "Juggling with the Ballot." Mgr. O'Reilly next writes on "Territorial Sovereignty and the Papacy;" the Hon. C. S. Hamlin, on "The Customs Administrative Act;" and Dr. Cyrus Edson on "The Evils of Early Marriages." Senator Roger Q. Mills ends the list of contributed articles with a paper on "The Wilson Bill," in which he defends the measure and asserts that its passage, in amended form, will be a benefit to trade and labor. His argument is not convincing.

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for January has a long and attractive table of contents, as follows: 1. "Modern Spiritualism," by Professor L. A. Fox, D.D.; 2. "The Communion of Saints," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 3. "Pauperism and Charity," by J. C. Caldwell, D.D.; 4. "The Thrust

of Ideas," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; 5. "The Church, Visible and Invisible," by Rev. J. C. F. Rupp; 6. "Christian Education," by Rev. Professor F. P. Manhart; 7. "Lutheranism in American Liberty Vindicated," by Lee M. Heilman, D.D.; 8. "The Authority of the Sunday Sabbath," by Rev. William P. Swartz; 9. "Jewish Propaganda in the Time of Christ," by Bernhard Pick, D.D. The third of these articles aims to "give a sketch of the history of the cry for help and of the response to that cry." Under a somewhat strange simile the writer of the fourth article compares ideas to "the roof with its unsuspected downward and lateral thrust which destroys that which it completes," and in a vigorous way discusses the domination of certain ideas which are nationally prevalent. The inference of the fifth article is that the Churches, invisible and visible, "are as inseparable as body and soul." The eighth article concludes with the belief that God's blessing on the Sunday Sabbath "proves its right to be held and kept as the Sabbath of God."

The *Catholic World* for January and February has among many articles two consecutive papers entitled, "The Coming Contest, with a Retrospect," and "The Coming Contest—Have Catholics a Political Enemy?" The writer is the Rev. Alfred Young. The coming conflict is the battle between Protestantism and Romanism; the political enemy of the Romish Church is the Republican Party. The author pays his respects to the National League for the Protection of American Institutions in such choice phrases as "pharisaical" and "pharisaical hypocrite;" vents his spleen upon the various leaders in that great agency; and has altogether written two papers which, for anyone but a Roman Catholic, are a mixture seldom equaled of historical untruth, sophistry, and billingsgate.

The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for January discusses: 1. "The Testimony of God," by Robert A. Webb, D.D.; 2. "The Doctrine of Inspiration of the Westminster Divines," by B. B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D.; 3. "The Book of Jonah," by Luther Link; 4. "The Future of Roman Catholic Peoples," by Professor Emilio de Laveleye, and translated by Samuel R. Gammon. The last article is "a study in social economy." By comparison of the relative industrial conditions of Roman Catholic and Protestant countries the author proves with irresistible logic that Protestantism is the more favorable to the development of national life. Grouping on one side "France, Austria, Spain, Italy, and South America, and on the other Russia, the German empire, England, and North America, it cannot be denied that the predominance has passed to the heretics and schismatics." The place of education, morality, free institutions, religious sentiment, and clerical aid to social reforms, as contributing to national progress, is also adequately noticed in this strong, attractive, and pertinent paper.

The *Contemporary Review* for January has: 1. "The Strike of 1893," by Emerson Bainbridge; 2. "A Living Wage," by Professor Cunning-

ham; 3. "The Future of Maritime Warfare," by Dr. H. Geffcken; 4. "Wolfe Tone," by Augustine Birrell, M.P.; 5. "The Revival of Farming," by Harold E. Moore; 6. "The Gospel State Church of the Commonwealth," by H. A. Glass; 7. "Superannuation of Elementary Teachers," by W. A. Hunter, M.P.; 8. "The Mormons. I.," by the Rev. H. R. Haweis; 9. "The Drift to Socialism," by A. Dunn-Gardner; 10. "How to Preserve the House of Lords," by Alfred Russel Wallace; 11. "Literary Conferences," by Walter Besant; 12. "The Rise and Development of Anarchism," by Karl Blind. Some of these articles, as suggested by their captions, are of more interest to English than to American readers; some are sociological and practical; some have an international application. The eighth paper, by the English clergyman who was lately a welcome visitor to our shores, contains a narration of some things he was told in conversation with such Mormon leaders as President Cannon and Bishop Clawson. Polygamy, on their testimony, has been completely abolished in Utah, though General McCook, the commanding general in Utah, assured Mr. Haweis that such is not the case.

Christian Thought for February is a memorial number in honor of its late editor, the lamented Dr. C. F. Deems. A speaking portrait of the departed Christian teacher is first introduced. This is followed by the salutation of Dr. A. H. Bradford, the new editor of the bimonthly, a sketch of Dr. Deems's career by the Rev. John B. Devins, the addresses at the funeral of Dr. Deems in the Church of the Strangers, addresses at a memorial service afterward held, and various memories of Dr. Deems and loving tributes on the part of individuals and associations. Were any evidence needed to confirm the repute which Dr. Deems won by long and influential service, it is found in the many spontaneous testimonies to his worth now grouped in the magazine which he established.

The *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier;" 2. "The Economy of High Wages;" 3. "The Poetry of Rural Life;" 4. "Recent Editions of Tacitus;" 5. "Popular Literature of Modern Italy;" 6. "The Last Campaign of Montrose;" 7. "The Results of the Crusades;" 8. "Among the Hairy Ainu;" 9. "Addresses of the Late Earl of Derby;" 10. "The Progress of Angling;" 11. "The Session of 1893." The conclusion of the second article is that the future is bright with hope for the laborer. "We have outlived the theory," says the writer, "that wages must of necessity represent the minimum which will support human life; we have gone behind the somewhat vague explanation which refers them to supply and demand, and we have come more and more to see that wages stand in immediate relation to the product of labor." The assumption of the third article is that "a marked feature in English literature during the last forty years is the great increase which it exhibits in works relating to rural life and natural history"—a statement which is proven by the study of the words of Words-

worth, Scott, Tennyson, and others regarding nature. The fifth article outlines the characteristics of some of the more modern Italian novels. In the eighth article the reader makes an excursion to the territory of a minor tribe of Japan, and sees in vivid detail the barbarous, social, and religious customs of that people.

The *Canadian Methodist Review* for January has: 1. "Prayer and the Laws of Nature," by Rev. James Henderson; 2. "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal? I.," by Dr. M. Randles; 3. "Habakkuk—The Prophet and Prophecy," by Rev. E. A. Chown; 4. "The Nature of Christ's Atonement. V.," by Dr. William Jackson; 5. "Analytical Study of Genesis i–ix," by Chancellor Burwash, S.T.D.; 6. "The 'Invitation' System," by Rev. A. M. Phillips. The magazine is a creditable testimony to Canadian Methodist scholarship.

Haus und Herd for February devotes its pages to the new Book Concern building at Cincinnati, and accompanies its interesting description with many excellent illustrations. It is a most opportune and creditable number.——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January contains among its articles a paper on "Romanism in the United States, the Proper Attitude Toward It," by Professor Drury, and one on "Christianity as a Social Force," by Professor Ely.——The *Biblical World* for February has among its articles "Rome in Paul's Day," "The Origin of Man and His First State of Innocence," and "The Chaldean Account of the Deluge." The second of the three is by Dr. Harper.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for February is devoted particularly to China, whose customs and needs it ably portrays.——The *Critical Review* for January notices among many new publications "The Mummy," by Budge.——The *Review of Reviews* for February leaves nothing unsaid regarding the progress of events upon the five continents. In its pages one can find the world in miniature.——In the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for January the leading article is a memoir of Hon. Levi Woodbury, LL.D., which is followed by much miscellaneous matter in which the antiquarian will delight.——Both the *Homiletic Review* and the *Treasury* for February maintain their high standard of homiletical matter for the profit of ministerial readers.——The *Preachers' Magazine* for February is another of those excellent publications in which clergymen and Bible students are concerned.——Among the most prominent articles in the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* for January is an instructive symposium by many writers on the late Bishop Daniel A. Payne.——The *Missionary Review* for February, in an abundance of helpful matter, has much to say on India and China.——*Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* for February, among its excellent papers, has one on "The American Churches," by Dr. A. H. Bradford, and another on "Socialism," by Marcus Dods, D.D. The magazine is of a high quality and is still improving.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Witness of the World to Christ. By the Rev. W. A. MATHEWS, M.A., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Appleby, Hon. Canon of Carlisle, and Proctor in Convocation. 12mo, pp. 240. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

We have here a volume that can be unreservedly commended and recommended. The purpose is good and the execution excellent. As to the former, it is not very clearly indicated by the title, but a prefatory chapter sufficiently explains. The author's position is that no real discord exists between science and Christianity; that the seeming contradictions between reason and revelation are neither necessary nor well founded, since both proceed from the same God, and that the witness afforded by the world of facts with which our reason can deal to the truth of Christianity is far more real than any discrepancy which may be discovered or supposed between them. It is the bringing out of this witness which he takes in hand through a series of twelve chapters, covering such topics as "Science and Theology," "Reason and Revelation," "True and False Theology," "Natural Religion," "The Supernatural," "The Need of Humanity," "The Divine Remedy," and "The Kingdom of Heaven." The general tone of the book, while substantially orthodox and conservative, is sufficiently liberal and progressive to put it in touch with modern thought and save it from the stigma of stupidity. It has the good sense to perceive the difference between essentials and nonessentials, and does not make the mistake of stickling so stubbornly for the latter as to imperil the safety of the former. It very properly suggests that the chief trouble which the modern scientific world has had with the Bible has been, not so much with what is really the book itself, as with the preconceived notions which have been read into the simple statements of revelation and the mass of traditional interpretations and misconceptions which have been interwoven with it. When these misunderstandings and perversions of revealed truth are brushed away there will be very little difficulty left. The author well says: "There may be, and indeed are, many positions of the loose theology of the day which are indefensible, and some outworks, not essential to security, may be abandoned without endangering the citadel. But the very key of the whole position is the doctrine that Christianity is based on a communication from another world not cognizable by ordinary human senses, and so far supernatural, inasmuch as it lies beyond and above the observed order of things." We will not attempt to indicate all the good things in the book. One of its most striking statements, strictly speaking, is that "Christianity is not a religion at all. To class Christianity as one of the many religions of the world, only to be distinguished as a little better and purer than others in its imaginations, is utterly to misrepresent and misunderstand it. It never professes to be a religion in the precise sense of the word." What, pray,

is then the proper sense of the word? The author discusses both the Latin *religio* and its Greek correlative *θρησκεία*, finding the root idea of the one to be obligation due, and of the other reverence to be paid; the one characterizing the Puritans of England, the other the Cavaliers. And if Christianity is not, strictly speaking, either of these, or even both of these combined, what is it? "*It is a new life, founded upon a supernatural communication; a new life, revealed as the only perfect life of earth, in communion with the unseen life of a higher and spiritual world.*" The Jews, to whom Christ and his apostles first opened their message, were already in possession of both *religio* and *θρησκεία*. They had an excellent code of morals and an admirable ritual of worship. But their conscientiousness and their reverence, their moral scruples and their worshipful sentiments, were by no means enough. They needed a new life and a divine ideal, and these were supplied in the fundamental principles of the new dispensation and the incarnation of Christ. The surrender of self is the keynote, the distinctive law of Christianity. And with that comes the power to do the right not found in a mere religion.

The Book of Joshua. By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., New College, Edinburgh. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. Crown 8vo, pp. 404. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The long succession of volumes constituting "The Expositor's Bible" series, which may seem to purchasers too slow of completion, is now enriched by two worthy additions. Rejecting the "naturalistic method" of interpreting Joshua, that eminent scholar, Dr. Blaikie, recognizes "the supernatural element underlying Hebrew history," feels that this recognition is absolutely necessary in the interpretation of the Jewish record, and regards the Book of Joshua in its unfolding of the plan of the divine manifestation to Israel as possessing "an importance that cannot be exaggerated." The ancestry of Joshua himself, the successor of Moses, is traced by Dr. Blaikie back to Joseph. Following this genealogical investigation, the author discusses, with a detail that cannot be noticed, the successive incidents and developments which make up the Book of Joshua and which were stepping-stones in the onward advance of the Hebrew people. The points of resemblance between Joshua and Jesus are regarded by Dr. Blaikie as overemphasized, the one likeness in his estimate being found in the fact that Joshua gave the people *rest*. "Many persons," he remarks, "look on Joshua as a somewhat dry book, full of geographical names, as unsuggestive as they are hard and unfamiliar. Yet on every one of the places so named faith may see inscribed, as in letters from heaven, the sweet word REST. Each of these places became a home for men who had been wandering for some forty years in a waste, howling wilderness. At last they reached a spot where they did not fear the long-familiar summons to 'arise and depart.' The sickly mother, the consumptive maiden, the paralyzed old man might rest in peace, no

longer terrified at the prospect of journeys which only increased their ailments and aggravated their sufferings. The spiritual lesson of this book, then, is that in Jesus Christ there is rest for the pilgrim."

Concerning the data involved in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, Professor Adeney has written with no less perspicuity and interest in the second volume under notice. The authorship and historic basis of these sacred books of Scripture first engage the professor's attention. The genuineness of Ezra and Nehemiah, in his judgment, cannot be doubted. Whoever the compiler, in considerable portions of the narrative "the primitive records are simply copied word for word, without the least pretense at original writing on the part of the historian. Elsewhere he has evidently kept as near as possible to the form of his materials, even when the plan of his work has necessitated some condensation or readjustment. The crudity of this procedure must be annoying to literary epicures who prefer flavor to substance; but it should be an occasion of thankfulness on the part of those of us who wish to trace the revelation of God in the life of Israel, because it shows that we are brought as nearly as possible face to face with the facts in which that revelation was clothed." Nor is the Book of Esther, in the author's estimate, aught else than historical. The claim that it is only a "fantastic romance" he waives aside as disproved by internal evidence, and assumes that the story of Esther "stands upon a historical basis fact," having been "worked up into its present literary form by a Jew of later days who was living in Persia and who was perfectly familiar with the records and traditions of the reign of Xerxes." Having thus located the historic place of these three books of Scripture, Professor Adeney next follows with a minute consideration of the events involved in their several records. In Ezra and Nehemiah the law was adopted by the citizens of Jerusalem. In Esther the Jewish nation is exalted; and even if its last pages "reek with blood," yet the book has its value as setting forth an important phase in the growth of Jewish life and thought. Of both of these volumes we are inclined to speak only commendatory words. Each is scholarly, graphic, and well fitted to take its place with the companion volumes that have preceded.

Supernatural Revelation: An Essay Concerning the Basis of the Christian Faith. Second Edition. By C. M. MEAD, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 469. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, cloth, $1 75.

We are not surprised that this volume, though far from being of a popular character, has in a short time reached a second edition. It is eminently worthy of the widest circulation. It is thoroughly sound, sensible, wholesome, and invigorating. For clearness, simplicity, candor, and fairness to opponents it leaves nothing to be desired. It is just such a discussion of the burning questions in Christian apologetics as people ought to read. We say this, not because we agree at all points with the author's conclusions, but because we cordially admire the author's spirit. It is a model of courtesy. While standing strongly for the views commonly accounted

orthodox—the lectures which form the basis of the book were originally delivered at Princeton, in 1889—he indulges in no exaggerated ideas as to the strength of the positions he defends, impugns in no particular the honesty of his opponents, gives full weight to all objections, and expresses himself at all points with the moderation and modesty of true scholarship. In his preface he says: "In referring to the opinions of others I have sought to be fair and appreciative, and to aim at such a treatment of views divergent from my own as to promote an eventual accord rather than to intensify the disagreement." O that orthodoxy had always such champions! The main themes are: "Origin of the Theistic Belief," "Grounds of the Theistic Belief," "The Christian Revelation," "The Evidential Value of Miracles," "Proof of the Christian Miracles," "Relation of Christianity to Judaism," "Inspiration," "The Authority of the Scriptures," "The Conditions and Limits of Biblical Criticism." In illustration of the author's style and positions it may be said that he believes inspiration to be "dynamic rather than mechanical, a force moving on the whole inner and spiritual man rather than an intermittent prompter of words. In every portion there are traces of human imperfection, yet we shall not find any part destitute of the working of the spirit of inspiration." In answer to the question, "Must we not say that the Bible *contains* the word of God, rather than that it *is* the word of God?" he writes: "In an important sense this must be regarded as a correct conception. The term 'word of God' is nowhere used in the Bible as a comprehensive name of the canonical collection." The common affirmation that the Bible is a perfect and infallible rule of faith and practice he prefers to put in the following form: "The Bible is perfectly adapted to accomplish the end for which it was made, when used by one who is in sympathy with that end." He finds a large element of the symbolic and allegoric in the first chapters of Genesis. "It seems not improbable that a vivid impression of the primeval history and its moral significance could be best given in certain graphic pictures and symbolic representations, which may not literally correspond to the actual facts." On the question of specific answers to prayer without miracle he accords with the view set forth recently in these pages by Dr. James Mudge: "The universe, with all the working of its natural forces, may from eternity have been adjusted with reference to the foreknown prayers that have to be answered. In this case the natural operation of things brings about the accomplishment of the thing asked for. The answer to the prayer is as real as if effected by a supernatural and special interruption of the ordinary course of nature." We advise all our readers to procure this book. It will be especially helpful to those who have fallen into the mists and fogs of doubt, through revulsion and indignation at the false claims and overstatements and partisan spirit of many fighters for the generally accepted or traditional opinions. Dr. Mead will soothe their wounded feelings and show them that the truth is strong enough to dispense with all such defenses. His argument is vigorous, his style perspicuous, his method most winning.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON, Professor in the University of Chicago. 8vo, pp. 215. Chicago: University Press. Price, cloth, $1.50.

With all the helps now supplied for the study of the Greek Testament our preachers, to say nothing of the educated laymen, are clearly without excuse if they depend solely on the coarse and clumsy medium of a translation for their knowledge of the thought of God and the mind of Christ, as conveyed to us by the inspired writers. It should be fully understood by this time that the only solid basis for a comprehension of the New Testament is a thorough knowledge of its grammar, and that patient, reverent study of the letter of the word is indispensable to the fullest reception of it as spirit and life. It has been well said that reading an author in a translation is like hearing through a telephone—the words may reach the ear distinctly, but the quality of the most familiar voice is lost. Each word in the original throbs with a life of its own, glows with the fascination of a personal history, and this, of course, cannot be transferred to another tongue. There is a multitude of subtle distinctions and delicate shades of meaning which do not pass over into a strange language, no matter what pains is taken. There can be, then, no substitute for patient, loving investigation of all the peculiarities of New Testament Greek. The book under review is an excellent example of that specialization of study which is so prominent a feature of modern scholarship. It deals only with the functions of mood and tense in the New Testament Greek verb; even so closely related a theme as the voices of the verb is not mentioned. This narrowing of the scope, of course, gives greater fullness of treatment and strength of authority. Such topics as "Moods in Indirect Discourse," "Moods in Relative Clauses," "Moods in Concessive and Conditional Sentences" are particularly well discussed. In illustration of the practical value of the book, it may be noted that about one thousand three hundred and fifty passages in the New Testament are quoted and more or less fully illustrated. The more important quotations are given both in Greek and English, the latter taken from the Revised Version. In some passages the author has departed from this approved standard to call attention to what he deems "unquestionably an error of translation." We must not take space to give specimens of the work done, but must content ourselves with commending the volume (in its present improved shape an enlargement of a pamphlet issued in 1888) to all who wish to enjoy in fullest measure that quickening contact with revelation which familiarity with the original alone can give.

Selections from Early Christian Writers, Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge. 12mo, pp. 163. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Here is much value in little space. This book brings us significant materials from among the Christian origins. Not one of the selections is destitute of deep and lasting interest. The original Greek or Latin of each selection is given on one page, and an exact translation in English on the opposite page. There are three extracts from Clement of Rome,

nineteen from Eusebius, five from Justin, three from Irenæus, four from Clement of Alexandria, twelve from Tertullian, five from Origen, seven from Cyprian, four from Lactantius; also Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, Hippolytus on Montanism and on the misdeeds of Callistus, and Arnobius on the heathen before Christ. It is a collection of ancient literature worth far more than its cost to any studious minister or layman. In particular, the marvelous, pathetic, and sublime story of the behavior of the early Christians—men, women, boys, and girls—in the martyrdoms and persecutions inflicted on them, seems most impressive when read in the words of their contemporaries.

A History of the Preparation of the World for Christ. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By Rev. DAVID R. BREED, D.D. 8vo, pp. 483. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Only less wonderful than the incarnation itself—that center about which the world's history revolves—seems the preparation made through centuries of Jewish autonomy for the coming of God's Son. Were such a volume as that of Dr. Breed, discussing the ages preliminary to the birth of Christ, put into the hands of some Brahman or Confucianist hitherto in absolute ignorance of the Christian system, he would deduce therefrom no unworthy conception of the preparatory nature of the Old Testament dispensation. The various steps in the choice of the Israelitish people, as first revealed to Abraham, and its growth under the theocracy to national greatness would impress him with a force which those from childhood familiar with the Scripture record can scarcely appreciate. Such striking facts, for instance, would dazzle his vision as the fitness of the land of the Palestine, in location, seclusion, climatic conditions, and fertility, to be the arena of the divine manifestation to the world; the suitableness of the Jewish people, by vigor, disposition, and language, to be God's medium of revelation; the necessary training of the Hebrew by the bondage of Egypt and the forty years in the wilderness; the exile of the Jews, after the loss of their own national grandeur, "to effectually cure them of all tendencies toward idolatry;" the preparing of the Eastern world for the advent in the Persian victory, which was the end of Semitic rule, and from which time the civilization of the world was to be Japhetic; and the still further preparation for Christ's coming as found in the widespread influence of Greek thought and the Roman conquests. All these considerations and more, as set forth in Dr. Breed's volume, would overwhelm the dispassionate heathen with the inevitable conclusion that there was a divine direction in the Hebraic vicissitudes of the centuries leading up to the incarnation; and he would clearly understand why, though the world had been for ages on the tiptoe of expectation, the Redeemer did not appear until the "fullness of time" had come. Nor would it be hazardous to stake the final reputation of Christianity in the estimate of our assumed heathen reader upon this specific work by Dr. Breed. It is the fruit of a master hand. No single volume could well contain more. Combining great vigor of thought with charm-

ing simplicity of style, and force of argument with much beauty of diction, it arouses in the Christian reader a greater zest for Jewish history, shows him the intimate relation that his own age bears to the former dispensation, and stirs his soul with the promise of the Redeemer which, as Delitzsch has so vigorously said, "crouches at the entrance of sacred history." For all these excellencies and more we cannot too cordially recommend this volume to the notice of Scripture students.

The Gaining of Men; or, The Law of Adaptation to Environment in Missionary Enterprise. The Annual Sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By Rev. ALBERT J. LYMAN, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 32. Published by the Board, 1 Somerset Street, Boston.

A nobler or more inspiring sermon on world evangelization we have not read and do not know where to look for in current literature. Its scheme of thought is built up architecturally by a master builder like a temple, paved with marble, walled with precious stones, vocal with worship, roofed with the heavens, lit with infinite glory. The magnitude of Christianity's task, the grandeur of its undertaking, the magnificence of its history, the sufficiency of its resources, the principles of its operation, and the elements of its power are all set in orderly, beautiful, impressive, and convincing array. We would gladly put the entire discourse upon these pages if no rule obstructed and it were not already accessible in print. A single quotation is all we have room for: "Then there arose the strange menace of the crescent in the East; the Saracen captured the Holy Sepulcher, the Moor came to Spain, and Europe passed into the din and clang of those iron centuries of the crusades. Missionary activity did not cease, but it lost its spiritual tone, and also, in the same ratio, its felicity of method. We look in vain for the humane sympathy of Patrick or the intellectual freedom of Columba. Missions became politico-ecclesiastical. Force and diplomacy became the substitutes for the beautiful charm of natural adaptation, and accordingly missions relatively failed. But the meridian of history changed in Europe. God shifted in a night the hinges of his doors. The great focus and pivot of affairs was transferred from the eastern rim of Europe to the western. In 1492 Boabdil, the last of the Moorish monarchs, fled from Spain, and the cross shone in the halls of the Alhambra. In that same year the finger of God's providence made of the deep a furrow, and pointed the path before three little boats in which Columbus set forth upon his mighty voyage. Twenty-five years later Martin Luther nailed his theses to the church door in Wittenberg, and the tremendous sixteenth century came marching in like an army with banners. In the south, the classic Renaissance; in the north, the German Reformation; in the west the Titanic burst of the Elizabethan era; and as a result of all a new volume opened for the world and for Christ! Christianity discovered that the world is round, and for the first time wholly took its problem up into its hands." We advise every minister to obtain a copy of this sermon. In addition to its other values, its style is an education and a charm. It is sprinkled with sentences which are literary inventions—the inventions of a highly cultivated genius for expression.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Outlines of Economics. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, History, and Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. 1894. 12mo, pp. 432. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Net, $1.25.

Professor Ely's position in the front rank of American economists makes this additional book of his especially welcome and prepares us for the breadth of treatment which marks it. A comparison of this volume with any political economy issued thirty years ago—not excepting the elaborate work of John Stuart Mill—will easily show that economic science has made great progress, and also that each country has its peculiar economic questions. An English book of equal breadth would not contain several discussions found in this and based upon tendencies and agitations sharply accentuated by our industrial and political controversies. For, though this book is "a systematic sketch of theory," the sketch is extended to embrace practical issues respecting state industry, state education, systems of taxation, public debts, regulation of industry, control of corporations, and other such matters. And in all these discussions the opinions of the author are more advanced and socialistic than might have been expected a few years ago; that is to say, "the socialists have rendered good service by calling attention to social problems, by forcing us to reflect on the condition of the less fortunate classes." But the author believes that without any departure from the institution of private property or any other radical change, but simply by extending the application of principles recognized in existing public methods, the desirable ends may be reached. The entire discussion of this large topic is a model of fairness and fullness. But as a modern college professor Dr. Ely must always be understood, not as dictating opinions, but as helping to form opinions by pointing out how the accepted economic theory may be applied to the various classified bodies of fact which demand the careful attention of economic thinkers. In questions upon which the nation is divided into hostile camps the text-book ought, of course, to recognize the arguments of both sides. This our author does in his treatment of tariffs. He makes, however, the very valuable suggestion that the importance of the tariff question is exaggerated; for, while "England is prosperous under free trade," "France and the United States are prosperous under protection." But after all the chief worth of this book is its development of economic theory more fully than is common in text-books. The bibliography of the subject given at the close will enable the reader to follow out for himself any discussion he may think incomplete; and this is especially valuable in view of the modifications of older theories based upon the thinking and theorizing of new schools, such as the Austrian, for example. The reader of this volume is to be congratulated upon having an easy and pleasant piece of work. The style is so clear and attractive that not only is there no delay in understanding the meaning of the writer, but one is enticed to go on and complete any discussion once entered upon. Not

the least of the attractions of the book are the remarks found here and there upon the things which are superior to economic interests. For example, the statement to the effect that "man is more than a wealth-getting animal. Economic interests are not his only interests, nor always compatible with his other interests. The economist by no means claims that economic considerations should always be followed. He knows full well that economic wisdom may be human folly, and that life is continually neglected in order to get a living." Horace tells us that "Homer nods;" and our author has, we feel sure, too strongly condemned "an obsolete sectarianism" in his treatment of denominational schools. Our Church has a very large and growing interest in educational work, and it has not its root in "an obsolete sectarianism."

The Seeker in the Marshes, and Other Poems. By DANIEL L. DAWSON. 12mo, pp. 158. Philadelphia: Rees, Welsh & Co. Price, cloth, $1 50.

Julian Hawthorne says: "Dawson was one of the truest, most inevitable poets of this age. His poems are intensely lyrical and of permanent worth. He had no more in common with contemporary versifiers than Whitman had; but he had a lovely, grave, masculine music which Whitman never knew. He was the poet of manhood in the deepest sense." This is not true, for the deepest in manhood is the spiritual and moral. Dawson is so far from being the poet of these that there is not much evidence that he knew of their existence. But Hawthorne truly says: "The forms and scenes of the Norse mythology, and of Greek Olympus, and of the paradises of the antique golden age tower and gleam through his verse." He seems to have been intimate with various heathen divinities of doubtful reputation; but we judge from his poetry that he did not know Christ even when he saw him. He uses his name as an expletive in erotic lines. Could he possibly do this if he were in the least acquainted with him? Dawson might easily have been the natural son of Walt Whitman—a rather prodigal son; he has the same animality, not so healthy and well-kept, more shaped by the schools and taught in music, but essentially untamed. Besides Whitman, something in his passion and his tone reminds us of Adah Isaacs Menken, who would have been a natural and congenial mate for him, both being poets after their kind. If we could select the best from this volume we might accept it, for it has vigor, brilliancy, grace, and promise; but if we are offered the whole we would rather have none. We are reminded of the words of another, asserting that real and voluntary paganism is absolutely fatal to creative literature: "The pure pagan can have no ideal. It is not that he asserts there is no God, but that he says there is no good; he knows no inward vivifying spirit to produce moral progress; therefore for him character cannot grow, it can only decay, like geraniums touched by frost. This paganism, which acknowledges matter because itself is material, and which denies soul and the supernatural, sees in man a mere organism, bound in an eternal ring of sense, a being whose deepest emotions are but animal instincts variously developed, and whose subtlest thoughts are but emanations from

an organ resembling curds; therefore it has only the human animal for its subject in art and literature, and can depict nothing in moral life but its decay. It has no clew to the growth of the living organism, acknowledging not life, but only death. Human character is to this paganism as the rapidly decomposing corpse under the knife and microscope."

Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times. By GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 310. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mr. Putnam has undertaken a laborious but fruitful investigation of the relations of authors to their public and the development of literary property. The volume before us is a kind of preliminary study, for down to the invention of movable types and the organization of the publishing industry authors had practically no pecuniary interest in their works. It is a striking answer to the demand for better pay to the author that the great and imperishable works of antiquity brought their producers no money. It is not a sufficient answer to a claim for fair rewards, but it is probably as true now as it ever was that works of the highest order of merit are not produced to be sold in a market, and probably would be produced if there were no market in which to sell. The first man who received any emolument from literature was a sort of thief—that Hermodoros who sold copies of his notes made while listening to the lectures of Plato. In modern times the practice would be condemned, and Hermodoros seems to have incurred reproach in his own day. Our author has occasion to refer constantly to the practice of plagiarism in ancient times. The new author copied what he liked of the old author, and in this way a great deal of valuable work escaped destruction. There was no sense of proprietorship in literature; the thief's odium came to him when he claimed the merit of producing dead men's writings. In fact, this is still the brand of shame in plagiarisms. This is but one of many literary questions upon which this work sheds historical light. It would seem impossible, if we had not the proof before us, to crowd into one volume so much information about ancient book-making in all the lands which had a literature. Much of this information could be found only in rare old volumes; and it has been collated and arranged with as much judgment as diligence. A style trimmed of all superfluity, and yet not disagreeably bare and uninviting, but singularly clear and easily read, accounts in part for the abundance and richness of the matter.

The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Cambridge Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 689. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

In this book we have for the first time a complete one-volume edition of Longfellow's poems. Only his translation of the "Divine Comedy" is wanting, and that for obvious reasons could not have been included here. Probably the least known of all his works is "Christus." Until now this has been published in a separate volume, and has thus been neglected by many to whom the familiar "Household Edition" has been a continual joy and fountain of inspiration. Yet it was this that Longfellow considered the great work of his life and by which he most de-

sired to be remembered. This work, in its three parts—"The Divine Tragedy," "The Golden Legend," and "The New England Tragedies"—is incorporated in this volume with the author's other poems, and in this convenient form will tend to heighten his fame and strengthen the affection of his many admirers. But other features of this edition are also worthy of attention. A somewhat new arrangement of the poems is made, intended to be final; the translations, for instance, are collected and placed together in the latter part of the book. Bibliographical and other notes, culled from the many-volume "Riverside Edition," are scattered here and there throughout the volume. "Evangeline," "Miles Standish," and the "Children of the Lord's Supper" are printed in narrow measure, easier to the eye, if a trifle strange. There is also an introductory biographical sketch by H. E. Scudder; and an appendix at the end contains youthful poems, rescued from various sources, of interest mainly to students of Longfellow's genius, and contains as well a number of translations which the poet did not see fit to comprise in his collected works, and a chronological list of all the poems. A steel-engraved portrait, by Wilcox, forms the frontispiece, while the title-page is adorned with an etching of Cragie House, Longfellow's Cambridge home. In mechanical appearance the volume is worthy of the poet. The type is new and remarkably clear, the paper is not too heavy to accommodate nearly seven hundred pages within an inch of thickness, yet of fine texture and practically opaque, and the binding is in dice-muslin; while last, but by no means least, the book lies open easily. This attractive edition, characterized by an all-pervading neatness and daintiness, must of necessity supersede all other one-volume editions, and forms a fit setting for the works of one who wrote no single word which could cause harm to the most sensitive soul, but who has lifted many to higher thoughts, purer ideals, and holier lives.

The Private Life, and Other Stories. Pp. 232.
The Wheel of Time, and Other Stories. Pp. 220. Each 16mo, cloth, ornamental. Price, $1.25.
Essays in London and Elsewhere. Post 8vo, pp. 305. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These three volumes are from the pen of the well-known stylist, Henry James, and are published by Harper & Brothers, New York. One wonders why the two volumes of stories, issued about the same time, were not put under one cover. Henry James is a critic, and not a creator. His stories are his poorest productions. They seem like conscious experiments in style hung up on a slender clothesline of plot. They lack the stirring and passionate interest of real life. Criticism is his profession, and his ambition to become a literary authority is more likely to attain something than his attempts at story writing. Without praising Rudyard Kipling, it is fair to say that a single one of his short stories has in it enough life and energy to stock a dozen volumes like the two before us. These stories cannot hold our attention, because of their essential feebleness and because the obvious effort and art obtrude most upon our consciousness. The third book, the volume of essays, is of more

interest. It is the author at his best, and his best is fine, although it is scarcely equal to the prose of Walter Pater. The literary style of Mr. James is a feat in prose technique; but the reader's enjoyment is obstructed and his mind burdened by its unrelenting elaborateness. The way in which the essayist steadies himself through long sentences on a thread of thought, curving his periods and balancing clauses right and left with studied and anxious evenness, as if life depended on it, reminds one of Blondin walking a tightrope and poising with his pole above Niagara. We admire it wonderingly for a time, but the strain on him and us is so great as we watch him through and over, that a touch of weariness presently helps us to understand why Labouchere said that he found Henry James monotonous. Here are eleven essays on "London," "James Russell Lowell," "Frances Anne Kemble," "Gustave Flaubert," "Pierre Loti," "The Journal of the Brothers de Goncourt," "Browning in Westminster Abbey," "Henrik Ibsen," "Mrs. Humphrey Ward," "Criticism," and "An Animated Conversation"—all well worth reading to those who care about the subjects. Only one of them excites special or general interest on this side of the sea—the essay on Lowell; that, at least, is our feeling as we lay them down. Professional critics are in danger of becoming somewhat haughty and patronizing. The English attitude toward things American occasionally shows a similar temper and attitude, and Henry James is so completely Anglicized that he is more English than American. Albeit he heartily admires Lowell and liberally praises him, he scarcely conceals the feeling that to have his literary style approved by England is the most dazzling jewel in Lowell's crown, and to have charmed and captured London the greatest personal victory possible to man. Yet it is much that this Anglo-American critic consents to eulogize Lowell's style of speech and writing, with whose prose his own, proud as he is of it, cannot compare for radiancy and richness, much less for strength or for range and ripeness of culture. The citizens of the United States will thank Henry James for setting forth, so enthusiastically from his critical standpoint, with what capable wisdom and practical skill Lowell served our country as her foreign minister at the most important of all posts abroad; how thoroughly and sturdily, yet without offensiveness, he showed himself a magnificently loyal American, so that he stood at the court of the sovereign of the greatest empire on the earth as a sort of superb epitome of the greatest of republics. The essayist makes it clear that, in its impression on intellectual England, as well as on the highest and most refined social London, Lowell's term of ministerial service easily surpasses in brilliancy and in the completeness of its conceded triumph any other record of the sort since the two countries first exchanged diplomatic representatives. When Lowell was at the Court of St. James and the lion of society in the English capital, London, on a great variety of important public occasions, listened with delight to the speech of a finished master—purest English spoken with rarest grace and perfect pronunciation; as they say in Italy, *Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*—Tuscan speech on Roman lips.

Rab and his Friends, and Other Papers. By JOHN BROWN, M.D., F.R.S.E. Artist's Edition. With numerous Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 295. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.25.

We deem it well-nigh impossible for anyone who has a human heart in him to read the writings of Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, and not be willing to apply to him the words, "Whom having not seen" we "love." A more humane, gently earnest, gravely playful, strong, warm, exquisitely delicate nature has seldom moved among men to charm, to counsel, and to bless. One wishes that every home might have him or one like him as its family physician. Every doctor should be as well acquainted with John Brown as he is with the works of medical authorities. Sometimes, though seldom, in literature we come upon something that makes a freshet in the reader's eyes. Certain passages from Victor Hugo have had that effect. Dickens's stories have done it for thousands. James Whitcomb Riley ran away when "Little Nell" was in the reading lesson at school, lest it should fall to him to read it; for he knew he could not without breaking down before the class and the teacher. Not a few have succumbed to Little Lord Fauntleroy. Portions of Holy Writ have broken up the great deep of the soul and melted the heart like wax. Few persons of any sensibility have been able to finish reading Dr. Brown's *Rab and his Friends* with dry lids and unblurred vision. It is one of the treasures of literature. Many stories have been told, but none to surpass that. Here in this volume are the delightful biographies of "Our Dogs"—Peter, and Toby, and Wylie, and Rab, and Wasp, and Jock, and Duchie, and Crab, and Puck, and Dick.

> He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A. Bronson Alcott. His Life and Philosophy. In Two Volumes. By F. B. SANBORN and WILLIAM T. HARRIS. 12mo, pp. (two volumes) 679. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.50.

A New England rustic, a peddler of notions in Virginia and the Carolinas, a Connecticut schoolmaster following original methods, a traveler, lecturer, and transcendental philosopher—when will the world look upon such a complex character or diverse career again? The explanation of such a powerful personality as was Mr. Alcott's, arising from the humble walks of New England life and in the earlier days when scholastic advantages were at more of a premium than now, seems at least partly found in the operation of the great law of heredity. If Mr. Alcott was obscurely born and from stress of poverty could not realize his wish of graduation at Yale College, yet the blood of good and great ancestors ran in his veins—the celebrated John Alcocke, Bishop of Ely, and the pioneer Alcockes of New England in the seventeenth century, in whose line were Jonathan Trumbull, the famous governor of early Connecticut,

and John Trumbull, the painter, being among his ancestry. With such a list of progenitors and with the inspiring environment which marked the earlier New England life, it is not altogether difficult to understand the many sturdy and noble qualities that marked Mr. Alcott. However vague and visionary seem many of his theories, the reader of this biography cannot divest himself of the thought that here was no ordinary character. A student, an inquirer after truth, a fearless teacher of what he conceived to be the new truth, he was one in whose private deportment there was no flaw and in whose personal integrity his generation had the utmost confidence. We are indebted to the present biographers for so full an account of Mr. Alcott's earlier life, mental growth, and intellectual force, with the development of the philosophic system with which his name will ever be associated, that little seems remaining to be desired. If it is difficult to understand transcendentalism, even with the help of this full biography, there is consolation in the thought that Mr. Alcott's contemporaries were equally mystified, and that even so subtle a thinker as Emerson wrote of his friend, "As pure intellect, I have never seen his equal. The people with whom he talks do not ever understand him." Not the least interesting feature in this sketch of New England growth is the story of the Brook Farm experiment and its early failure. In the midst of these ethereal surroundings, as in other Concord and Boston scenes, one finds himself in the presence of the philosophers and uncovers his head to listen to the superior words of Emerson, Thoreau, Parker, Channing, Clark, and more of the New England sages. Though the distinguished coterie has long since passed from the stage, leaving in operation no effective philosophic system, the story of their search for truth is ever valuable to the student of philosophy. For which reason, in addition to the strictly biographic features of the story, the present volumes have an unusual value.

Life of Christian Daniel Rauch, of Berlin, Germany, Sculptor of the Monument of Queen Louise, Victories of Walhalla, Albert Dürer, Frederic the Great, etc. Drawn from German authorities by EDNAH D. CHENEY, author of *Gleanings in Fields of Art*, etc. 8vo, pp. 331. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $3.

In the hall of the Ministry of Cultus at Berlin the bust of Rauch is placed with the busts of Goethe, Beethoven, and Dürer, in the representation of poetry, music, painting, and sculpture. "A noble company," it well seems, "in which to preserve an earthly immortality," and a company of which Rauch is not the least conspicuous ornament. One could wish no higher approval of his finished work, in whatever department, than is given the German sculptor in the present biography. We cannot fail to be impressed with its predilections in favor of the character it depicts. Yet, in the lack of evidence that this enthusiasm is so excessive as to lead to misstatement of fact, the reader himself grows absorbed in the study of Rauch and his times and makes a reverent obeisance to the genius here described. Believing in art as "the expression of the highest in humanity," Rauch consecrated his powers to the securing of that "expression" with a zeal and constancy that knew no variation. He

was born to wield the chisel. There was nothing mercenary in his performance; he did not work for pay but for art's sake; his ideal was the highest; and the story of his spontaneous toil is an inspiration to better service along every line of effort. With the personality of Rauch himself the reader cannot but be charmed, under the showing of the biographer. Noble in personal appearance, endowed with great delicacy of spirit, and moving in those higher social walks where he associated with kings and queens, he was no ordinary spirit. As a history of a department of nineteenth century art the volume has also its positive value and will strongly appeal to the connoisseur. In its pages he will trace the story of a progress in Germany that cannot well be neglected and that has perhaps not been written in this exact way heretofore. In this progress Rauch was to no small degree a factor. The patience and painstaking that he gave for years to the mortuary statues of Queen Louise were evident none the less in all the three hundred and seventy-eight works which are classified in the volume as having been wrought out by his chisel. So he labored to realize his ideal, and in this labor helped to elevate yet higher German art and the world's art. Upon this side of the ocean Rauch should be better known, and if this winsome biography shall introduce to new readers one so reverenced in the Fatherland it will not have been written in vain.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Illustrated Edition, edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss KATE NORGATE. Volume III. 8vo, pp. 933–1,409. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $5.

Like the good wine which grows ever better as the feast progresses seem the successive volumes of the illustrated edition of Professor Green's *Short History*—if something already superlative is capable of improvement. The recent notice in these pages of the two preceding numbers in the series might be quoted in full, as a commendation of the present volume. In the division of the subject-matter, as originally issued by Professor Green, the book opens with the chapter on "Puritan England." "No greater moral change," says the writer, "ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament. England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible." With this announcement as a starting point the chapter traces the subject of English Puritanism in successive sections whose title only may be quoted: "The Puritans, 1583–1603," "The First of the Stuarts, 1604–1623," "The King and the Parliament, 1623–1629," "New England," "The Personal Government, 1629–1640," "The Long Parliament, 1640–1642," "The Civil War, July, 1642–August, 1646," "The Army and the Parliament, 1646–1649," "The Commonwealth, 1649–1653," and "The Fall of Puritanism, 1653–1660." A transition period as is this in English history, we would linger over its dramatic events were it not that scholarship has already passed its comment upon Professor Green's method and given his work a place among the standard volumes of the age. The

second chapter in the volume is on "The Revolution." In opening the author says, "The entry of Charles the Second into Whitehall marked a deep and lasting change in the temper of the English people. With it modern England began." The sections of the chapter are severally entitled, "England and the Revolution," "The Restoration, 1660–1667," "Charles the Second, 1667–1673," and "Danby, 1673–1678." But it is the remarkable illustrations of the volume, in common with its predecessors, that give it its unusual value. Noticeable among these are the colored cuts of old London Bridge, the judges in their robes, and William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons; such portraits as the mother of Oliver Cromwell, Sir Edward Coke, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, General Monk, and others; and such miscellaneous illustrations as the front of Sir Paul Pindar's house, the trial of Strafford, and the great seal of the Commonwealth in 1651. And yet to specify is practically impossible. Words cannot do justice to the intrinsic merit of these abundant illustrations or their instructive quality. Under their showing the hands turn backward on the dial, the dead centuries seem again alive, and old prime ministers and kings long since turned to dust again speak and rule. The publication of this work, in other words, should work a revival in the study of that national history around whose stirring events the whole world revolves.

Essays, Speeches, and Memoirs of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth Von Moltke. The essays translated by CHARLES FLINT MCCLUMPHA, PH.D.; the speeches by Major C. BARTER, D.A.A.G.; and the Memoirs by MARY HERMS, with portraits drawn by the Field-Marshal in 1821-1822. In two volumes. 8vo, Vol. I, pp. 308; Vol. II, pp. 239. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

Field-Marshal Count Helmuth Von Moltke as a Correspondent. Translated by MARY HERMS. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is not the only instance in history where a warrior has turned author to good effect. Such precedents as those of Xenophon and Cæsar in ancient times, or Grant and Sheridan in more recent years, are an earnest of what a soldiery trained in the rigorous discipline of the military schools and successful in the conduct of great campaigns may accomplish in the field of letters. Certain it is that the quality of Von Moltke's performance with the pen does not detract from his illustrious fame as the great field-marshal of modern Germany. The first of the three volumes under notice contains essays on Holland and Belgium, Poland, Railway Routes, and the Eastern Question, among other subjects, that are such solid discussions of matters then uppermost in Germany as would be expected of a scholar, sociological student, keen observer, and ardent patriot. Of Von Moltke's experience in publishing his first essay, on Holland and Belgium, he jocosely writes to his mother, "All the sorrows of a young author who is spoiling for a publisher have visited me;" while now, as an illustration of the mutations brought by the years, there is no publisher in the world who is not "spoiling" to print Von Moltke. For the perservation of his speeches, in the second volume before us, the reading world must be grateful. As is well known, he was not a frequent

debater, having spoken but forty-one times in his twenty-one years as a member of the Reichstag, and having delivered but three orations while in the House of Lords. Yet if he was, according to the current phrase, "silent in eight languages," he was certainly effective in the German speech when he gave verbal expression to his views on the many pressing questions before the nation for adjustment. On the unification of Germany, postal and railway service, and such military matters as the constitution of the German army, he speaks with the authority of a statesman. In the third volume are grouped many letters of Count Von Moltke to his father, his sisters Auguste and Magdalene, his brother Fritz, Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, and others. Some of these communications are descriptive and philosophical in their nature; some are merely personal; and all are marked by solidity rather than by excessive sentiment. The long period in the life of Von Moltke extending from younger manhood to unusual old age is covered by this correspondence, the earliest date of a published letter being 1837, and the last, 1892. One cannot but think of the marvelous changes in the map and the rulership of the European continent while the great field-marshal thus wrote. With the pathos that marks an old man's utterance, and withal in hopeful Christian sentiment, he writes to his sister Magdalene at the ripe age of ninety, "The grace of God has allowed us to live through another spring, a beautiful gift for which we owe special thanks." And so, behind the warrior's mail, does the reader hear the beating of a tender heart, instinct with love toward his fellows and affection for his Maker. Soldier and statesman, he helped Germany toward her greatness by his life, and now helps others in other lands by his published papers.

A Child's History of France. Illustrated. By JOHN BONNER, Author of *A Child's History of Rome*, etc. 12mo, pp. 406. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

A child's history need not, and should not, be childish. If the writing of such a book be a task that is successfully wrought out with difficulty, yet the result to be accomplished fully justifies such labor. The words of Mr. Bonner himself well express the belief, in this connection, that "young people will enjoy and remember histories which are mainly devoted to incident, drama, portrait, landscape, romance, and local color; and that in reading these they may wish to become acquainted with more serious works, containing expositions of political doctrine and narratives of campaigns, with maps and dates." It does not appear that Mr. Bonner has fallen behind this ideal in his actual performance. His *History of France* is so cleverly constructed, and gives such particular attention to the thrilling and often tragic facts of French history, that it has a fascination not only for childhood, but even for older readers. From Clovis, the first king of France, A. D. 481, to the establishment of the present republic after the overthrow of Napoleon III, the review rapidly sweeps through fourteen centuries of checkered history. Few could have compressed so many centuries of change and bloodshed in so small a compass while telling the story of national growth so intelligently.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Man For A' That; or, My Saint John. By JAMES M. LUDLOW, D.D. 24mo, pp. 44. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This is a story outside the conventionalities, full of pathos and insight into the human. A minister finds in the back basement of a filthy tenement house a rough man of sixty years, going with hasty consumption, accelerated by starvation. "For nearly half a century he had drifted about the world, among that morally amphibious population along the wharves of seaports which may be said to live half of the time in this world and half in hell. Ship law under the shadow of the yard-arm and cat-o'-nine-tails was his highest code of morals, and dread of death his highest attainment in religion." Then goes on this sweet story of the new birth, the germination of a simple, but sincere, genuine, and rapturous religion in the heart of this human wreck, until near to death in gladness and in peace he says that he is going into the next world "like a new-born babby." A wise, wholesome, manful, and blessed story it is, such as we have learned to expect now and then in the intervals of larger work from the versatile genius of Dr. Ludlow.

Sylvan Lyrics, and Other Verses. By WILLIAM HAMILTON HAYNE. 16mo, pp. 156. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, $1.

A daintily bound volume containing one hundred and twenty short poems by the son of Paul Hamilton Hayne, whom some regarded as the best of Southern poets. The son dedicates his volume to the memory of his father in these lines:

> The heirship of your fire divine
> Imparts these wavering sparks to mine,
> Frail sparks that yearn, by love updrawn,
> To find thee in the deathless dawn.

The poems are assorted under the headings of "Sylvan Lyrics," "From the Sea," "Love Songs, and Other Verses," "Quatrains," "With Children."

Thoughts for the Thoughtful. Selected and Edited by ADELAIDE S. SEAVERNS. 16mo, pp. 368. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.

Of books of this sort there have been many. The usefulness of the best of them is beyond question. They catch readers who have not patience or time for continuous reading. They find their opportunity in brief intervals to deposit seed-thought in the soil of the mind. Large books do not abide with us in whole; as a rule we retain afterward only outlines and bits and parts and salient points, or some particularly vivid and forcible illustrations. This book of selections, in prose and poetry, is made up of bright bits, choice parts, memorable points, striking illustrations, brilliant sayings, gathered from a wide and varied reading. It seems to us the choicest book of the kind that we have ever seen. It is so sparkling bright, so crispy fresh, so spicy and aromatic, so appetizing and piquant, so apropos of life to-day—our life with its instant needs, its driving rush,

its hunger, its weariness, its unrest. One may easily and often of a morning, in an odd moment, snatch a wholesome and nutritious morsel from Miss Seaverns's basket of selections which he may chew all day, so keeping a sweet taste in his mouth. The editress has wandered far afield in the meadows and on the hills of literature, plucking both fruits and flowers with delicate taste and wise discrimination. The extracts are grouped under the months and days of the year. It is a book for the young, for those whose time is full, for all of us when the brain is weary, or the sensibility dull, or the heart cast down. It is modern, up to date, alive. There is nothing stupid or dead in it, not so much as one dead fly in its ointment.

Giles Corey, Yeoman. Black and White Series. By MARY E. WILKINS. 32mo, pp. 108. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

One of those simple, quaint, and lifelike stories which have given Miss Wilkins a unique place in current American literature; full of that sweet sympathy with the humblest human interests which infallibly touches our hearts and makes us feel how deep, pathetic, and tender is the plainest and commonest human life.

Quabbin: The Story of a Small Town, with Outlooks upon Puritan Life. By FRANCIS H. UNDERWOOD, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 375. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Perhaps no one book has been written which combines in one vivid and moving picture so many elements of New England life as it was in the days of our grandfathers, before the sons of the Pilgrims and Puritans had begun to leave their ancestral rocks and hills for Western New York, Ohio, Michigan, the Mississippi valley, and other remote parts of the continent. If all other records were destroyed and only this book preserved posterity would be able to form a correct and comprehensive conception of the typical old-time New England town, "with its scenery, its inhabitants, its daily occupations, its more striking individualities and oddities of character, its tragic incidents, its comic episodes, its hard task life, its rough and scanty inventions for play and amusement, its inquisitive espionage and petty gossip, its religious guides, its schools, with their conflicts of stern pedagogues and intractable pupils." It is a broader and a completer picture than Miss Wilkins has given us.

Every-day Religion, or the Common-Sense Teaching of the Bible. By HANNAH WHITALL SMITH. 12mo, pp. 242. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

These nineteen chapters contain the substance of some of Mrs. Smith's Bible readings, which have been given in many parts of this country and Europe to the delight and profit of multitudes. The author is already well known in print by her cheery volume, *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life.* She has a rare knack of practical application, by which she brings the most valuable lessons of Scripture home to the business and bosoms of men. It is religion for seven days in the week, helpful especially for home reading and for devotional stimulus, as well as suggestive of themes suitable for prayer meeting talks.

Favorite Pets, with Pictures and Verses. By E. S. TUCKER. 4to, pp. 23. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, paper boards, ornamental, $1.25.

Lucile. By OWEN MEREDITH. Large 4to. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, gilt top, illuminated binding, $3.50.

The first of these books will delight all children who have not outgrown their love of pets. The second is the most beautiful edition of *Lucile* ever put upon the market. With twelve facsimiles of water-color designs, and twelve half-tone engravings after original sketches, by Thomas McIlvaine, and numerous vignettes by other artists.

The French Revolution. By THOMAS CARLYLE. In three volumes. 16mo, Vol I, pp. 327; Vol. II, pp. 345; Vol. III, pp. 391. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, $3.75.

Embellished with two hundred illustrations, made in Paris by Joseph M. Gleeson, reproducing the actual scenes and chief actors in that awful and well-nigh incredible drama enacted by human nature in the French Revolution. No other hand could have painted that lurid and bloody epoch like Carlyle's. He was as peculiarly fitted for the rugged task as Doré was for illustrating Dante's *Inferno*.

Inspiration and Inerrancy. A History and a Defense. Containing the Original Papers on Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration. By HENRY PRESERVED SMITH. 8vo, pp. 374. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Divine Balustrades, and Other Sermons. By ROBERT S. MACARTHUR, D.D. 12mo, pp. 262. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A Practical Comment on the Confession of Faith of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. By Bishop J. WEAVER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 185. Dayton, O.: United Brethren Publishing House. Price, 75 cents.

Through Conversion to the Creed. Being a Brief Account of the Reasonable Character of Religious Conviction. By W. H. CARNEGIE, B.A., Rector of Great Witley, Worcestershire. 16mo, pp. 129. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English, According to the Common Version. Arranged with Explanatory Notes. Designed for Popular Use and Adapted to Sunday Schools. Revised Edition, with Corrections from the Revised Version of 1881. By GEORGE W. CLARK, D.D., Author of *Notes on the Gospels*, etc. 12mo, pp. 302. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian. Arranged and Edited as an Introduction to the Study of the Bible. Vol. III. Christian Scriptures, Comprising the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the First Epistle of St. Peter, the First Epistle of St. John, and Portions of the Revelation. By EDWARD T. BARTLETT, D.D., Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, and JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania and Assistant Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York. 12mo pp. 601. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

Outline Analysis of the Books of the Bible. The Old Testament. By Professor BARNARD C. TAYLOR. 16mo, pp. 191. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Biblical Eschatology: Its Relation to the Current Presbyterian Standards and the Basal Principles that must Underlie their Revision. Being a Review of the Writings of the Presbyterian Divine, L. C. Baker. By HENRY THEODORE CHEEVER, D.D., Author of *The Pulpit and the Pew*, etc. Supplemented by an Original Thesis by Mr. Baker on the Eschatology of the Church of the Future. 12mo, pp. 241. Boston: Lee & Shephard. Price, paper, $1.

A miscellaneous group of books by different authors on different subjects. The topic of each volume is religious and self-explanatory.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1894.

ART. I.—CONSCIENCE.

IN metaphysical discussions we are universally misled by classifications and distinctions which originate in logical convenience and have no basis in reality. "Words are substituted for ideas, and we are lost in the mazes of logomachy." While it may be impossible to wholly abandon the use of these distinctions, there should be an honest attempt to reduce the formulæ of metaphysics to the terms of common life. We may at least endeavor at strategic points in the discussion to translate the technical phrases of metaphysics into the language of the people. Much of the confusion of thought which exists respecting conscience is due to the terms employed in its consideration—terms which are common to all treatises on mental science. These phrases are employed for purposes of classification and as aids in the process of reasoning.

The human mind possesses three faculties—the intellect, the sensibility, and the will. Such is the division of the books on mental science. The intellect is the faculty that thinks, reasons, knows. The sensibility is the faculty that feels or experiences emotions. The will is the faculty that chooses, decides, acts. The mind possesses these three faculties—no less, no more. The impression made by this classification is that the mind is divisible into three parts or departments, like the heart, lungs, and stomach of the body, each of which attends to its own particular duties without interfering with the functions of its neighbors. This impression grows out of the use of the term "faculty." But this classification is merely to help our thought,

and has no basis in reality. The mind is a unit, with no parts or compartments. It operates as a unit, and all that is meant by the classification—intellect, sensibility, will—is that the human mind is capable of the three processes implied in these terms; it can think, it can feel, it can will. And these three processes exhaust its powers. It cannot do less than these; it cannot do more. And the whole mind thinks, the whole mind feels, the whole mind wills.

Now, we are prepared to say that the operation of the mind which is called conscience must come somewhere within these limits. It must be a process of thinking, or a process of feeling, or a process of willing, or a complex operation of the mind embracing two of these, or the entire three. We shall never get clear ideas on this subject until we settle it once for all that conscience is a normal mental process, and not something extra-mental; that the human mind treats morals just as it treats mathematics, or history, or science. Conscience is called "a moral sense," "a moral feeling," "a moral faculty," "a moral nature," according to the peculiar conception of the writer; the implication being that the mind, which is competent to deal with questions in mathematics, science, and philosophy, is not competent to treat moral questions, but needs some annex, or appendage, or separate "sense," or "faculty," or "nature" for this purpose. It is just as rational to speak of a mathematical faculty or a philosophical nature. If by the use of these terms it is merely meant that the human mind is capable of treating questions in morals as it treats questions in mathematics there is no great objection to their use; but the fact that "moral sense," "moral faculty," "moral nature" are persistently employed, while "mathematical sense," "philosophical faculty," "scientific nature" are unknown terms in metaphysical discussion, implies that morals are singled out as calling for some kind of treatment outside the range of ordinary mental processes. Writers speak of education as physical, mental, and moral; as though moral training is something entirely beyond the scope of mental operations. It is just as rational to speak of man's training as physical, mental, and mathematical or historical or scientific.

A careful analysis of the operations of the mind will reveal the fact that whatever differences are apparent in our mental

operations are due to the diverse materials upon which the mind is exercised. The mental process which results in conclusions respecting mathematics, or æsthetics, or logic is entirely akin to that employed in determining questions of ethics. A beautiful piece of statuary produces an agreeable state of mind; while one that violates all the principles of æsthetic taste awakens a feeling of disgust. The close affinity of ethics and æsthetics in this regard has long been recognized. But this affinity stretches beyond æsthetics. If a man in a merely abstract calculation, which has no ethical quality, finds himself asserting that two and two make five, he feels at once a disquietude of mind as a consequence. If in going through an example he detects such a mistake he is disgusted with himself and corrects the mistake with a feeling of impatience, while a state of mental placidity is established as though a great wrong had been righted. The syllogism dominates the human mind in precisely the same fashion. If its premises are stated correctly and its conclusion is reached logically the mind is at rest. If, however, a speaker should propound the following: "Whatever has taken place in a uniform manner for ages is likely to continue so to do; the sun has risen in the east since human history began; therefore the sun is likely to rise in the west to-morrow morning," the minds of his hearers would revolt from such a conclusion and be intensely disturbed. Men have been mobbed or murdered for such an outrage on the human intellect.

When we see a good or bad action in another it awakens a feeling of pleasure or displeasure, less intense, to be sure, and more limited in scope, but akin to the emotion aroused when we make the good or bad action our own. It is no doubt true that the operation of the mind on moral questions contains certain elements, such as an impression of obligation, and of merit or demerit, which are not found in the mental processes that make use of mathematical or philosophical material; and it is likewise true that the resultant emotion is more intense. But it is also true that the mental process involving conclusions in æsthetics contains elements not found in scientific investigations; and the feeling of pleasure or pain has likewise greater intensity.

What is claimed here is that conscience is simply a normal men-

tal process, involving moral truth, just as another normal process involves mathematical truth and another philosophical truth. When a man sees the distinction between right and wrong the mental process is no more abnormal than when he decides that two and two make four rather than five. And the feeling awakened when the question is decided differs from the other in degree of intensity. The decisions relating to logic and mathematics are just as binding on the mind as those relating to morals; and the axioms of logic and mathematics are just as dominating as those of morals. The mind by its very constitution revolts against any transgression of the axioms of mathematics or morals; and by its constitution the revolt of the mind is more pronounced and intense in the case of morals than in that of mathematics. Let no one suppose that the power of conscience is hereby discredited. Could we wish the mind to decide a question of right and wrong with more energy and firmness than it decides that the whole is greater than any of its parts, or that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points? When a monstrosity in the realm of art is presented to our notice the mind pronounces against it with a vigor not far below that employed in the condemnation of a gross sin; and if we are responsible for the monstrosity the feeling of loathing is only less in degree than that awakened in the conscience by the commission of such sin.

The conclusion we reach is that conscience is an entirely normal process, wholly within the limits of the powers of the human mind. To what extent conscience exhausts the powers of the mind has always been a puzzling question, and one upon which varying judgments have been pronounced. Many see in conscience nothing more than an intellectual process in which the mind perceives the distinction between right and wrong. According to this theory feeling and willing have no connection with conscience. Others limit the scope of conscience to the powerful feeling of pleasure or pain which accompanies right or wrong actions. Thinking and willing are by this view excluded from its operation. Others find in conscience a perception of right and wrong, and an intense feeling as a result of the perception, while they put the emphasis mainly on the intellectual part of the process. Still others, recognizing the presence of both thought and feeling, place the emphasis on the

feeling; while the most of those who have written on the subject consider it a double process of thought and feeling, without special emphasis on either. We may rarely find a writer who suggests that the will may have something to do with the operation of conscience. Joseph Cook and Dr. Mark Hopkins belong to this number.

It seems clear that without a process of thought to decide whether there is right and wrong, and what is right and what wrong, there could be no choice of right or wrong and no feeling of pain or pleasure as a result of such choice. The intellectual action must lie at the basis of the entire process and become a part of it. It is equally clear that the intense feeling of pain or pleasure must follow a choice of right or wrong; so that in the process the will must act before the sensibility. That intense emotion which is most commonly known as "conscience" arises precisely because we have made a choice between right and wrong. We feel the sweet emotion of pleasure because we have chosen the right, and we experience what is known as the "stings of conscience" because we have deliberately chosen and done the wrong.

The complete operation of the mind which we call conscience is complex. All the so-called faculties or powers of the mind are involved. The mind through the intellect perceives the distinction between right and wrong; the mind through the will chooses between right and wrong; and the mind through the sensibility experiences a pleasant or an unpleasant emotion as a consequence. Or, to drop the use of the word "faculties," the proposition may be stated in briefer terms: The mind sees the distinction between right and wrong; the mind chooses between right and wrong; and the mind experiences a pleasant or an unpleasant emotion as a result of its choice. What we call conscience, then, is a complex operation, taxing every capability of the human mind; and we may define it as the operation of the mind in which it perceives the distinction between right and wrong, chooses between right and wrong, and experiences pleasure or pain as a result of its choice. The human mind is capable of this entire process in its treatment of moral questions. Even more, all this is written in its very constitution. It cannot escape from this process. It may be in doubt in a particular case as to its decision; many compli-

cated situations will arise in which the mind hesitates to decide what is right and what is wrong, just as it is unable to solve many questions in mathematics or philosophy. In such a case the operation of conscience is balked at its first stage. The mind may also stand undecided in the presence of good and evil for a time; and while this is the case the operation of conscience is halted at its second stage. But when the mind finds itself capable of determining in a particular instance what is right and what is wrong—and this will be generally the case—it is hurried on to a choice which cannot be long delayed. And when the choice is made there is no escape from the state of rest or disquietude.

The thing we call conscience is simply the mind operating on moral questions just as it operates on mathematical or historical questions, and with results entirely analogous. The operations of the intellect are followed by a choice of the will, and this is succeeded by a movement in the sensibility which is either restful or disturbing. A man reads the narrative of a great battle. (1) The intellect grasps all the facts. (2) He soon takes sides. He chooses between the contending armies. The will makes its decision. (3) Then, if the side he prefers is triumphant a feeling of intense satisfaction ensues; but if the other army is victorious his soul is filled with disgust. This is something more than an illustration of the operations of conscience; it is a mental process of the same nature, the only difference lying in the materials upon which the mind is exercised.

If this view of conscience be correct it readily explains why men differ so largely in their estimates of right and wrong. Their consciences differ just as their judgments differ; for their consciences are but their judgments applied to moral questions, so far as the intellectual part of the process is concerned. It explains how Paul could live "in all good conscience" while persecuting the Church of God, and pleads for charity toward those wrong-headed men who conscientiously do a great deal of mischief and lead us sometimes to think that the only man who is worse than a man with a conscience is a man who is without one.

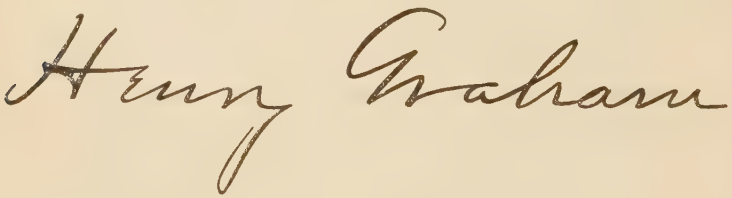
If conscience is a normal mental process what is known as a "seared" conscience must be developed in harmony with the laws of the mind. The apostle Paul by the use of the word

"seared" has been popularly supposed to refer to a hardened conscience which has lost its sensitiveness. More recent authorities seem to regard this as a misinterpretation. He speaks rather of a conscience "branded," as criminals were branded that they might be commonly known as bad men, and leaves the impression that the men he was condemning were of this character. Whatever interpretation we may put on the apostle's word there is such a thing as a hardened, callous conscience, which results from a perversion of the mental powers. As a man may destroy the normal action of the stomach by abuse, in like manner, to a certain extent, he may pervert the powers of his mind. And this is true, in varying degree, of every faculty or power of the mind. By always arguing on the wrong side and indulging in sophistries a man may deaden his keen and quick perception of right and wrong. Those who, like Belial, persist in attempts to "make the worse appear the better reason" will reach a mental condition in which the worse may appear the better reason. When a man sets his heart on something wrong he may persist until the intellect, under the domination of the will, fails to give a clear response. It seems evident, however, that this process of intellectual perversion can be only limited in extent, or all power of correct thought would vanish in a condition of insanity.

The will, likewise, may be debased and weakened until it no longer rules as a sovereign in the human breast. By persistently doing wrong when he might do right a man finally loses the power to do right when he may desire so to do. But the perversion here is only partial. The power to act may be destroyed, but the power to will or wish may remain. "For to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not."

The most marked perversion of the mental powers seems to be possible in the sensibility. A man may suppress his feelings until they will almost wholly disappear. Natural affection has often been almost totally stamped out of the human soul. Emotions of joy, fellow-feeling, indignation, and even sorrow have met the same fate. And the powerful emotion which is so prominent a part of conscience is no exception. The feeling of pain or remorse may especially be suppressed, until ordinarily it gives the wicked man very little trouble.

There is evidence, however, that this perversion or suppression of the mental powers is only partial and temporary. A man may live for years in a stupid mental condition, without clear thought on moral questions, the will helpless in the presence of evil, and the feelings unmoved; when, under a powerful impulse, the fogs are cleared away from the intellect, the will is strengthened for its task, and the emotions awake to new life and vigor. It seems logical that all moral reform and spiritual regeneration must be based upon the fact that the perversion of the mental powers is only partial. If a man could reach a condition in which all correct mental processes were impossible there would seem to be nothing to build upon; it would be like reforming or converting an idiot or a lunatic. It seems clear, however, that men may reach a condition of mental debasement so extreme that nothing but an impulse from the divine Spirit can awaken to correct mental action. It is the divine purpose in saving a fallen man to renew, revive, and reconstruct the original spirit, rather than to set it aside and create an entirely new being.



Art. II.—TWICE ON MARS' HILL.

"Ethics gives to history its rational goal, and all morality has the perfect shaping of universal history as its ultimate end."—*Wuttke's Christian Ethics*, vol. i, p. 17.

I. With Cleanthes—Hymn to Zeus.

Three centuries before St. Paul reached Athens a sluggish-headed boxer, named Cleanthes, overheard a lecture of Zeno, the founder of stoicism. He became a regular attendant at the new school of the porch. A meager livelihood was earned by working at night in kneading dough and in carrying water; but he was charged with idleness, taken before the court on Mars' Hill, and his story heard. Suspicion gave way to sympathy, and he was offered ten minæ. He refused the gift. His prime trait was endurance. He may have been dull, for he was called "the ass." Nevertheless he won general esteem, and on the death of his teacher became the head of the school. He toiled with his own hands for a living. He chose death, not death him. An ulcer gave him much trouble, and he was urged to fast for a season. At the expiration of the time he declined to eat; for he said he was halfway to death, and there was no need of his twice taking the journey. Zeno compared his mind to a hard tablet, on which writing was difficult, yet when done was permanent. Cleanthes must have been not less receptive, and more creative, than some have thought. Zeno's apparent dualism of matter and force he transformed into the sublime pantheism of his hymn. Zeno caught the practical spirit of the philosophy of his age. Cleanthes gave it a mystical coloring.

This "poetical Heraclitean mystic" furnished germinal ideas that came to fruition in later days. He suggested that the cause of the ceaseless "flux" of the universe was to be found in the idea of *tension*. The notion had not been unfamiliar to Zeno and the cynics, but it had been limited to the field of ethics. Cleanthes simply extended the soul, lifting it out of ethical limitations, to account for the different destinies of particular things, and so found a cause for the flux of all things. His dullness was plainly that of a great dreamer. Yet the Stoic philosophy was essentially ethical. The porch was a school of

conduct. Every premise eyed this conclusion, every addition was secondary. While the philosophy of stoicism has been compared to Corinthian brass, the product of the "fusion of many dissimilar materials," * it made a consistent effort to discover the science of life in a theory of virtue and its art in the practice of virtue. The progress that was made may be seen from a hasty survey of the march of ethics from early days to those of the poetic water-carrier.

The deficient ethics of Pythagoras made the body a prison for the soul, from which the soul needed release to gain a pure and pious state. The demand of Heraclitus was that the soul, a "fiery vapor," should be freed from all grosser elements. The theory of the Sophists held that man's practical relation to the external world is one of sense-qualification, and that, owing to the countless diversities of sensation, there can be no objective determination for conduct. Even the advance of Socrates, who endeavored to correct the error of the Sophists and to set up the "principle of universal objective spirit" in place of individual caprice, got no farther than the maxim that virtue is wisdom; and while he laid the first stone of a scientific theory of morals it was only the first stone.† In Aristotle, whose nature-study colored his theory, ethics is bound up with physics; and he contended that the "idea of the good" was of little aid for practical morality. He opposed Socrates and taught that we become virtuous only by the practice of virtue. The lofty view-point of Aristotle's empirical ethics enables us to understand the advantages derived therefrom by the Stoics, and also the reason for their failure. Their ethics they raised on a foundation of physics. Universal nature furnished the law of individual action. "Follow nature" is the moral maxim of stoicism. Yet a man could not be virtuous unless he were wholly virtuous. Thus stoicism furnished in its ethical theory a practical and pathetic illustration of one of the picturesque mythological stories of its birthland—the story of Tantalus, before whose parched lips the cooling wave advanced only to ebb away.

The day when Cleanthes seized the thought of the omnipotent, righteous, immanent lawgiver was for paganism like the

* Art. "Stoic Philosophy," McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia.*
† Schwegler, *History of Philosophy*, p. 52.

day for Israel when the prophet saw "the Lord sitting upon a throne;" like the day, too, for the "Holy Catholic Church" when John saw in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks "one like unto the Son of man." Stoicism never surpassed the lofty idea of divine sovereignty—albeit pantheistic—contained in the hymn of Cleanthes; and St. Paul on Mars' Hill was forced to go back over three centuries to find a mind in touch with his conception of the fatherhood of God.* This hymn is conceded to be the noblest approach to a Christian hymn that heathenism has produced. In the version which follows the effort of the author has been to translate line for line:†

Of immortals most glorious, many-namèd Jove,
Thou almighty Creator, thou Ruler above,
To thee hail! since all mortals may call thee by name;
For thine offspring we are, thy true image we claim,
And alone of earth's creatures thy voice we repeat.
I will hymn thee, and sing of thy power, as 'tis meet:
The great cosmos that rolls around earth owns the hand
Through whose potent direction its forces expand.
Thy invincible arm wields such servants of fire
That their double-tongued flames, ever glowing with ire,
Cause all nature to quake when they burst through the cloud;
Thine omnipotent arm sways the universe bowed.
While thy spirit is mingling with souls great and small,
Evermore, highest lord, thou art throned above all.
There is nothing, O God, that is done without thee.
Round the pole thou art active, on land and on sea
All's thy work, save when wicked men strive to do wrong;
To restrain their excesses of folly thou'rt strong.
In confusion lives order, th' unlovely shows fair;
Thou dost harmonize all, good from evil prepare,
For one law, ever during, the universe bands,
Though bad mortals may shun and resist its demands.
What a wretched ambition, still seeking the prize,
When the infinite law fails to charm ears and eyes!
Let them heed its just sway, life and virtue are won;
But they stray far from good, seeking each one his own.
Some for glory ambitious mix strife with their toil;
Some with avarice burn, and their fellows despoil;
Others yield to sloth's charms and to dissolute joys.
Gracious Jove, robed in clouds, in the storm's loudest noise

* Paul quotes *verbatim* from Aratus, a fellow-countryman from Soli, in Cicilia: Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν. The passage of the hymn, fourth line, was quite likely in his mind: Ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν.

† The critical student may compare with this the free poetic version of Sir C. A. Elton, in *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 452.

Hailed as king! save from perilous errors mankind.
Then grant vision, O Father, to souls that are blind;
May they see that thy law in strict justice rules all.
When thus honored with truth in true honor men call
On the God whom all mortals should ever adore
For his wonderful works; never higher men soar,
Nor the gods, than when praising thy law and its power.

The ethical postulates in the hymn are two:

1. Its Doctrine of God. While the hymn has won credit for its doubtful monotheism it has not escaped the charge of teaching a "lofty pantheism." The Σεῦ πολυώνυμε of Cleanthes and the "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord" of Pope may be more nearly related in philosophic speculation than has been believed. At any rate, whatever of exceptional character, dubious at best, the hymn may possess as a statement of faith in one independent Creator, it remains indubitable that stoicism developed pantheism. The porch had long before St. Paul's day abolished the feeble dualism of Greek thought and swung to pantheistic theories of the universe. Even Plato's effort at a scientific system failed. He sunk the individual in the mass. In his theology he was pantheistic, in morals fatalistic, in politics socialistic, and in philosophy he reached an extreme idealism. Zeno's effort to sever the preceding identification of God with nature resulted in making God only a "finer air;" and the distinction could not be satisfactorily made out. God is the "chain of unalterable sequences in the procession of phenomena." "Zeno's seeming dualism of God (or force) and formless matter he [Cleanthes] was able to transform into the lofty pantheism which breathes in every line of the famous hymn to Zeus." * Yet the Stoics, in abolishing dualism, fell into the opposite error, and made God the world's soul and the world God's body. So all is bound up in God, and all returns to God.

Stoicism shared with all developments of paganism the evils of having no proper starting-point in infinite spirit. The logical result of this was felt by serious minds at the period when Paul entered the agora of Athens with his new doctrines of Jesus and the resurrection. The objective basis of law was not personal; and, stirred by a nameless unrest, men were crying, "Back to the leaders!" They thought that there had been

* Art. "Stoics," *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

a doctrine of God held by the founders which had been overlooked or misstated and needed reexamination or reinforcement. Not so. They had all the truth possessed by the ancients; but it fell far short of the revelation of the preacher on Mars' Hill. Under the highest light the patient water-carrier ever threw upon the great questions of duty, Greece sank from a higher to a lower moral level. The great reason was a lack of knowledge concerning the true God. Deity, to Aristotle, was a power, not a person. "Even Plato never inquired about the personality of God."* The light-hearted, versatile, crafty Greek came to be the *Græculus esuriens* of the Latin poet's irony; art was debased, immorality prevailed, and Athens sank to shameless and nameless vices. Greece proved it true that clear conceptions of God must precede pure living. Stoicism never overcame the bad consequences of its first theological principles.

2. Its Doctrine of Man. The tendency of the efforts of the Sophists, of Socrates, and of his followers ripened in the speculations of the Stoics. These were thoroughgoing in intention, at least, to discover a way in which men might be helped to lead better lives. In the older Stoics there breathed a Semitic spirit of righteous endeavor. The origin of stoicism is full of interest to the philosophic student of history. It arose in times of political degeneracy. The Macedonian conquest ended in the centralization of power. Then came foreign triumphs, and in their train rioted greed, corruption, lack of honorable restraint, sensuality. The State grew by nourishing a growing selfishness. It could not be reformed. Yet men thought that private life might be purified, and they began the search for individual perfection. In the middle Stoics the confidence of attaining perfection passed away. The wise man became rarer than the phœnix. Still other modifications followed. Yet the seriousness of the early founders never entirely left the school, even when later teachers moved forward from the original ethical rigor to a languid philanthropy and a lukewarm piety.

The original teaching of stoicism is reflected in the last lines of the hymn of Cleanthes—man living under law. It is not so much mankind as the personal unit. In its theory

* Pressensé, *Ancient World and Christianity*, p. 38.

of the one man, the ethical unit, stoicism developed the positive side of ethical teaching as compared with epicureanism. In practice the Stoic was indifferent to public affairs, and the spectacle of the world's advancement had no fascination for his eyes. He was evermore thrown back into himself. His notion of the individual has in some details put all modern ethics in his debt. Individuality was not irrational license. Zeno had made the ethical end to be harmony with one's self. Cleanthes was "the first to define it as conformity to nature." * The Stoic rivaled the saintly mystic in the stress he put upon inwardness, for evermore intention outvalues performance. Reason is higher than brute force, than the animal in man. The rational course is one which conforms to the laws of life. Cleanthes followed his master in his notion of harmony, but went a step further toward the conception of morality as obedience to an objective law. In the maxim that a virtuous man can have no enemy, the splendid thought of the universal soul as the ethical burning-point of all law shines out to the lasting honor of the school. As mind is above matter, "right reason" in the universal soul is the source of all external harmony. The technical name for this infallible reason is *διάθεσις*, "disposition or regulation," and from this flows all consistency. Human law is the recognition of obligation to the encompassing law of the universe. Justice is not, then, something ordained by convention, now of use, then to be cast out upon the ash-heaps. The one man must recognize the society of rational beings, of which he is a rational member, and so live for the good of others. The brotherhood of man was a distinctive dogma of stoicism. In all the relations of life thought is above pleasure. Virtue is the only good, to be sought for its own sake, and no regard is to be paid to any feeling of happiness.

But in all this the pendulum swung far past the point of rest. There was no such thing as "sin," declared by the apostle as dreadful in God's eyes. There was no such thing as free will; a mere voluntary submission to fixed law was called freedom. In the emphasis put upon intention license was given for grossest sins, in which it was said that the body was, but the mind was not, implicated. The founder of the school himself was far from controlling his animal passions, and indulged the

* Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 198.

degrading vice of pederasty. Diogenes Laertius, his biographer, praises Zeno for being but little addicted to it.* The true idea of sin not being known, morality was conceived as, not a struggle, but a development which a man might secure by getting in harmony with nature. It is interesting to note the survival of this notion in the stoicism of Dr. Samuel Johnson, which he puts into the mouth of Imlac: "The way to be happy is to live according to nature, in obedience to that universal and unalterable law with which every heart is originally impressed." There was lacking, however, as the direct result of a pantheistic starting-point, any real sense of obligation. The moral idea came to be "more an object for artistic enjoyment than for actual realization." The Stoic failed to see how there could be any separateness of personality and not at the same time self-centering personality. Hence, man was regarded as able to supply the springs of moral power within. Then, when the pendulum of philosophy swung to pantheism, fate came to the front. "*Fata nos ducunt*" was the cheerless dictum. As only the wise man can attain perfection, stoicism taught an "aristocracy of ethics," and true morality was restricted to the few.

As to the future there was much uncertainty. Cleanthes gave immortality to all, Chrysippus to a few noble souls. Seneca wavered; Aurelius indulged a vague aspiration. Thus, since no personal God superintended human affairs, since free will was only a name, since hope had no eye for the rewards of personal immortality, and since fatalism rendered the pursuit of happiness an illusion, the Stoic ideal was one of passionless unselfishness; "the martyr's ecstasy of hope had no place in his dying hour."† The leaders alone could expect posthumous fame. Out of this theory of virtue there grew a sort of pride that held all mercy and tenderness in contempt and favored no disposition to mingle with the actual world. The sage was never to repent of anything. He never needed forgiveness; so he never granted it.‡ As reason is all, the body is naught. Suicide is the easiest "way out," and the sage is most heroic when he bids life a willful farewell. "The time of his departure" he held in his own hand. Many a Stoic was loyal to his theory, as testify the deaths of Zeno, Cleanthes, Cato, and Seneca.

* Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 294.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 178.
‡ Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, vol. i, p. 36.

Notwithstanding all this, stoicism, even in its imperfect efforts, bettered a bad age. It ascended the throne of the Cæsars in the creed and life of Marcus Aurelius. And, though eminent Stoics may have been wanting in later days, the breath of the early earnestness had not left the body of the national life. It had its poets—Manilius, Lucan, Persius. It affected Roman morals through the writings of Cicero, of Seneca, of Epictetus, and of Aurelius. The Roman conception of general and systematic law was the empire's chief debt to stoicism. It has affected all modern jurisprudence. "To this day, when the 'state of nature' is proclaimed or the dogma is alleged that 'all men are born free and equal' Stoic fantasies are revived, without their origin, their import, their applications, or their restrictions being suspected."* Stoicism has survived the early days of Christianity. It would be an interesting study to discover how much Christian theology has been affected by it—for example, in the necessarian doctrine of divine sovereignty. From the law based upon Stoic physics, by which the unit, though claiming to be self-poised, was supposed to be absorbed by and into the universal, it is but a step to the Calvinistic doctrine of divine sovereignty, in which a tendency has been noticed to physical as well as ethical necessarianism; and it is only one more step to materialism.† Its reappearance to-day, in its "counterpart in the scientific fantasies of Huxley and in the cosmical reveries of Helmholtz and his fraternity," suggests the existence of social and intellectual conditions such as caused Athens, at a crisis in her moral history, to extend such cordial welcome to the founder of the Stoic school.

II. With St. Paul—Sermon on the "Unknown God."

The hymn of Cleanthes and the sermon of Paul mark the highest conceptions of the ethical purpose of man, the one from the view-point of natural religion, the other from that of revealed religion. As the non-Christian philosophy of to-day is in some features attempting a revival of Stoic ethics, a contrast will not be unpractical nor unprofitable.

When St. Paul walked into the agora, or "market," at Athens he encountered "certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and

* Dr. G. F. Holmes, art. "Stoics," McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopædia.*
† Dr. W. F. Warren.

of the Stoics." The "garden" of the former was not far distant, and the "porch" of the latter bordered upon the northern side of the agora. Paul's daily discussions with these philosophers ended with the sermon on Mars' Hill. Looking down from the hill St. Paul saw on the "painted porch," which gave its name to the school of Cleanthes, the frescoes of old heroic days, especially of the battle of Marathon. In that conflict a few fought against many; so in like manner the apostle confronted the multitude on the hill. The Greeks won at Marathon; so here did the missionary. And as the painted wall preserved the glory of the former, so for all time the lettered page has kept the more enduring fame of the man who "fought the good fight of faith." The judges now are the ages.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the feeling of fellowship that may have existed between Christianity and stoicism, no one can read the sermon of the apostle without a suspicion, at least, of the sympathetic recognition by the sermon of its kinship with the hymn. In their local origin they were alike. Stoicism was not pure Greek, but the firstfruits of the free interaction between Greek and Eastern thought after Alexander. Cleanthes was one of the few exceptions to the non-Greek citizenship of every eminent Stoic. Christianity, too, came from the East. St. Paul quoted from a fellow-countryman. The cosmopolitanism of the hymn was set forth in the "one law, everduring," and its greatest triumph was won at Rome, when stoicism expressed itself in a national ethical habit of thought and life. The cosmopolitanism of Christianity outran the limits of legal bonds and encompassed the world with its doctrine of "grace." Stoicism lacked sympathy, yet it enlarged the range of human fellowship and held to a sense of universal humanity. It "converted friendship from an indulgence to a duty." It did in some measure check demoralization, and by its propædeutic relation to Christianity made way for its rapid spread. St. Paul's feeling found expression in his courteous introduction, wherein, far from charging his hearers with being "too superstitious," he bridged the chasm of prejudice by commending them for their carefulness in religion; and in his quotations from their poet he made common cause in claiming divine parentage for all men.

Lack of space forbids an extended exegetical analysis of either

the hymn or the sermon, nor is it needed. Deeper study of the sermon commends De Wette's approval of it as a "model of apologetic style of discourse." The logical movement is as simple as it is strong. The apostle, after his conciliatory opening, declares his purpose to teach them the true God. He announces him as the world's Creator (verse 24), as independent (verse 25), as Creator of mankind in one great fellowship, despite their wide diffusion (verse 26), declares it man's duty to seek him (verse 27), then, following the immortal line from the hymn (verse 28), describes him as a spiritual God (verse 29), states his forbearance, and urges men to repentance now, for Christ's resurrection makes certain a day of judgment. Here clamor silenced the preacher. "Jesus and the resurrection" were stumbling-blocks to Greek thought. To change the figure, they were the twin stars of the new faith, and their fixed radiance, far outshining the mythic benignity and splendor of the "Twin Brothers," has been the guide of gospel heralds to all forms of vagrant paganisms.

The ethical postulates of the sermon are *three:*

1. Its Doctrine of God. The sun of truth was at meridian on Mars' Hill. The degree of difference between the ethical positions of Cleanthes and of Paul is not to be discovered by contrasting passages taken from the New Testament and from the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius.* The difference is not that between two schools of philosophy. "The ethics of paganism were part of a philosophy. The ethics of Christianity were part of a religion." * The only sufficient basis of morals Paul preached in his doctrine of a personal, independent Creator of worlds and of men; loving man, yet holding him responsible for his conduct; demanding spiritual worship, hence not to be imaged in stone; getting in touch with men by means of his Son, the world's only Redeemer; at once holy, yet patient toward unholy men; separate from men, yet seeking entrance into contrite hearts. "Only where the moral idea has its absolutely perfect reality, in the personal holy God, has morality a firm basis, true contents, and an unconditional goal." † The advance of the sermon beyond the hymn shows the folly and failure of the natural theology of the present day, which draws from the common soul of man its only confirmation of

* Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 1. † Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, vol. ii, p. 80.

truth. The "absolute religion" finds the spring of progress in humanity. The "spontaneous gospel" puts aside the historic revelation. It affects to be constructive and progressive, when, in fact, it is destructive and retrogressive. "It is carrying men afresh to paganism." * It has been well said that "the distinctive feature of Christianity is that henceforth the law (legacy from Judaism) is not contemplated apart from the personality of God;"† not only so, but the revelation of the divine personality is that of one compassionate. The Father evermore sees the wayward son "a long way off" and goes out to meet him. If Cleanthes's hymn, not unlike Judaism, emphasized *law*, Paul's sermon exalted *grace*. Thus the restraint of law becomes the constraint of love. "Ancient philosophy never opened the mine of happiness which lay in this principle. It was a discovery, like that of a new scientific principle, when it was made; and Christianity made it." ‡

2. Its Doctrine of Man. Man is like God. In origin we are his "offspring," in destiny his "sons." Man's personality is in the mind of the apostle, yet he does not stop there. Personality sets apart man as capable of communion with God. But under present conditions this personality, having intelligence, conscience, will, is, though a free agent, subject to sin, is capable of holy living, needs to repent, faces the day of judgment, and is heir to an immortal destiny. Such is man in St. Paul's mind. The chasm is too great between the Stoic anthropology and that of St. Paul to demand more than the preceding generalizations. How great it is will appear more clearly in the consideration of the third postulate of the sermon.

3. Its Doctrine of Christ. The previous emphasis of the difference between the two greatest ethical systems of history is here multiplied many fold. The crowning point of unlikeness is here unveiled. A difference of degree sets the sermon above the song, in the superiority of its theology and anthropology. In its Christology the sermon is as far above the song as brightest day is beyond darkest night. There are no common terms of comparison. The Judaic postulates concerning God and man lifted the preacher far away from those of the poet; but the real, the immeasurable difference is not felt till

* Hardwick, *Christ and Other Masters*, p. 18. † *Lux Mundi*, p. 405.
‡ Mozley, *University Sermons*, vol. ix, quoted in *Lux Mundi*.

the doctrine of the God-man is reached. In him the "ideal sage" of stoicism, dreamed of, but never met, was revealed. The best that Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus could do was to look back to the stonecutter moralist of Athens. "Socrates sat for the portrait of the Stoic sage; the Stoics strove earnestly to build up their inner man after the pattern of the virtuous wise man, whose lineaments they borrowed from the transfigured and lofty form of Socrates."* Stoicism pointed with a palsied hope the path where a victory might be won, but did not win it, could not win it. The philosophy was too subjective; the human personality was too self-centered; the goal was too far removed or an utter impossibility. The touchstone of a true science and a true art of morals is Jesus Christ. He is the full measure of the gap between the two systems. He is, first, the *pattern*, and, secondly, the *power* of the ideal life.

1.) The Pattern. Stoicism sought "a subjective criterion of truth that may assure the determination of true and false ideas;"† but the outcome of the endless debates in the porch was scarcely more than a philosophic game of battledoor and shuttlecock. The objective, historical, personal, peerless Christ is the world's criterion—he and none other. No pardon need here be asked for introducing at length the famous passage of Mr. Lecky:

> It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which throughout all the changes of eighteen centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love; has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions; has been not only the highest pattern of virtue but the strongest incentive to its practice; and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists. This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration.‡

History repeats itself. The old-time hunger is the present day hunger. Men yearn for personal sympathy. What we

* Noack, in Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 187.
† Albert Schwegler, *Handbook of the History of Philosophy*, p. 124.
‡ *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 8.

call the evidential system of Christianity had little place in the overthrow of Roman paganism,* and the present tendency to acknowledge the supremacy of a Christocentric theology and anthropology is repeating the earliest experience of the Church and will, beyond doubt, gauge the rate of progress of truth and morality in days to come. The loving sympathy of the everyday life of Jesus had no counterpart in the rigor of stoicism. We emphasize this feature of virtue's Pattern because it affords the chief contrast to the coldness of Stoic righteousness. The true cosmopolite was not Aurelius, when he said, "An Antonine, my country is Rome; as a man, it is the world," but Jesus, when he said, "I am the good Shepherd," and invited all who labored and were heavy laden to come to him for rest. Stoicism may have presented cases of unselfishness, but theory, and not practice, had the right of way. The emotions were suppressed; in building up their colossal egotism the Stoics inserted no heart and, declaring pain no evil, seldom bestirred themselves to rid their fellows' homes of want, of weakness, or of death. While they professed to popularize philosophy they failed to reach common men. Their standard was unattainable. They lacked a passionate enthusiasm.

Christ's tender sympathy was capable of boundless reaches of endurance. It is told of Epictetus that he warned his master that his leg would be broken if he kept on beating him, and then, when further cruelty broke it, said calmly, "There, I told you so." This was heroic, and Celsus quoted it against the early Christians: "Did your leader, under suffering, ever say anything so noble?" To this Origen made the fine reply, "He did what was still nobler—he kept silence." The passion of Jesus was never fury, the calm of Jesus was never lethargy. In youth he talked to doctors of the law with becoming dignity; in manhood he condescended to the prattle of children; in his holiness there was no asceticism, nothing forbidding; in the lighter social relations there was an exquisite discrimination between frivolity and cheerfulness; in his holy life there was an element of passion, "which differentiates it from philosophic conceptions of virtue as a tranquil balanced state."† The pupil learned well from his Master. St. Paul was not less exacting of self than

* *European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 385.

† *Lux Mundi*, p. 415.

Cleanthes, but his virtue was characterized by an abandon of love to his Lord, utterly foreign to any adherent of an ethical system whenever the majestic center is not a personification of love. The bland arrogance of Stoic virtue-pride was unknown in all his "boasting," for his fiery propagandism sought only the exaltation of the cross of Christ. He daily illustrated the saying, as true as incisive, "No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic." * It has been noticed that the arena of ethics has seldom seen such failures, flowing from "unrelaxing virtue . . . united with so little enthusiasm," † as those in which Stoic energy attempted a display of its prowess. In the struggle to spread truth and to purify life Christianity showed an enthusiasm unknown to the ethics of paganism. The school of Christ has what Dr. Chalmers called its distinctively "aggressive attitude." The idea of duty is not necessarily aggressive. The world was won because St. Paul and his followers were "constrained by love." In the strong arms of this love were laid the want and weakness and woe of all men. The philanthropy of the Stoic came far short of the "charity" of the saint. While no fault is found with the fractional successes of partial power, all honor is due to the results of full surrender to a full revelation. "There is no sin in the magnanimous pride of the heathen; there is more humanity in the quick sympathy of the Christian." ‡ The strange contrast between the self-denying asceticism of the early Christians and their tender sympathy with all forms of suffering has been framed in such thoughtfulness by Professor Seeley that it would be a loss not to refer to it:

> In the times of the Roman emperors, there appeared a sect which distinguished itself by the assiduous attention which it bestowed upon the bodily wants of mankind. This sect set the first example of a homely practical philanthropy, occupying itself with the relief of ordinary human sufferings, dispensing food and clothing to the destitute and starving. At the same period there appeared a sect which was remarkable for the contempt in which it held human suffering. . . . These two sects appeared to run into contrary extremes. The one seemed to carry their regard for the body to the borders of effeminacy; the other pushed stoical apathy almost to madness. Yet these two sects were one and the same—the Christian Church. §

* *Ecce Homo*, p. 14.
† Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. i, p. 284.
‡ Blackie, *Four Phases of Morals*.
§ *Ecce Homo*, p. 130.

2.) The Power. The man is the *pattern*—the God is the *power*. Cleanthes's hymn knows no release from the "strength of sin." No idea of redemption clothes the stately rhythm of its lines with a softer beauty. The deity of Jesus Christ, his atonement, his resurrection, were, indeed, a revelation to the Areopagites. Herein is the chasm widest between the philosopher and the preacher. Paul proclaims Christianity as "something vastly greater than a system of morals. It is a divine way of salvation, that is, of deliverance from sin, as well as from its effects." The barrier, sin, which Cleanthes could not overleap, was removed by the cross of Christ. The pattern and the power were henceforth within the reach of wayfaring men. The aristocratic spirit of Stoic morals had no echo in St. Paul's invitations to all—Jew, Greek, bond, free, male, female—to become new creatures in Christ Jesus.

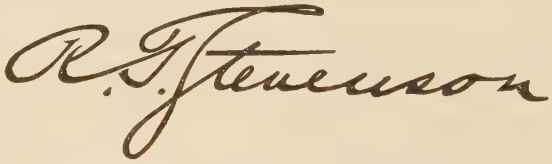
The moral renovation of society begins with the regeneration of the individual. No effort that teaches men how to live without God can reform society or assure good rule or bring peace to stormy souls. The divine Christ alone is equal to the huge task now inviting all the powers of our civilization. He alone sanctifies all the relations of life.

We dare not lose sight of this, especially in view of the growth of a desire on the part of some to put God out of their thoughts. Atheism is barbarism. The latest illustration of this is seen in the revival by Professor Felix Adler of the Stoic views of the beneficial effects of suicide, and even of compulsory death. He advocates judicial methods of putting an end to the lives of those who, from pain, want, or other ills, are a burden to society. It is but one step from the separation of morals from religion to the collapse of a social order that has no sanction for its commandments, no safety from the inroads of evil powers. Professor Adler's proposition is the sword of Brennus, the chief of the Gauls, cast with barbarian ruthlessness into the scales wherein the troubled modern state is weighing out a ransom for her peace. He says, as the Gaul to the Roman tribune, who complained of unfairness, "*Væ victis!*"—"To the wall with the weakest."

The student of comparative ethics is warned in time. He does well to realize, with Cousin, that "Christianity is a discipline of life; stoicism was nothing better than an apprenticeship

for death." As a philosophy it failed to conquer skepticism. As an ethics it failed to conquer sin. In practice it took refuge in suicide, where its vaunted heroism before the sword's edge revealed its cowardice for further conflict. With no light adequate for life the philosopher plunged into death's deeper gloom. The saint, with the torch of a rational faith held out far ahead, is yet willing to suffer on and on. The Stoic's pride would not let him live on in pain. The saint's patience would not allow him to drop the cross to gain an easier crown.

With the court on Mars' Hill we vote our sympathy for the self-denying student. But, coming to the same court three centuries later, we vow allegiance with the self-sacrificing saint to the world's only Lord and Saviour, its true ethical head. Once on Mars' Hill the judgment was in money—Cleanthes received ten minæ. Again on Mars' Hill the judgment was in souls—"Certain men clave unto him and believed."



Art. III.—DANTE ALIGHIERI AND THE "NEW LIFE."

Among the cities of the Old World famous for their beauty none have won such universal admiration as Florence, the city of flowers, situated in the heart of Tuscany, on the banks of the river Arno. It may be that one's first impressions are disappointing, especially if he arrives in the city at the close of some hot summer day, after a long journey in the cars from Bologna or Genoa. From the window of his cab he sees narrow, treeless streets, hot and dusty sidewalks, and the Arno itself, shrunk by summer's heat, lays half bare its sandy channel. But let him wait until the cool of evening comes, and then take his first walk along the banks of the river, across the Ponte Vecchio, one of the oldest and most picturesque bridges in Florence, and up through the Via dei Bardi, dear to all lovers of *Romola*, until he reaches at last the Piazzale Michelangelo, with its statue of David, towering over the city below. The sun is setting behind the distant Pisan Mountains, and the west is bright with that peculiar, soft glow found only in Italian skies. The shades of night are beginning to fall, and the long rows of lights along the bank of the Arno wind and twist like glittering serpents until they are lost to sight amid the heavy foliage which forms a dark background against the city itself. Back of him the moon is rising above the round shoulders of that hill over which, six centuries ago, the shepherd-boy Giotto was led by Cimabue, who had found him in the fields and was now bringing him to Florence to make a great painter of him. Down at the observer's feet the city is lying in the half darkness. He sees the graceful tower that crowns the massive Palazzo Vecchio, the dome of the cathedral, and the roofs and spires of numberless houses and churches. As he stands there leaning against the stone parapet and listening to the voices of the children at play below, voices mingled with the strains of music from some public garden, his heart must indeed be "as dry as summer's dust" if it does not thrill with joy at such a scene.

But beauty is not the only claim that Florence has to the love and reverence of mankind. The memory of the past follows one here at every step. No city built by the hand of

man has exerted so mighty an influence on that form of civilization which finds its expression in the arts of painting, architecture, and sculpture. Stand on the banks of the Arno and look down the long, narrow square of the Uffizi, surrounded by open porticoes and bounded at the upper end by the Palace of the Signoria and the statues at its foot. The pillars of the colonnades are adorned with the statues of the great Florentine sculptors, painters, poets, historians; and no other city in the world could gather together such a galaxy of great men. Read some of the names on the pedestals as you walk slowly toward the sunny square of the Signoria — Giotto, Fra Angelico, Michael Angelo, Macchiavelli, Savonarola, and, greatest of all, Dante Alighieri. Even to-day the city is full of reminiscences of the great poet. In the square of the cathedral you can see the old Church of St. John—"*il mio bel San Giovanni*," Dante calls it—which was the chief church of Florence in his day, for the Duomo had not yet been built. Near by Giotto's tower they still show a stone where the poet is said to have sat and watched the building of the tower; "*Sasso di Dante*" is the inscription upon it. As one walks along the narrow street of San Martino his eyes rest by chance on a tall, narrow stone building, and the words over the door, "*Casa di Dante*," tell you that this was the birthplace of the poet. Not far off is the church where the poet was married to Gemma Donati, while a few streets away is the site of the palace of Folco Portinari, the father of Beatrice.

Dante Alighieri was born in dark and troublous times. The year after his birth, 1266, is memorable as the date of the battle of Benevento, where Charles of Anjou conquered Manfred and destroyed forever the power of the Hohenstaufens. It may not be out of place here to say a word or two concerning the history of the times; some general idea of them is indispensable to a clear conception of the life and works of Dante. The story of the ruin of the Roman empire and of the invasion of barbarians from the North is well known. Out of the materials that survived the wreck of empires the remnants of the Italian people, together with the Lombards, Goths, and Vandals, formed a new order of society. Toward the ninth century cities began to rebuild their walls. Industry, arts, agriculture, which had lain dormant for so many years, began to give signs

of awakening life. With the growth of the cities came hostility between them and the nobles. The latter had lived for the most part in mountain fortresses until the prosperity of the towns allured them thither.

There were two rival powers in Italy during the Middle Ages who claimed sovereignty over all—the German emperors, who since the days of Charlemagne claimed to be the heirs of the old Roman empire, and the pope. Until the election of Pope Gregory VII, in the eleventh century, no one had questioned the supremacy of the German emperor. This pontiff, who was a man of boundless ambition, and who changed the whole spirit of popedom, claimed the right of investing the German bishops, a right hitherto remaining in the hands of the emperor. There is no need of reviewing the oft-told story of the ruthless war waged by Hildebrand against Henry IV—how he hurled the anathemas of the Church and set son against father, and how he crowned his haughty arrogance by that famous scene at Canossa, where the ruler of the western world stood three days in the snow outside the castle walls, until it might please his holiness, the bishop of souls, to grant him his presence. Suffice it to say that from this struggle over the investiture of bishops arose those endless wars between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Every city in Italy was divided into two parties—the Guelfs, who espoused the cause of the pope, and the Ghibellines, who sided with the emperor. Owing to this constant state of warfare houses were built like fortresses, with thick walls, high, narrow windows, and doors of massive oak. In times of conflict chains were drawn across the streets, barricades thrown up, and murder and pillage ran riot.

The political complexion of various cities changed from time to time as the parties rose or fell. At times the Guelfs had the upper hand and drove out the Ghibellines; and then the rôles were changed, and the Guelfs were exiled in their turn. These different parties after a time lost their original significance as partisans of pope or emperor, and often expressed only private quarrels. Great families were at feud with each other. Thus, in Florence, the terrible disorders of the Whites and Blacks—the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*—which finally engulfed Dante in ruin, had their origin in a private quarrel. The principal families of the city at this time were the Buon-

delmonti and Amidei, the Uberti and Donati. A half century before Dante's birth one of the Buondelmonti, who was a Guelf, had been engaged to a daughter of the Amidei, a Ghibelline family. Urged by a widow of the house of Donati, however, he broke his engagement and married the daughter of the widow, who belonged to the same political party as himself. The Amidei, deeply insulted, lay in wait for the young Buondelmonti and slew him on the Ponte Vecchio, at the foot of the statue of Mars. The whole city was immediately thrown into a state of warfare; family was arrayed against family, and fierce encounters took place in the streets. Hardly a day passed without swords being drawn, the tocsin sounding, and bloody brawls taking place in the streets. This party hatred became so fierce that once, after the battle of Monte Aperto, in 1260, when the river Arbia ran red with blood, the victorious Ghibellines seriously considered the advisability of razing Florence to the ground and building a new city at Empoli, a small town on the road from Florence to Pisa. It was Farinata degli Uberti, one of the most distinguished warriors and eloquent orators of his time, who successfully opposed this plan.

But in spite of war and bloodshed, of constant change of government and magistrates, the city grew greater and richer. It was the money center of Europe, commerce flourished, and art in its noblest expression had its cradle there. At the time Dante was born the appearance of the city was not the same as it is now. The Duomo, Giotto's tower, the Palazzo Vecchio, and the Church of Santa Croce had not yet been built; but before he died all this noble cluster of buildings had been begun. Life was gay and brilliant. The contado was cultivated by active peasants; the city possessed thick walls, strong towers, and streets flagged with stones. Old Giovanni Villani, in his chronicle of Florence, dwells upon the luxury and display of the citizens.

Biographers often claim that the family of Dante was a noble one. It is even claimed that he traced his descent from one of the patrician families of Rome. We cannot trace his ancestry further than the twelfth century—to that Cacciaguida whom the poet meets in the heaven of Mars and who foretells to him his future woes. The family of his mother, Donna Bella,

was likewise of obscure origin. All authorities agree that Dante Alighieri was born in May, 1265. We know but little about his early life; we can only guess as to his experience at home and school and the friends he made. The testimony of Boccaccio is looked upon with suspicion by Dante scholars. He tells us that the boy Dante did not join in childish sports and frolics, but gave himself up to the study of the liberal arts, in which he became marvelously expert. It is probable he obtained most of his knowledge from books without a teacher, although a passage in the "Inferno," where the poet speaks of the "dear paternal image" of Brunetto Latini, has led some to conclude that the author of the *Tesoro* was his teacher. Even this, however, must remain in doubt.

But although we know so little of the facts of his early life we can form a good idea of his character, both from his own writings and the opinions of the early biographers. We know that he was a man of keen intellect, and yet of extreme sensitiveness of feeling; he loved equally to bury himself in mysticism and to struggle with the intricate problems of the scholastic philosophy. Boccaccio says, "He was endowed with wondrous capacity, a most retentive memory, and a clear intellect;" and Giovanni Villani says that by reason of his knowledge he was somewhat presumptuous and haughty, that he was never affable, and did not know how to converse with the laity. Dante shows himself in his works to possess wide and deep information. The "Divine Comedy" embraces all the science of the time. He was proud-spirited and full of contempt for all that degrades man. He gives up his dearest hopes rather than humble himself before injustice. But side by side with fierce hatred of his enemies we catch glimpses of tender pity and of soft compassion. The man who painted the wonderful pictures of Francesca da Rimini and Ugolino in the tower of hunger must have had a heart as tender and as easily touched as that of a woman. But Dante was not merely a man of books. He interested himself in politics, and was willing to give and take his share of hard blows when necessary. In the battle of Campaldino, June 11, 1289, in which the Guelfs of Florence defeated the Ghibellines of Arezzo, Dante was present, "no child in arms," he says in the "Convito," "and I had much fear, but in the end the greatest joy, on account

of the various events of the battle." About 1292 Dante married Gemma, the daughter of Manetto de' Donati. By this marriage he had seven children. He is utterly silent concerning his family, wife, parents, brothers, children. We have no reason, however, for believing otherwise than that Gemma was virtuous and that his domestic life was happy. Perhaps she was "the gentle lady" who comforted the poet on the death of Beatrice, of which we shall speak later. She did not share his exile, nor was this possible at first, on account of the tender age of her children.

The Florentines, under the leadership of Giano della Bella, had passed laws to the effect that no noble or grandee should be eligible to the office of prior, the highest in the gift of the city. Every aspirant for office must enroll himself in one of the guilds or professions. Dante at the age of thirty was enrolled in the guild of physicians and apothecaries, and in 1300 he was elected one of the *priori*. The office lasted only two months; yet, as he himself says in a letter quoted by Leonardo Bruni, "All my woes and misfortunes had their cause and beginning in the unlucky election of my priorship." It was at this time that Pope Boniface VIII sent Cardinal d'Acquasparta to pacify Florence. On being opposed by Dante and his colleagues the pope in anger sent to France for Charles of Valois and bestowed on him the title of Pacificator of Italy. Charles entered Florence on the 1st of November, 1301, and treated it as a vanquished city. Houses were destroyed, goods were confiscated, and many citizens were banished. Among the latter was Dante, charged with being a forger and bribe-taker. On the 27th of January, 1302, he was condemned to pay a fine of five thousand florins. If the sum was not paid in three days his goods were to be confiscated and destroyed; if it was paid he was still to be exiled two years from Tuscany. About forty days later he was charged, first, with not having obeyed the summons, and, secondly, with not having paid the fine. Therefore he was condemned to be burnt alive if ever he came within the jurisdiction of Florence. Years after, in 1311 and in 1315, his name was mentioned as that of a rebel and outlaw. Villani, the most trustworthy of all ancient authorities, says the only cause of his banishment was that he favored the White party, although nominally a Guelf. From this time on

Dante separated himself from his family traditions and became a Ghibelline and a supporter of the German emperor.

This exile must have been a terrible blow to Dante. He was yet young, eager for honor and fame, and loved his native city with passionate devotion. And now at one fell stroke he was cut off from home and family, his property confiscated, and he himself, driven into ignominious banishment, forced to become a wanderer and a beggar on the face of the earth. No wonder that at first he devoted all his energies to endeavoring to reenter Florence. The supreme desire of his life for three years was to return to the city where his family and friends were and where he had passed his youth. But he soon became weary of the companions among whom fate had cast his lot—fierce, scheming, unprincipled, the great family of bitter and disappointed partisans. He left them and, to use his own language, made a party for himself. His ancestor, Cacciaguida, in the nineteenth canto of the "Paradiso," while foretelling to him the trials of his exile, says, "Thou shalt prove how salt is the taste of others' bread, and how hard it is to descend and climb another's stairs; but that which most of all will weigh heavy on thy soul will be the evil and foolish companions whom thou shalt fall in with in this valley of exile." During these three years he is said to have written a letter to his fellow-citizens, full of pathetic pleading and beginning with the words, "*O populo mi, quid feci tibi?*"—"O my people, what have I done unto you?" But neither tears nor entreaties, threats nor open warfare, could unlock the gates of the city to him who was destined to be the glory, not only of Florence, but of all Italy. He seems finally to have accepted his exile as inevitable and, like the strong man he was, adapted his work to his life. Once only, years after, did a gleam of hope light up the dark path of the lonely wanderer. In 1308 Henry of Luxembourg ascended the throne of the empire, and in 1310 entered Italy, which had been neglected by her rulers for over fifty years. Dante, once more hoping to return to Florence, wrote a letter full of fierce reproach to the Florentines, and another letter to Henry, urging him to hurry on his work of regenerating Italy. Henry besieged Florence for one month, then went on to Pisa, but died in 1313. After his death Italy, like a ship without a pilot, was tossed about on the waves of political disaster, and not until long centuries later,

in the year 1870, did the poet's dream of a united Italy find its realization.

The whole period of the exile is so obscured by myth and fiction that it is difficult to separate the true from the false. Almost every city in Italy claims the honor of his presence, and Belgium and France, and even England, are said to have been visited by him. The poet's movements during this period are shrouded in obscurity; yet from time to time the mist rolls away, and we catch a glimpse of the wanderer climbing some mountain pass, wending his way through plain and valley, or, like a lost soul from the spirit world, threading the crowded streets of some great city. Legend has been busy with the poet's life, and has woven many a beautiful story of these days of exile. It is said that at the close of a long summer's day a stranger, weary and travel-stained, knocked at the door of the monastery of Santa Croce, near Spezia, which is situated on the hills which look out over the blue waters of the Mediterranean, just above the spot where, long years afterward, the body of Shelley was washed ashore. When asked what he desired the only response the stranger made was, "*Pace, pace*"—"Peace, peace." But, leaving aside tradition, we know that Dante spent some time in the University of Bologna, where he studied hard and his eyes became weak, so that the "stars were dimmed with a kind of whiteness." We know that he visited also Padua, where he lived in the street of St. Laurence and must have met Giotto, who was at that time engaged on the frescoes in the Church of the Madonna dell' Arena.

It was in the beautiful city of Verona, with its old palaces, marble-faced churches, lofty towers, and picturesque old bridge, that Dante found his first refuge in the palace of Can Grande della Scala. There are few places in Italy, or indeed in the world, where so many periods of the past are illustrated by the present as in Verona. First we may see the Roman city, of the time of Pliny and Catullus. Then the scene changes, and we see the half-barbaric splendor of the Verona of the *Nibelungenlied* and of Theodoric the Goth—Diedrich von Bern, as the old German legends call him. Still again a change, and we see the streets of the mediæval city, where the followers of the Montagues and Capulets engaged in their fierce brawls. The story of Romeo and Juliet is said to have occurred in

Verona in 1302, a few years before Dante's arrival; and we love to think that the poet who has immortalized the touching story of Francesca da Rimini's love and death knew that other story of love unto death which forms the subject of Shakespeare's tragedy. Dante was heartily welcomed by the head of the noble Ghibelline family of the Scaligers, and lived probably a number of years with him. He is said to have owned property at Gargnano, near Verona, where he wrote the "Purgatory." His daughter married into the Veronese family of Serego, the descendants of which are still living. We can almost see the sad and melancholy figure of the poet as he moved silently among the brilliant courtiers of the court of Can Grande, looking so stern and grim that the women in the streets whispered to each other, "*Ecco l' uomo che è stato nell' inferno*"—"Behold the man who has been in hell."

It was during these years of trial and sorrow that his conversion took place. Hitherto he had rejoiced in the pride of intellect, had recognized only human reason, and had sought for earthly happiness and honor. He says himself that pride and envy had been his special sins. But now that all earthly happiness failed him and the star of hope had set forever he turned to thoughts of the eternal world and became a humble seeker after divine wisdom and illuminating grace. Converted and shuddering at the horrors of eternal perdition which he had escaped, he wrote the "Divine Comedy," to warn others of the inevitable consequences of their sins and to lead them up the steep heights of purgatory to the life with God on high.

In the year 1316 Florence announced that all exiles would be allowed to return, but on humiliating conditions. These conditions were, first, that they should pay a certain sum of money; second, that they should wear paper miters on their heads as a sign of infamy and march to the Church of St. John, and there make an offering for their crimes. Many yielded, and Dante's friends urged him to yield likewise. But the poet, preferring his own dignity to self-abasement, even with return to Florence, wrote the following letter full of noble independence and indignation:

> Is this, then, the glorious recall by which Dante Alighieri is restored to his country, after having borne exile well-nigh fifteen years? Is this the reward of innocence patent to everyone, of sweat and incessant toil

spent in study? Far from a man, the familiar friend of philosophy, be the reckless humility of a heart of dirt, that would allow him, like certain Cioli and other infamous persons, to make an offering of himself, as if he were a caitiff! Far be it from a man, the preacher of justice, that after having suffered wrongs he should pay his money to those who have inflicted those wrongs, as if they were his benefactors! This is not the way for me to return to my country, my father; but if any other way can be discovered, by you or by anyone else, which does not touch the fame of Dante and his honor, that I will accept with alacrity. But if by no such way Florence is to be entered, then Florence I shall never enter. And what then? Can I not see the mirrors of the sun and the stars everywhere? Can I not contemplate the sweetest truths anywhere under heaven, rather than render myself inglorious, yea, most ignominious, to the people and the commonwealth of Florence? And bread, I trust, will not fail me.

Long before the inroads of the barbarians had driven the inhabitants of Padua and the neighboring cities to seek refuge among the lagunes of the northern Adriatic, and so to found the city of Venice, another city had been built on the shores of the Adriatic, where the waters of the Po mingled with the salt waves of the sea around its very walls. This city was Ravenna, and was chosen by the emperor Augustus for one of his two naval stations. But to-day the sea has receded and left the city four miles inland, while a forest of pines occupies the site where Roman fleets once lay at anchor. In this strange, weird old city Dante Alighieri found his last refuge and final resting place. Here in the palace of Guido Novello da Polenta, the ruins of which can still be seen, he found a permanent home and kind friends and protectors. From time to time he made journeys and visits to neighboring towns and villages. We are told that he would spend whole days in the vast forest of pines, brooding over Florence and her civil wars and meditating cantos of his poem. It was a familiar sight to the people of Ravenna, that figure slightly bent, with gait gentle and grave, always clad in becoming garments, and with face melancholy and thoughtful. But it was only after long years, when Florence had vainly begged for the ashes of him she had martyred, that they knew what an honor had been bestowed on their city when the "divine poet" came to live and die in their midst. In the year 1321 the republic of Venice was at war with the lord of Polenta, and Dante was sent thither to sue for peace. On his return he fell seriously

ill, and died September 14, 1321. When the modern traveler arrives in Ravenna, before visiting the mosaics of San Vitale or the tomb of Galla Placidia, he inquires the way to Dante's tomb. The inscription on it, in barbarous Latin, is said to have been composed by the poet himself. The last two lines breathe a bitter melancholy:

> Hic claudor Dantes, patriis extorris ab oris,
> Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris—

"Here lie I, Dante, an exile from my native land, born of Florence, a mother of little love." The monument is poor and unworthy; and yet this fact is forgotten in the presence of the mortal remains of him whose life was made so bitter and sad by hate and injustice, and who, in the words of another, "has built himself an eternal dwelling, a monument more durable than bronze or marble, a vast city peopled with his creations and filled with his glory."

I have purposely said nothing yet of Dante's relations with Beatrice Portinari, but have reserved the whole subject for discussion in connection with the "New Life." Leaving one side several scientific treatises in Latin, nearly all Dante's literary activity is recorded in the trilogy composed of the "*Vita Nuova*," or the "New Life," the "*Convito*," or the "Feast," and the "Divine Comedy." In studying these works we can trace three distinct phases in the development of the character and genius of the author. In the "New Life" we see a young man full of enthusiastic devotion to poetry and study, filled with a pure, idealized love for a noble woman, and led by this love to confiding faith in God and love and charity for all the world. Toward the end of this book we catch a glimpse of a change in his mind and ideas, which forms a transition toward the second period, represented by the "Feast." This is a fragment of a larger work, to have been completed in fifteen parts, of which only four were written. It is a sort of commentary on the poet's philosophical and lyrical poems, and is an encyclopedic disquisition on the philosophy and science of the times. Here we see Dante full of passionate love for science, struggling with doubts, and relying on human reason as the sole means of obtaining happiness and fame. We no longer find the simple faith and peace of early days, but struggles and conflicts with

temptations and grief. Human knowledge absorbs him, and he looks down on the common herd of ignorant people "who wander like blind creatures." The third and last period shows us the poet, crushed by sorrow and chastened by suffering, returning to his God for peace and comfort and, having reached a haven of quiet and safety himself, sending out a warning cry to the world to save them from their sin and folly. In the present article we shall discuss only the first of this trilogy.

The "New Life" is one of the strangest books in all literature. It is the story of a young man's love for a girl, told in quaint, naïve style, full of affectation, yet tender and touching. The love that fills its pages is utterly free from passion and desire, unlike that love

> That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,
> A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

It is the love of the age of chivalry, of the "courts of love" in Toulouse, the love that drove the troubadour Geoffrey Rudel over land and sea, until he had found the lady whom he had seen only in his dreams. The book itself is a small one, occupying in Fraticelli's edition only sixty-seven pages. It is broken up into forty-three short chapters, and consists of mingled prose and verse—a *chante-fable*, as the old French would have called it. It opens with the first meeting of Dante and Beatrice when both were about nine years old, and ends with the death of Beatrice, in 1290. It can roughly be divided into three parts, the first containing the description of Beatrice's charms and influence, with a series of little events and thoughts suggested by them; the second part deals with the spiritual virtues of Beatrice, her death, and Dante's grief; while the last part is occupied with an episode which has produced an endless amount of discussion—that of a gentle lady who caused him to lose for a time the memory of Beatrice. The book closes with the poet's repentance for this brief desertion, and the resolution to devote his life to sounding the praise of her who had been to him the symbol of all that is good and holy.

Dante before his eighteenth year had written a number of lyrical poems celebrating the beauty of Beatrice. At her death, wishing to raise a monument to her, he gathered together the various poems he had written in her honor during her life.

At the beginning of each poem he writes an introduction in prose, explaining how the idea of the poem came into his mind; and then at the end he places a commentary in quaint, scholastic language. The events described are half historical, half mystical. The book is altogether subjective; it deals with feelings alone and introduces us to a strange, ideal world. We see vague figures move across the stage, we catch glimpses of weddings, funerals, churches, social gatherings, but all seen through a dim, vaporous twilight, like a picture by Burne-Jones or Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It resembles real life as moonlight resembles sunlight or "as water is to wine." In spite of the artificial surroundings, the affectation, the quaint conceits, and pedantic commentaries, it all moves us deeply. We feel that the sentiment is genuine and the love noble and true. We know that the man who wrote this simple story of love fought with the bravest at Campaldino; that he spent his whole life in exile rather than submit to dishonor. We know, too, that he was a man of wide knowledge, a leader of men, an uncompromising foe to tyranny, as well as a tender lover. It is the thought of all this that invests the "New Life" with such matchless interest.

It is hard for us of the nineteenth century to realize the strange joy with which the people of the Middle Ages welcomed the return of spring. We must first try to conceive the discomforts of the long winter, passed within the walls of some gloomy castle, with rush mats in place of carpets on the floor, and no glass in the windows; while the great hall, in spite of its immense fireplaces in which whole trunks of trees could be laid, was so cold that furs and cloaks had to be worn indoors to keep from freezing. When spring appeared, however, a new life came into being. With the budding of the flowers and the singing of the birds a thrill of joy ran through the mediæval world. The songs of German minnesinger and French troubadour are full of the praise of spring, and almost all old romances begin with April or May, Easter or Pentecost. Thus, the reader will remember, *Reineke Fuchs* opens at "*Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest*," and Chaucer's pilgrims set out for Canterbury

> Whan that Aprillë with his schowrës swoote
> The drought of Marche had perced to the roote.

Springtime at Florence is full of radiant loveliness. The fields and gardens about the city are covered with flowers of every kind and color, and they are brought into the city and offered for sale, piled up in great masses against the old stone palaces. The air is soft and clear, and the sky is of that *dolce color d'oriental zaffiro*, that sweet color of oriental sapphire, that Dante speaks of in the "Purgatory." No wonder, then, that the return of spring was celebrated at Florence by special festivities in the days of old.

It was at one of these spring festivals that Dante first met Beatrice. Dante, in the opening paragraphs of the "New Life," describes the scene in quaint, mystic, and scholastic language, in which you will note the rôle played by the figure nine:

> In that part of the book of my memory, before which little can be read, a chapter is found which is entitled "*Incipit Vita Nova*," under which heading I find written the words which it is my purpose to copy in this book. Nine times already after my birth the heaven of light had returned to the same point in its orbit when there first appeared before my eyes the glorious lady of my mind, called Beatrice by many who did not know what to call her. She had been in this life so long only that in her time the starry heaven had turned toward the east the twelfth part of one degree, so that almost at the beginning of her ninth year she appeared to me, and I saw her at the end of my ninth year. She appeared to me clothed in modest and becoming crimson, adorned in a manner suited to her youthful age. At that moment, I say truly, the spirit of my life who dwells in the most secret chamber of my heart began to tremble so strongly that it appeared in the least pulsations, and trembling it said these words: "*Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi*" ["Behold a god stronger than I, who coming shall rule over me"]. From henceforth, I say, love ruled over my soul, which had been so quickly espoused to him, and began to take over me such control and lordship by the power which my imagination gave to him, that I was forced to do completely all his pleasure.

From the time of his first meeting Beatrice was all in all to him. Like every lover from the dawn of time, he sought all opportunities of seeing her. He tells us that her love made his heart noble and gay and full of holy charity. It impelled him to love his neighbors and to forgive those who offended him. She became the symbol of all that is good on earth and lifted his soul to the love of the highest good, which is God. It has been argued that Beatrice is only an allegory; but it seems to me impossible to harmonize this theory with all the personal

details which we have of her. She is a woman of flesh and blood, modest, gentle, dignified, and grave:

> A creature not too bright or good,
> For human nature's daily food.

We see her walking through the streets of Florence, kneeling before the altar at church, smiling and making merry at parties, and weeping at funerals. The figure is dim, it is true, half real, half ideal; but there is too much passion, tenderness, and unconscious truth in the poet's language to leave us in any doubt as to her existence. When next he speaks of her nine years had again passed away. This time he sees her in the street, dressed in pure white and in company with two ladies both older than herself. Dante stood by timidly and she spoke to him. This simple salutation filled him with unutterable bliss; he calls it ineffable courtesy, worthy of reward in the eternal world. He was intoxicated with sweetness, and turned away to brood in solitude over his happiness. How true and natural it all seems through the mist of intervening years—love

> Old and yet ever new, and simple and beautiful always.

I have no time to tell of all the visions and dreams, the doubts and fears, the alternations of hope and despair. In order to get sight of her he haunted the streets and churches. They show you to-day in the court of the Palazzo Salviati, which occupies the site of Folco Portinari's house, the *nicchia di Dante*, where the poet is supposed to have waited and watched for Beatrice. He tried to conceal the real state of affairs by feigning love for another; and so successful was he that Beatrice, whether from jealousy or other reasons we know not, refused to speak to him any more. This filled him with inexpressible grief. We have already seen in the opening passage of the "New Life" the strange mingling of mysticism, personification, and scholastic use of Latin. Let me now quote the passage describing Dante's grief as a piece of simple and tender pathos:

> Now, returning to my subject, I say that after my bliss had been denied me so great a grief came upon me that I left all people and went aside to a solitary place to bathe the earth with my tears; and when this weeping had somewhat relieved me I went into my own room, where I could lament without being heard. And there I called upon my lady of courtesy for

mercy, and, saying, "Love, help thy faithful one," I fell asleep in tears, like a little beaten child.

It came to pass sometime after this that he saw Beatrice at a wedding, and so strong an emotion came over him that all present saw it and laughed at him. He grew pale and faint; he trembled, and the very stones cried out, "Die, die!" Though he says nothing definite about it many have supposed this was Beatrice's own wedding; hence the strong feelings of the poet. She had been affianced in early youth to Simone de' Bardi, whom she afterward married. This may account for the fact that Dante seems never to have deemed it possible for him to marry her. And yet, after all, it is not necessary to seek such an explanation, for we know that the love of chivalry was something different from conjugal affection. Indeed, in the fantastic ideas of the age love could not exist in marriage.

No very definite information of actual events can be gathered from the "New Life." The poet speaks obscurely and by way of allusion. He wrote for ladies and lovers; it was the deeper spiritual phases of love he sought to describe, and the events of everyday life were of no great importance to him. The visions he sees, the thoughts that sway his mind, the tears and sighs, the longing to see his lady, and his purpose to speak her praise—these are the theme of his book. Thus in the beautiful sonnet beginning,

Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare
La mia donna,

he gives no details of her beauty, the color of her eyes or hair, whether she is tall or slender, but only the effect of her beauty on the passers-by when she appears in the street. I venture to translate this sonnet, which, in addition to its intrinsic beauty, reveals the ideal of Dante's love:

So gentle and so modest doth my lady seem when she salutes others that every tongue trembles and becomes mute and eyes dare not look upon her. She goes her way, hearing herself praised, yet benignly clothed upon with humility; and she seems something come from heaven down to earth to show forth a miracle. So pleasing is she to those who see her that down through the eyes she sends a sweetness into the heart, which he who has not experienced it cannot understand. And from her lips a spirit soft and full of love seems to move, which goes whispering to the soul, "Sigh."

And yet here and there we do get a glimpse of actual events. We are told that the father of Beatrice dies, and that he was a good man. But this is told in a line or two, while whole pages are devoted to the grief of the daughter and Dante's sympathetic sorrow.

At one time Dante fell grievously sick and was in sore pain. Then there came to him those solemn thoughts of life and death which come at some time or another to all men—of the short, bird-like flight across the lighted chamber of life, and then the unknown dark hereafter. As he pondered on the frailty of human life, with startling suddenness a dread presentiment fell upon him. He said to himself, "It needs must be that Beatrice shall die." In a horrible vision strange ladies came to him and said, "Thou too shalt die;" and hideous faces cried out, "Thou art dead." Then as the fever-trance proceeded he saw women with disheveled hair, the sun grew dark, birds fell from the air, and a pale-faced, hoarse-voiced man cried out, "Dead is thy lady." He was then taken into a room where she was lying so sweetly and quietly that she seemed to say, "Lo, I am in peace." This dark presentiment which had haunted his fever-troubled brain finally came true. A poem which he had started breaks off in the middle and is followed by these words from the Book of Lamentations: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow, she that was great among the nations!" Beatrice was dead.

It is very characteristic of the book that in the first few pages after this event, instead of giving expression to his sorrow, the poet goes into a discussion of the symbolic number nine. Beatrice, whom he had met in her ninth year, died on the ninth day of the ninth month, in the ninth decade of the century. But after this there is no lack of feeling or weeping. His grief was so bitter that purple rims were about his eyes. He grew wan and pale and longed to die. The only consolation he could find was in writing poems in praise of her who had gone from him forever. One day he saw some pilgrims passing through Florence on their way to Rome, and as he thought what a calamity had come upon the city he felt moved to address a sonnet to these people who seemed unconscious of the sorrow in the midst of which they were passing:

O pilgrims, who go thinking of absent things, do ye come from lands so far as your appearance seems to show? For ye weep not when ye pass through the midst of the dolorous city, like people who seem not to understand its heaviness. If you will wait and hear, surely, my heart tells me, you will depart afterward in tears. Florence has lost its Beatrice, and the words that man can speak of her have power to make others weep.

The episode of a certain gentle lady whom he saw looking compassionately upon him from a window, and whom he took pleasure in seeing and thinking of, comes in like a discordant note to mar the lyric purity of these last pages of grief. Some have conjectured that this was Gemma Donati, whom he afterward married; others see in her only the symbol of philosophy. Whoever she was, wife or symbol or passing fancy, this interlude in his mourning lasted but a short time. In a vision he saw Beatrice in the same crimson dress she had worn at their first meeting; and as the memories of a life-time rushed over him her love entered his breast once more, there to set up its everlasting rest. And then, after the final sonnet of the book, exalted by the consciousness of his own genius, he exclaims in words of prophetic beauty:

After this sonnet a wonderful vision appeared to me, in which I saw things which made me resolve to speak no more of this blessed one until I might more worthily treat of her. And to come to that I study as much as I can, as she knows truly. So that, if it be the pleasure of Him through whom all things live that my life be spared for some years, I hope to say of her that which never yet has been spoken of any woman. And then may it please Him who is Sire of courtesy that my soul may be able to go to see the glory of its lady, that is of that blessed Beatrice, who gloriously beholds the face of Him *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus.*

With the death of Beatrice and Dante's despairing grief the "New Life" ends. The days of childhood and youth are past. The man is about to enter on that stormy and troublous career the story of which, with its bitter sense of injustice and its sorrow almost unto death, together with a new hope and love, this time, however, the love of God, is told in that "poem of the earth and air," the "Divine Comedy."

L. Oscar Kuhns.

Art. IV.—THE RECENT CRITICAL ATTACK ON GALATIANS.

Although the main trunk of the Tübingen hypothesis has for years shown increasing signs of deep decay, its branches have but recently dropped the ripest fruits of the tree. Amid the general ruin which the theory attempted to inflict on the New Testament, five books at least remained unharmed. Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians represented the Pauline theology, and were admitted to have been written by Paul; while the Apocalypse, written by John, was the sole representative of the theology of the primitive apostles. All the other New Testament writings were held to be post-apostolic and exhibited more or less fully the tendency toward a reconciliation between the adherents of Paulinism and Petrinism, the two belligerent camps into which it was supposed that early Christianity was divided prior to their union in the old Catholic Church. This long-continued strife it was, according to the theory, which determined the form and suggested the contents of all early Christian literature.

When, from within the Tübingen school itself, Ritschl demonstrated that it was only in the very earliest period of Paul's activity that any serious difference of opinion existed between the Pauline and the primitive apostolic views of the relation of the Christian convert to the Mosaic law, there was no longer any foundation for the Tübingen theory. Within the decreasing number of those who were still controlled in their theological opinions by the fundamental principles of the Tübingenites there sprang up a disposition to relax somewhat of the severity with which Baur had applied his hypothesis, and to admit the Pauline origin of some of the minor epistles, while in the newer critical school there arose practical unanimity in favor of the restoration to the canon of the majority of the books of the New Testament. With the Apocalypse, indeed, it did not fare so well; and what was regarded by the Tübingen school as one of the unquestionable monuments of the apostolic age has quite recently even fallen into the disfavor of being attributed to a Jewish rather than a Christian origin. But with very few exceptions, among whom Bruno Bauer was the most distin-

guished, there was no disposition to subject the four principal Pauline letters to a critical investigation. It was universally admitted without question that they were the genuine productions of Paul's pen.

The attack upon the genuineness of these epistles was opened in 1878 by the Dutch theologian Allard Pierson, in a work on *The Sermon on the Mount, and other Synoptic Fragments.** His assault was directed toward Galatians. He questioned whether the genuineness of this epistle is so axiomatic that criticism must admit it without doubt, and declared that the Paul of that epistle was an incredible personality and that Galatians, as we have it, is certainly no monument of the earliest Christianity. Pierson was followed, in 1882, by his Amsterdam colleague, Professor A. D. Loman, in a series of investigations whose object was to demonstrate the spuriousness of all four of the principal Pauline epistles. In 1886 Pierson again appeared in the field, supported by his colleague Naber, the philologist, against all four of the principal Pauline epistles, in their united work entitled *Verisimilia* (Amsterdam, 1886). In 1888 the Bernese theologian, Rudolf Steck,† came out in an elaborate work against the genuineness of the four principal epistles, directing his arguments chiefly, however, against Galatians, but, contrary to most of the critics, giving large credence to the accounts of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles. His work was before the public but a few months when Professor van Manen, of Leyden, took up the cudgel against his arguments, although he supported his conclusions, with some exceptions in which he criticises Steck as too conservative. He thinks it an error to allow the Acts any historical trustworthiness or even to regard Paul as an historical reality. Having thus denied the historical value of all professed New Testament utterances relative to Paul and primitive Christianity, he thinks he is now on the sure road to a correct understanding of the course of events in the first fifty or sixty years after Christ.‡ In less than a year after these remarkable conclusions of Van Manen another Dutch theologian, Daniel Völter, of Amsterdam, had published a work §

* *De Bergrede, en andere synoptische Fragmenten.* Amsterdam, 1878.

† *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den paulinischen Hauptbriefen.* Berlin, 1888.

‡ See *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 27, 28.

§ *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe. I. Der Römer und Galaterbrief.* Tübingen, 1890.

in which he denied altogether the genuineness of Galatians, and, while ascribing a germ of Romans to Paul, made its present form the result of the work of numerous redactors.

Thus a considerable literature in the interest of this most radical criticism has sprung up within very recent years. It will be observed that outside of Steck in Switzerland all the supporters of the new view are Hollanders. In Germany it has met with general opposition. The conservatives have largely ignored it; the newer critical school, the Ritschlians, and the few lone adherents of the Tübingen theory have discredited and demolished it. Nor has it gained universal credence even in its native land. Kuyper, among the conservatives, and Holsten, one of the wheel horses of the Tübingen school, have strenuously opposed it, not to mention others. The movement has attracted wider attention than the similar utterances of Bruno Bauer in 1850, because the times are more ripe for such views and because they are expressed with none of the bitterness apparent in Bauer's works and with an appearance of scholarly calm unknown to that iconoclast. In the main, too, the present criticism holds, contrary to Bruno Bauer, to the historicity of the person of Jesus Christ, and is thus less offensive. But in many respects it merely reforges the arguments of its scornful predecessor.

As briefly as possible we shall now take up the arguments of Steck against the genuineness of Galatians and weigh them, confining ourselves to Steck, because he has developed the arguments more fully than any other, and to Galatians, because this is acknowledged to be the key to the situation.*

Steck finds his first real difficulty in the fact that the commentators and critics are not able to agree upon the circumstances under which the epistle was written. It is to him uncertain whether the readers were the inhabitants of the old mountainous Galatia or of the territories of Laconia and Pisidia, which belonged to the Roman province of Galatia. He is in doubt as

* Those desiring to find a fuller refutation of Steck are referred to Johannes Gloël, *Die Jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes;* Völter, *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe;* Van Manen, in the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 27, 28; and to articles by Holsten in the *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1889, Nos. 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 26; A. Kappeller, in the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, 1889, I Heft; Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxii, 1889, I Heft; Schm(iedel) in *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1888, No. 50; Holtzmann, *Theolog. Jahresbericht*, 8 Band, 1 Abtheilung; and Weiffenbach, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1889, No. 11.

to the time when, and the place from which, the letter was written and what was the nature of the error which the apostle felt called upon to oppose.* It must be admitted that in some cases a knowledge of the object and circumstances under which a writing is produced might determine its authorship with greater certainty. But at the most our inability to discover these things would but leave us in doubt. It could not have the effect of forbidding a supposed authorship. And here we have a first instance of what so often occurs in Steck's criticism, namely, a disposition to make the most of a difficulty. For in reality there is practical unanimity with regard to the circumstances under which Galatians was written.

The next argument, and one upon which Steck places more reliance, is that Galatians betrays a literary dependence upon other New Testament writings, especially Romans and the two Corinthian letters. The inequalities of style and the gaps in the train of thought suggest that many of the passages are brought from a foreign source and woven into the epistle, notwithstanding that they do not fit the purpose of the writer. Especially does this appear in the principal part of the letter (chaps. iii, 1–iv, 7), where the thoughts are borrowed from Romans. It is impossible that the author of Romans should be the author of Galatians, especially as the latter exhibits a far more advanced Paulinism than the former. The law is less prized in Galatians than in Romans, and heathenism is placed upon an essential equality with Judaism, whereas in Romans Judaism is declared to have the advantage. Galatians has therefore advanced farther from Judaism than has Romans, and hence could not have preceded the latter in time of composition.†

Let us consider these item by item. And first, it is very easy to assert literary dependence between two documents, but it is equally precarious to depend upon an argument drawn from that source. In many cases such dependence can be as well explained on the supposition that an author's powers of expression and thought are limited. That Galatians and Romans treat of the same general subjects is universally conceded. Steck argues that in Romans we find in full what is produced in Galatians only in outline. It is incredible to him that the outline should have been made prior to the elaborated

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 24–50. † *Ibid.*, pp. 50–78.

discussion. But in reality it is as proper to suppose that thoughts which the apostle had been accustomed to employ in public address were written out, in one case merely in outline, and in the other in detail, as that there is any dependence between these two letters. Thoughts which are well connected in the mind of the author often appear disconnected to a reader of an outline. Hence the supposition of the later origin of Galatians and its literary dependence upon Romans is unnecessary.

When we come to the particular portions of Galatians which are declared to be borrowed from Romans we find Steck misunderstanding Paul's meaning, or else making a mere similarity of thought or expression into a direct citation. In fact, excepting where Galatians and Romans both quote the same Old Testament passage, the language of the two epistles is never identical. An example is the supposed connection between Gal. iii, 13, and Rom. iii, 25. Steck declares that the former is a reproduction in another form of the thought of the latter. That the two passages have some elements of thought in common may be admitted. But how does that prove that one is borrowed from the other? It is by no means uncommon for great authors to reproduce the same thought in different form, or even in the same form, in different works. If this could prove that Galatians is dependent upon Romans it would be easy to prove that any work of any author is dependent upon all the works on the same subject by the same author. The recurrence of the same thoughts in a series of works attributed to a given writer is not evidence that these are dependent upon each other, but that they are all the product of one mind. In illustration we mention the writings of Luther, Wesley, Calvin, and Schleiermacher among theologians; and Ruskin, Emerson, and Matthew Arnold among literary men. The fact that commentators cannot agree upon an interpretation does not, as Steck thinks, prove Gal. iii, 13, to be borrowed and inserted where it has no proper connection; for upon that principle sad havoc would be made of many a sentence in the writings even of our most perspicuous authors.

Our space will not allow us to follow all the passages in which Steck asserts points of contact between Galatians and Romans. We must content ourselves with his mention of the relation between Gal. v, 17, and Rom. vii. According to

him the verse in Galatians is a brief summary of the whole discussion in Rom. vii. So certain is he of this that he declares it impossible for anyone to doubt the dependence of Galatians upon Romans after a comparison of these two passages. Assuming the identity of thought in the two passages, he asks how one can understand their deep and hidden truth without the necessary investigation of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*, the effect of the *ἐντολή*, and the law in the members and the law of the mind, as it is found in the seventh of Romans, but which is missing in Galatians. That it should all be clear to the Galatians by means of Paul's oral instructions to them cannot, he thinks, help us here, since in Galatians only the thought of the struggle between flesh and Spirit is suitable, while the other, that on account of this inner strife man cannot do what he will, has its place only in Romans. The exhortation which precedes (verse 16) ascribes to the *πνεῦμα* the power to overcome the flesh; while in verse 17 it is declared that we cannot do what we will. "Spirit" is here used in the pregnant sense of the Spirit of the new life, while in Rom. vii *πνεῦμα* is not used at all, but *ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* and *νόμος τοῦ νοός μου*. All the more unfortunate is it that in Gal. v, 17, *πνεῦμα* is taken simply as the synonym for the *ἔσω ἄνθρωπος* of Rom. vii.

If we could admit all this we should be compelled to call the author of Galatians a plagiarist, a forger, and a bungler. But the train of thought in Gal. v, 13–18, is both clear and self-consistent. The fact that *πνεῦμα* means, in the Galatian passage, the Spirit of the new life, the power by which the flesh and its lusts can be overcome, while in Rom. vii the struggle is between the individual and his own lusts, should have suggested to Steck that the ideas are not the same; and hence the necessity of seeking for a possible self-explanation of the Galatian passage. In Rom. vii the struggle is not only carried on between forces different from those involved in Galatians, but in the former the evil triumphs, while in the latter it is overcome. But that there is nothing inconsistent between Romans and Galatians is evident as soon as it is remembered that Rom. viii furnishes the *πνεῦμα* of Gal. v, 16, so that the Galatian passage is a summary of Rom. vii and viii, and not of vii alone. The only real difficulty is found in the apparent contradiction between verse 17 and verse 16.

"Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh," does seem to be contradicted by the statement that the Spirit and the flesh "are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." But we must remember that what is given in detail in Rom. vii and viii is given with all possible brevity in Galatians. Paul trusted to their memory of his oral utterances for the necessary aid in getting his full meaning. The same Holy Spirit which has given *us* Galatians has given us Romans, so that *we* can compare scripture with scripture, as they compared scripture with oral utterance. There is, therefore, no contradiction; and this may be seen without reference to Romans at all. Verse 17 affirms two principles at work within man. These two struggle for the mastery. When the Spirit moves us to virtue the flesh checks us in the execution of our purpose, and when the flesh controls our choice the Spirit hinders us from performing our volition. The result is that we cannot do the things that we will, whether they be good or bad. Here the "inner man" of Rom. vii is not mentioned except by implication. There he is very prominent and very active; here he sinks out of sight and is passive, while Spirit and flesh struggle for the mastery within him. So that verses 16 and 17 do not use the word πνεῦμα in two different senses; and both verses teach the utter contrariety of the two principles, Spirit and flesh. Galatians emphasizes one phase of the struggle and Romans another. They are not contradictory, and both are true to experience; and in both cases the result is that when we do finally come to walk in the Spirit we do not fulfill the lusts of the flesh. There is enough similarity to prove their common source; there is enough difference to show that one is not a confused reflection of the other. Steck has himself made this the decisive point in his argument for the dependence of Galatians upon Romans. An unbiased verdict must declare that no proof is here found of the supposed later origin of Galatians.

We turn now to the assertion that the Paulinism of Galatians is of a more advanced type than is found in the other principal letters. According to Steck, Romans teaches that the law was once, but is not now, the will of God; while in Galatians the promise is represented as coming directly from God in contradistinction from the law, which was given by the hand

of angels. This gives the law less dignity than the promise, whereas in Romans both have the dignity of being God's will. But it is a violent interpretation of the significance of the law in Galatians, to say the least, when Steck regards it as lowered in dignity by being "ordained by angels." Surely it is not here said that God did not give the law, but merely how he gave it. In Acts vii, 53, Stephen seems to regard the fact that angels were employed in bestowing the law upon men an enhancement of their wickedness in not obeying it. And in Heb. ii, 2, it is not the word of angels as compared with the word of God which is meant, but the law given by angels compared (verse 3) with the word spoken by our Lord. The mediation of angels in giving the law does not then degrade the law, but in the only decisive passage (Acts vii, 53) elevates its dignity. But in Hebrews, Galatians, and Romans alike the law is declared to be inferior to the Gospel. In Galatians and Romans the law is only temporary in its purpose, and, as transitory, it had its place, the only difference being that in Romans the effects of the law in human history and personal experience are more fully described and its function vindicated. To say, as Steck says, that from the Galatian conception of the law to that of Marcion is but a step, is to betray an utter misconception of the dignity which is ascribed to the law in Galatians. Marcion denies that God the Good gave the law; Galatians says of it *διαταγεὶς δὶ ἀγγέλων* (being enjoined by means of angels, or, ordained through angels). Galatians teaches not that the law came *from*, but *through*, angels. Marcion taught that the law came *from* an inferior God. One maintains and the other degrades the dignity of the law. That Steck should make the comparison shows how little of soberness there is in his criticism, and how anxious he was to support the late origin of Galatians. In his zeal he overstepped the bounds of investigation and entered the sphere of the advocate. The Galatian conception of the law does not differ materially from that of Romans, and scarcely in form. The Pauline idea of the law is no more advanced in the one than in the other; although the danger of the Galatians from the preachers of legal righteousness prompted him to show them more clearly the impossibility of salvation through law.

But Steck affirms that, while in Romans Judaism is declared

to be superior to heathenism, in Galatians they are placed upon an equality. This is supposed to be proved by the argumentation of Gal. iv, 1–11. In verse 3 the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* are interpreted as powers worshiped by the Galatians when they were yet heathen. In verse 9 they are represented as returning to these *στοιχεῖα* in beginning again to observe Jewish times and seasons. Thus the observance of Jewish festivals and the worship of heathen deities would be identified with each other, and Judaism and heathenism be placed upon an equal footing in comparison with the Gospel. But it is not necessary to interpret *στοιχεῖα* as Steck does. Alford* takes the word to mean letters or symbols of the alphabet, and translates *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, *elementary lessons of outward things*, following Conybeare's note.† This is an allowable interpretation, even though *στοιχεῖα* originally had a peculiarly heathen reference. So that the word, both in verses 3 and 9, would signify the things necessary to an immature state of religious life, such as the enactments of the law mentioned in verse 10.

But even though *στοιχεῖα* were used in verse 3 in its technical sense and the Judaistic festivals of verse 10 were referred to by the same word in verse 9, yet it would not follow that the apostle used the word for the purpose of equalizing the Jews and Gentiles before God. In comparison with the Gospel heathen practices and Jewish customs were both *στοιχεῖα*. The question of how the Gentiles came to their religious condition, as well as how the Jews came to theirs, is not mentioned here. Elsewhere in the epistle the author assumes the divine authority and origin of the law (iii, 8, 10, 13; iv, 27, 30; v, 14). If it suited his purpose better not to remind the Galatians of the origin of their religious faith and practices, as he did the Romans, it must not be held as a departure from the standpoint of Romans. But when he is quoting his rebuke to Peter he distinctly intimates the religious superiority of those who are "Jews by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles." So that the meager comparison of Judaism and heathenism in this epistle does not tend to equalize them, but asserts the superiority of the former. Hence the attempt to prove a more advanced Paulinism in Galatians than in Romans fails at this point also.

* Commentary, *in loco*.

† Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii, p. 143.

A careful scrutiny of the two epistles reveals indeed striking resemblances and differences. The only question is as to their significance. Thus far certainly nothing has been discovered which would necessitate or even suggest a separate author for each epistle and the dependence of Galatians upon Romans. The real origin of the theory was in the comparison of Galatians with what the ordinary processes of evolution would lead us to expect. The epistle is the most uncompromising expression of the ideas of Paul to be found in the New Testament. To the mind of an evolutionist this could only have come into existence after a long period during which the antagonism between Paulinism and Petrinism had gradually developed. Such was the theory which guided both Loman and Pierson* in their investigations. And the same view is held by Steck, who says that the strict systematic development of the doctrine of justification by faith found in the principal Pauline letters is hardly the work of one who lived so early as Paul, and that the attitude which Paul took toward the law was rather a practical and broad-minded sympathy with all classes than a principle so sharply defined as in the principal letters.† He regards the production of the Pauline literature of the New Testament as the result of the process which developed itself during the cementing of the union between heathen and Jewish Christianity.‡ Given this preconceived theory, it is easy to find support for it in the epistles by the methods Steck employs. But why should the views of Galatians not be the very earliest expression of the Pauline school? How many years was it from the time Luther had his eyes opened until he had nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg, burned the pope's bull, and withstood the Diet of Worms? Perhaps in fifteen or eighteen hundred years from now some one who is determined to make his facts bend to his evolutionary theory will insist that these bold and decisive acts were not possible at the beginning of the Reformation, and that it was not Luther himself, but some of his successors who performed them, much later than we have been accustomed to suppose. There are some men who reach the extreme position by a single bound, and who only after the lapse of time see any possibility of modi-

* See Völter, *Die Komposition der paulinischen Hauptbriefe*, p. 2.
† *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 370. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

fication. Apply this law of some minds to Paul, and we could explain the epistles attributed to him as scientifically as by the contrary theory. But, denying, as we do, the great divergence of view attributed by Steck to the different Pauline epistles, we explain what divergence there is simply on the supposition that the purpose for which he wrote molded the form in which he put the truth. The emergency which called for the Epistle to the Galatians did not admit of time for much elaboration nor such a mental state as would cause him to mix the healing oil with his utterances.

We must pass over the arguments by which Steck professes to show that Galatians is dependent upon Acts. They are the old ones by which it has been attempted to show that the Acts is an unhistorical work compared with Galatians. The difference is that the supposed disharmony between Galatians and Acts is turned by Steck to the advantage of the latter instead of the former. They are as ineffective in the use he makes of them as in the hands of the rejecters of Acts. The disharmony does not exist; but the two books mutually supplement each other. It will not be necessary to produce the proof of this assertion here. All our readers are familiar with it, or have the resources needful close at hand. We may also pass by his attempt to show a literary dependence of Romans and First and Second Corinthians upon the synoptic Gospels and their consequent origin at a period later than that in which Paul lived. Steck does not claim that Galatians is involved in this dependence, and he utterly fails to make it out for the three epistles mentioned. But his arguments upon the citations from the Old Testament in the Pauline epistles and upon the supposed references in them to apocryphal literature must be noticed. Steck undertakes to show* that of the eighty-four Old Testament passages cited in the Pauline letters only four betray any knowledge of the Hebrew original. He then attempts to prove that these four places can be better explained by other means, and that there is therefore nothing in all these citations which would suggest any knowledge of the Hebrew Old Testament. Of the eighty-four passages eighty are exact or free reproductions of the Septuagint. The conclusion is that Paul is not the author of the epistles in question, since he

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 211–224.

would in some way inevitably have exhibited his acquaintance with the Hebrew Bible.

It is no doubt desirable that some theory should be held by which the problems connected with citations from the Old Testament in the New may be explained. But it is wholly unnecessary to choose the theory advanced by Steck. Strange as it may seem that eighty passages should be from the Septuagint and four from the Hebrew, it cannot warrant Steck's inferences. The real difficulty lies, not in the fact that eighty follow the Greek and four the Hebrew, but that eighty follow the Septuagint, while the other four do not. Steck endeavors to make it appear that the author follows the Greek because he does not know Hebrew; and hence he is compelled to search in other Greek translations for the four which seem to be from the Hebrew. Finding them in the Greek, he leaps to the conclusion that the author cited them from the Greek. But if the author had several Greek translations before him it would still be strange that eighty citations should be from the Septuagint and the others not. It would appear that he should have quoted more from these other Greek versions or nothing. But as a matter of fact there is this strange suggestion of uniformity without the realization of it; and it is no more wonderful that the author, supposing him to be Paul, should, in four instances, have forsaken the Septuagint for the Hebrew than that another should have forsaken the Septuagint for other Greek translations. Given a sufficient motive for departing from the Septuagint, and a Hebrew, like Paul, would naturally go to the Hebrew original. By far the simpler explanation unquestionably is to suppose Paul the author who made these citations. The circuitous route which Steck is obliged to travel in order to deprive Paul of their authorship speaks strongly against his hypothesis. Should it be said that Paul as a Hebrew would necessarily betray his native tongue by some turn of language in these epistles, it may be answered that there are thousands of people in America whose spoken and written English and German are equally excellent. Born a Hebrew, but brought up in Tarsus, Paul would be equally familiar from childhood with both Hebrew and Greek. Writing to Greeks, he would naturally cite the Old Testament in the current Septuagint unless for some reason it did not suit him, under which circumstances it would be most

natural to make his own translation directly from the Hebrew. Only a critic who had a case to make out would have left the simple and natural explanation for one so far-fetched and improbable as Steck's.

With regard to the references to noncanonical writings Steck undertakes to prove distinct connection of Galatians with the *Ascension of Moses* and the works of Philo and Seneca.* But he confesses that there are at the most but two discoverable parallels between the principal Pauline letters and the *Ascension*, and that these are only possible, not actually demonstrable. Unwilling to forfeit the argument, however, he calls attention to the fact that we have of this apocryphal book only the first part, and that not in perfect condition; and suggests that if we had the entire work we might find other parallels, and appeals to Syncellus and Photius of the ninth century to prove that Paul actually did use the *Ascension* in the composition of his letters. But the distance between the time when Steck supposes Galatians to have been written and the ninth century is so great that we cannot trust the assertions of Syncellus and Photius. And even if we were convinced that the author of Galatians did, as Syncellus affirms, quote most of Gal. vi, 15, from the *Ascension*, yet would that not prove the late origin of our epistle, since it is quite probable that the book was written early enough for Paul to have been acquainted with it, which Steck himself admits as a possibility.

Philo is also supposed to have furnished forms of expression, thoughts, and symbols for Galatians,† though not in large numbers. Galatians makes a point on the singular number of *σπέρμα* (iii, 16), and Philo on the singular of *τέκνον*. Gal. iv, 9, finds a parallel in *De Cherubim*, 32; and in the same work Philo contrasts Sarah and Hagar as types of the higher and lower in intellect and education (comp. Gal. iv, 21–31). But Steck himself feels the weakness of his position. He admits that it is at least partly true that between Galatians and Philo there exists a profound difference as to thought and expression, even where they employ the same words. He even says that the largest and most valuable part in the principal Pauline epistles is peculiar to them; that these epistles are far deeper and more religious than Philo; that they lead us out of the fog

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 224-265. † *Ibid.*, p. 246.

of philosophical ideas to the firm foundation of religious fact which the person of Christ and the evolution of the Christian communion furnish; that the distinction between the Pauline and Philonean systems is, in a word, the same as that between the Christ of John and the Logos of Philo. Nevertheless he thinks all these concessions do not exclude the possibility that the writings of Philo influenced the thinking and writing of the author of Galatians. The general character of the points of similarity forbids, however, any such influence in a degree worth mentioning. The only point demanding consideration is whether, admitting the dependence supposed, Paul could have known and read the writings of Philo. The possibility of this Steck admits, but thinks it not probable. In fact, it is highly probable. For Paul was not only brought up in Tarsus, the learned city, where Philo's writings would doubtless be discussed, but sat at the feet of Gamaliel, to whom the writings of Philo would probably be known, and above all was an intimate friend of the eloquent Apollos of Alexandria, who unquestionably knew the writings of Philo. It is wholly unnecessary, therefore, to place the composition of Galatians later than the date usually assigned to it in order to account for the influence of Philo upon our epistle.

The relation between the Pauline writings and the writings of Seneca has been so often discussed that we shall try to spare our readers as much as possible from repetition. Steck has no desire to deprive the New Testament of any of its honor, and willingly confesses and even emphasizes its superiority to the writings of Seneca.* He is concerned chiefly to prove that the principal Pauline epistles are directly influenced by Seneca's philosophical writings, that he may thus demonstrate the lateness of their origin. After citing a number of parallels between the epistles and Seneca he reaches the conclusion that either the epistles were dependent upon Seneca or Seneca upon the epistles. In his judgment the dependence was on the part of the epistles. In attempting to prove that Seneca was not influenced by Paul he uses an argument which, if valid, would make it possible for the historic Paul to have used the writings of Seneca. He calls attention to the fact that Seneca died A. D. 65, and then adds that his writings were, in part at least, composed decades earlier.

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 258.

This would indeed make it impossible for Seneca, in his earlier writings, to have employed the Pauline epistles. But it would have allowed room for Paul to become acquainted with some of the earlier writings of Seneca. On this supposition it is unnecessary to date the principal epistles later than is usually done. Thus, while if a relation of dependence is demonstrated, it proves Paul to have been the dependent one, the argument defeats the principal contention of Steck, namely, that the historic Paul could not have written the Pauline epistles because he and Seneca were in part contemporaries.

It is, however, highly improbable that Paul was influenced by Seneca; and Steck admits that Seneca's numerous points of contact with Christian doctrine would alone be no ground for the supposition of a nearer relationship, since the philosophy of the period, especially so far as it belonged to the development of Platonism, had reached a monotheistic theology, an anthropology which knew and employed the contrast between flesh and spirit, and an eschatology which contemplated the punishment of the bad and the rewarding of the good, all of which resembles Christianity.* Thus, all these things are confessed to be independent of Christianity; and of course he does not deny that they are original as well with Christianity as with Platonism. Where ideas are similar, forms of expression and illustrations are likely to be similar. The argument leads inevitably to the conclusion that neither Paul nor Seneca influenced each other, but that both were influenced by the surroundings in which they were brought up. This merely admits that heathen Seneca had some light, while it also admits that inspired Paul infused into his writings a personality produced by his environments. But, above all, it clearly makes unnecessary a late date for the origin of the principal Pauline letters, including Galatians.

We may pass by the groundless hypothesis that Christianity had a twofold origin, one in Judaism and the other in heathen philosophy.† It is more important that we notice what Steck has to say in proof of the theory that the early part of the second century furnished the conditions in which Galatians might have been written. He cites from the "Dialogue with Tyrphon," of Justin Martyr (about A. D. 147), to show that there

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., pp. 250, 251. † *Ibid.*, p. 378.

were in Justin's time extreme parties in the Church who made the observance or nonobservance of the Jewish law essential to salvation.* But this by no means proves that a "conflict against Judaism as passionate as that exhibited in Galatians" was possible in Justin's time; for while Galatians recognizes the incompatibility of the legal with the gracious method of salvation, it goes further by an impassioned appeal to its readers not to fall from grace, as though there was imminent danger of so appalling a calamity. Galatians turns upon an active propaganda of Judaizers. Justin Martyr quietly relates the existence of a strong prejudice between the two extreme parties. Steck also quotes from the Ignatian epistles to show that the opposition continued even after 150 A. D.† These, indeed, exhibit a more or less active propaganda on the part of the Judaizers, but with none of the evidence of danger betrayed in Galatians. Steck seems to feel this, for he accuses Galatians of fighting imaginary rather than real perils of the Church. And as so often, so here, Steck displays a strange blindness to the significance of his own concessions, for he admits that even the comparatively mild expostulations of the Ignatian letters against Judaizing tendencies represent the existence of extremes which touched only a small portion of the Church, whereas the great body of believers were no longer troubled thereby. This is in direct opposition to Galatians, in which the extreme Judaizers are represented as jeopardizing the welfare of the great body of its readers, who were in serious danger of falling from grace. The situation, therefore, during the first half of the second century was not the same as that depicted in Galatians. The most that could be inferred from the utterances of Justin and the Ignatian letters is that the dispute had not yet altogether died out. But the danger was no longer the Judaizing of entire congregations, but only of individuals. And this corresponds to the well-known fact that before the middle of the second century there were numerous firmly established congregations of Gentile Christians, who could only be affected as the Protestant Church is to-day affected by Roman Catholicism, namely, by the occasional defection of an individual, while the main body itself is in no danger of conversion to the other.

We have now examined the principal arguments of Steck

* *Der Galaterbrief*, etc., p. 381. † *Ibid.*, pp. 381, 382.

and found them individually weak. Together they are as weak as they are when considered apart. Steck has honeycombed his entire work by his concessions, necessarily made if he did not wish to appear in a ridiculous light before the theological world. But his arguments against Galatians are so similar to those usually employed against the minor Pauline epistles that he is as justifiable as his critical *confrères*, and more consistent. If their own logic applied uniformly to the New Testament is not pleasing to them perhaps they will come after a while to see that it should not be applied at all. Such a reaction is needed, and we shall be surprised if criticism be not sobered by the recent excesses of some of its devotees. This may not be the place to moralize; but we cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that the entire process of internal criticism is so controlled by the subjectivity of those who practice it that almost anything can be suggested, and anything suggested proved to the satisfaction of many. Steck has simply given himself up to the method a little more fully than most others. With scarcely an exception the critic starts out with well-defined ends in view, and his microscope is applied for the purpose of discovering supports for his hypotheses. By skillful manipulation these are found, or manufactured out of material little suited naturally to the purpose. The simple, straightforward utterances of the New Testament are made to bear references which their single-minded authors never dreamed of. Only when some one ventures, like Steck, to carry out the method to its logical conclusions is our attention strongly directed to the precarious character of all the results of internal criticism; and our revulsion extends not only to the attempt to rob us of the four letters which have hitherto passed as unassailable, but also to the effort of the newer critical school which rolls doubts of the genuineness of some of the minor epistles under its tongue as sweet morsels. The extreme frozen region reached by the van demands that the whole procession of adventurous explorers shall come to a dead halt.

Charles W. Rishell.

Art. V.—THE PREEMINENCE OF FAITH.

The preeminence of faith in all religion is shown by the fact that its very name is given to religion itself. This chief characteristic not only colors religion, but stands for it, as, for example, the Mohammedan *faith*—the Mohammedan *religion;* the Christian *faith*—the Christian *religion.* This synonymous use is not a careless nomenclature; for from the baldest, rudest naturalism to the most ethereal idealism, as well as from the vagaries of highly wrought mythologies to the sacred supernaturalism of Christianity, one element obtains, which is admittedly faith. This world-wideness of faith places it among the great characteristics of the human race, and thus relieves Christianity of any necessity for defending it as a plan peculiarly its own, arbitrarily decreed by its great Author. The rationale of faith, then, is not distinctively a Christian problem; it is a religious problem. Further, it is a problem for psychologic and philosophic investigation.

In Christianity its place is of supreme importance. With hope and love it constitutes the trinity of permanent graces. Next to God, revealed in Jesus Christ, and the impartation of the divine life to men it is the chief theme of all the Bible. It is not merely an integral part; it is, rather, a pervasive element. The totality of all the Scripture teachings is called "the faith:" "I have kept the faith." It stands as the very first requisite for right approach to God: "Without faith it is impossible to please him;" "He that cometh to God must believe." Its principle underlies the progressive salvation, the deepening similarity to Christ; "From faith to faith;" "Purifying their hearts by faith." Its intensity and scope are the measure of our obligation to Christian service: "For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith;" "Whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith." Faith is the weapon which we may wield and always triumph: "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Faith characterizes the whole plan of God's redemption for man, whether

expressed in the Old or New Testament. Even the apparently wholly sensible, that is, visible, tangible, or audible, revelations of the very earliest days had a distinct element of faith about them. The roll of the heroes of faith begins with Abel. The first declaration in Genesis and the last in Revelation are objects of faith, since "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God," and since "Even so, come, Lord Jesus," is a believing prayer based upon the accepted promise. The Bible is a revelation which is apprehended largely by faith.

Faith, to the thought of many suggests a well-meant but credulous effort of the mind to arrive at certainty with reference to the things supernatural. Its beneficial results are viewed as unreal or are declared to be the reflex action of noble aspirations. Even Christians at times give encouragement to those asserting its inferiority. We sing, "Till faith to sight improve," thereby giving the impression that the divinely appointed way of faith is a deprivation. "We walk by faith, not by sight," is quoted as a calamity rather than God's chosen method of a holy life. Often we seek for a sign—some cross like Constantine's, flashing in starry brilliancy across the heavens; some warning like that of Belshazzar's banquet, burning its threatenings before our very eyes; or a bodily Jesus coming through closed doors. The penitent seeks to hear a loud voice; the saint longs for a prostrating, overshadowing sense of God's presence. But God speaks not now through them, for he "hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." The Spirit takes the things of Christ and shows them unto us. They are "spiritually discerned." Is this a disparagement of the Christian's privilege in Christ Jesus? We think not. Several considerations lead to this conviction:

I. Faith is the method taught by Christianity of apprehending divine truth. To others than Christians it would seem a begging of the question to prove by the Bible the superiority of faith, for the authority of the Bible is the disputed point. To show the preeminence of faith by the very book that inculcates it would be arguing in a circle. But we are viewing it from the Christian standpoint. We believe that the importance of Christian faith is minimized too much. Let us, rather, exalt it as a keener insight into the things of God than has

been granted hitherto. The trend of revelation is away from the merely objective symbol—the visible, tangible, but none the less real—to that which speaks to the inner, if not to the outer, sense. Christianity is the fragrant blossom from the bitter bud of Judaism. The pedagogue has led us to the school of Christ, who has no visible temple on Mount Zion, where in special power and burning flame his presence is attested. No hanging veil now hides the "holiest of all." No ark enshrines the tables of the law, the manna, and Aaron's rod. All is changed, and how greatly changed! If sight be the higher method of divine revelation, then Christianity is a retrogression. It surely is not an advance upon Judaism. But we know it is the "better covenant." The vision of the supernatural now granted to the humblest Christian far excels the revelation granted to priests and kings in olden times. This side Calvary and the empty garden tomb the light shines with surpassing glow. Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, That many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them." This is the final earthly stage of the redemptive plan; Christianity is not the forerunner of another revelation, as Judaism was, its predecessor. Even supposing to be true the theory of a millennial age, when Christ shall in person literally have his capital at Jerusalem and actually occupy the throne of David, that would not be the coming of another dispensation, but rather a method of bringing to speedy and triumphant close the gospel age.

Faith, then, is the plan for the reception of the fullest and latest revelation of God this side the New Jerusalem. Eternal life is already begun in and for those who receive Christ, even "them that believe on his name." "In the unity of the faith" we come unto a perfect or full-grown manhood, "unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The power that aids us to see the atoning Lamb, the abundant pardon, the satisfying grace, the wide open gates of the everlasting kingdom is none other than faith.

II. That power of the soul whose exercise is of the largest educational value is surely supreme. This claim we make for faith. That is educational which guides, develops, interprets. Let us examine faith in these three particulars:

1. *As a guiding power.* Much of our knowledge comes, and thus the soul is educated, because of the guiding work performed by the physical senses and the various mental powers. In the dark we employ our senses to enable us to walk unharmed. So the man of science projects his reason and propounds a theory. Then he marshals his facts, and the theory proves true or false as they furnish ground for a sufficient explanation or not. This pioneer work of pushing farther and farther away the frontier line of human knowledge by advancing cautiously, with hypothesis, experiment, and exploration, is largely useful in the culture of the soul. This method obtains in the operations of faith. Discerning from evidence, inferring from reasonable indications, accepting with a confiding intuition, faith ventures, grasps, accepts, rests. The illimitable continents of grace await the believing Columbus. The infinite nature of God invites reverential discovery.

2. *As a developing power.* Not the ingathering of information, but the development thereby of the soul's powers—that is education. The knowledge of some facts diminishes rather than enlarges the man. An incapacity, moral and intellectual, precludes the placing of certain facts in their proper relations; and unrelated facts lie in the mind not unlike undigested food upon the stomach. There is also a moral quality in education. Faith, by the grandeur of its subjects of contemplation, the scope of its investigations, and the purity of its atmosphere, most of all enlarges man. "With all the fullness of God" is its maximum measure. Development, to be worthy the name, must be refinement. Education is thus intensive as well as extensive. This soul refinement is in exact proportion to its independence of the purely objective—the physical. The kindergarten is for children only. The boy uses his fingers in counting to steady his mind lest it lose balance. The man puts away childish things and lifts his thoughts to the abstruse calculations. Instead of finding pleasure in the rattling drum of his boyhood he delights in the exquisite harmonies of higher melody. In worship man leaves the principles and goes on to perfection; and his progress is marked by increasing spirituality, or refinement. Of all themes that will refine those apprehended only by faith are the richest. Hence faith is the soul's greatest developer.

3. *As an interpreter.* Without this function of the mental powers knowledge would be a chaos instead of a beautiful order. Reason interprtes the sensations. It makes us see men as men walking, not men as trees walking. It gives satisfaction. A recent writer has said: "God wants two men for every truth: one to find it, the other to set it. Pickaxes cannot cut diamonds." Reason does much of this work of setting. Science needs to know that its work ends with the ascertainment of facts. Their interpretation waits for the philosopher. In the same manner faith finds the germs of divine truth; reason sets them—hence theology. Faith also interprets. The otherwise inscrutable ways of Providence are plain to faith. The man of faith, too, can give grander and far more truthful meaning to many of nature's teachings, because he sees clearly nature's God. A satisfaction comes therefrom, not fancied, but real, springing, not from credulity, but founded in soberness. It is "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding." Faith, then, excels the other faculties of the soul. Bishop Simpson's marvelous eloquence in comparing faith and reason was in no degree extravagant.

III. The superiority of faith appears also in its effect on character. Trust, patience, fidelity, humility, and hope are virtues cultivated by faith. We match "a life of faith upon the Son of God" with any other possible to men.

IV. To ask that divine facts and truths be apprehended by the physical senses, or by other of the mental powers besides faith, is only to multiply difficulties. Their perception through faith is easier of understanding. Could there be granted to each disciple of Jesus all over the earth a view of his blessed Lord in bodily form—could prayer literally materialize the Saviour before our eyes and we hear his voice and feel his touch? Such myriad incarnations are unthinkable. But may not reason have the vision of God? This would be to demand that the Creator be more explicable than his creation, for reason does not pretend to explain nature, only to describe and classify her workings. But cannot hope in its soaring flight reach God? Though there may be "full assurance of hope," though its message may be "big with immortality," "an anchor of the soul," still it can never, from its very nature, reach certainty. "Hope that is seen is not hope." Intuition can-

not fathom God. Supposing that we knew divine truths by this method, as we immediately receive axiomatic truth, then all necessity for Christian instruction were at once gone, for no amount of teaching can make such truth the clearer. Faith, then, seems the only way; or, rather, the other methods fail, and faith must assume the work. How grandly it does it let a redeemed world declare.

V. The soul with its faculties is not like a quiver full of arrows, such as reason, memory, hope, and faith. It is, rather, a unit. When reason is used it is the soul that reasons. When memory is in service the soul remembers. When faith is exercised the soul believes. Further, one power of the soul helps another, and no power can be properly in use without the aid of all the rest. Faith and sight are placed over against the other, much to the disparagement of the former. Is the disparagement real? Whatever knowledge comes through the two is alike subject to the approval of the invisible mind. Sight seems to have its reports accepted more readily than does faith, simply because there are more of them and the mind, therefore, understands them more readily. That sight helps faith, none can deny. What is true of sight is also true of every other perceptive power. They all help faith. Gideon's faith was greatly quickened by the moistened fleece. Thomas had his doubts vanish as he saw the nail-pierced hands. Mary believed in the resurrection as the blessed Lord spoke so sweetly her own name.

On the other hand, it is also true that faith helps sight. It is not necessary to enter upon the philosophy of perception to prove that one mental power aids another. It is so true that it may be used as an illustration. The tree across the way is not apprehended as such by the eye alone. The optical sensation is interpreted by the thinking self within as a tree. In like manner faith helps hearing, reason, and hope. Jesus was in the glare of public life for several years. Men saw him, heard him, talked with him; but comparatively few knew him as he really was. It would, perhaps, be harder to have faith in the Christ of Palestine, seen as a man among men, than to have faith in the Christ of the Bible and of the ages as the Spirit reveals him to us. It was true then that, though a miracle worker, he was classed among men as one of them. To-day,

when the marvelous so soon becomes the commonplace, when the unexpected scarcely surprises, the bodily Christ would not inspire the faith among men that the ascended Jesus does. Surely it was expedient that he go away.

Again, to believe that this man, weary, worn, limited, was God, that the Nazarene was the King of kings, was very difficult for those who saw him then. It could not now be done unaided. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." The two men in the Bible who had the clearest revelations through sight are yet mentioned as conspicuous examples of faith. Moses, who had the high honor of talking with God face to face, as friend with friend, is in the list of the heroes of faith whose names are recorded in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews. Paul, who received by direct revelation such sublime truths and saw such holy scenes that they could not even be mentioned, insists most of all upon faith, and is himself an illustration of its mighty power. Faith seems not only to interpret, but also to actualize sight. Faith, then, is not an underling. It has its own powers and its own province. Some things, some truths, it alone can perceive, if they are to be perceived at all. The ear is for the reception of melody, not for the perception of a landscape. Imagination is for the poet, not particularly for the mathematician. So things divine are for faith, not reason, not sight, not hope. Herein is the meaning of the definition of faith given in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

VI. Is not the very fact that faith is convinced the best evidence of truth? What is the evidence that the sun is ninety-two million miles distant from the earth? We cannot traverse it with our measuring rods. There would not be time if we could begin the journey. How, then, have we any proof of the fact? It accords with our reasoning. Reason is the evidence for all such facts. So as to the nature of God and the truth of his word. We cannot fathom the one nor prove the other altogether. Our faith accepts them. That is the only way they could come to us. We believe; that is our evidence. "Faith is the evidence of things not seen."

As a faculty of the soul we see, then, the meaning of the expressions, "the gift of God," and "as God hath dealt to

every man the measure of faith." God endows men with faith as he does with other powers of the soul, and also with varying degrees of faith. All have not the same strength of faith, as they have not of reason. Lest anyone excuse himself on the ground of small faith equipment, it should be remembered that Christ taught the marvelous power of small faith. We have not exhausted the mountain-moving abilities yet, and that is only the mustard-seed faith. God undoubtedly gives peculiarities of reasoning powers to some. It may be that he does similarly with faith. Hence the faith to be healed may be indicative of gracious endowment—not surely, or always, of sublimest trust. The faith to work miracles is also a case in point. We do not believe that the Church is answerable because she does not to-day perform physical miracles as in primitive times. Faith as strong as that is exercised for other and possibly "greater things than these." Faith for contingencies, such as the conversion of children or friends, the claiming of a hundred souls for one revival, is to be coveted, if by that we mean a surer confidence in God's ability to do those things; but, from the nature of the case, it cannot be given so long as human wills oppose. No trust in God can surely claim the absolutely certain conversion of a now impenitent sinner.

Faith needs the aid of memory, reason, hope, and intuition. Reason cannot stand alone, though seemingly the most independent of all. Where would the mathematician be if he did not remember the multiplication table? Even in the flight of poetic fancy the scope of vision must be within reason, else extravagant vagaries ensue. So with faith. While it deals largely with the future it scorns not the aid of the past. Our utmost power of confidence comes only as we remember all the way that the Lord our God hath led us. Jesus Christ, we humbly believe, will be glorious in his dealings with us forever, because we remember what he was yesterday and reflect upon what he is to-day.

Frederick N. Upham.

Art. VI.—THE OPPORTUNITIES AND PERILS OF THE EPWORTH LEAGUE.

The Epworth League is an organization implying on the part of its members the deepest religious experience and calling for all the Christian activities in which the young people of Methodism may properly engage. Terms, by their very use, limit and circumscribe the ideas they are intended to represent and describe. The name of the young people's society whose opportunities and perils it is here a privilege briefly to discuss is no exception to the rule. The organization is the growth of more than twenty years; the appellative is an apt fancy quickly seized upon as a compromise among diverse names, all in the minds of their proposers expressive of the same idea. If the name seems narrow and denominational it is wholly because one cannot express the growth of twenty years and what is still enlarging in a single term. If its fractional relation to the denominational unit is ill defined by the words "Epworth League" it is the fault of the term, just as the inability to express one third in decimal form is the fault of our series of notation. The name is but an attempt to picture externally an organization which makes its appeal to the spirit and addresses itself to the hidden seats of character and service.

To have done with the disagreeable part of the subject as soon as possible, let us first consider the perils to which the organization is subjected:

1. There is the danger, common to all organizations, that it will cramp life. To separate a part of the Church and restrict it by a constitution and by-laws is, in the minds of many, like adding a wheel or pulley to already complicated machinery. It may be feared that it will dwarf energy and render some power ineffective. Just as increased friction is inseparable from the thought of a channel to conduct water to a mill wheel and loss of energy is associated with running an electrical current over the wire of a circuit, so the Church, in maintaining the Epworth League, must take into account the probability of friction and, here and there, dwarfed powers and unapplied energy. The discriminating mind will at once concede this danger, but will consider it better to liberate a part of the potential energy in a

mill pond by a race than lose it all. Better a diminished electrical energy than no current whatever; so, better the organization of the Methodist young people as a corps or division in the Church than that they remain unused or be divided up into guerrilla bands, each fighting for its own purposes. How near the Church was to this later alternative may better be left unwritten.

2. More real is the peril that the young people may esteem their organization equal or superior to the Church and become impatient of authority. Insubordination is the common sin of new recruits. It is the special failing of youth on the verge of manhood to esteem lightly the advice of age and experience and become inflamed with the ardor of its own opinions. Every parent, as he bends over the face of his babe in the cradle, must face the possibility of a thankless child and of some day having his heartstrings torn by a rebellious or disobedient son. Nature has provided the surest guarantee against this in parental and filial affection; and the Methodist Church is protected in the same way. The members of the Epworth League are her children. They were cradled in her arms and protected by her love; and better a thousand times the filial affection these young people feel than outside admonitions that they should be loyal to their Church.

3. A third source of danger is found in the tendency to rely merely upon numbers. Beyond doubt the disposition to add chapters and to increase them in size by large multipliers in order to exhibit a large membership has been immoderately encouraged. A growing chapter roll is a welcome sight; but so far as that may indicate the Epworth League is only a mere machine. If the League be not a living, glowing organism in every church, with power to communicate spiritual and intellectual life, and be not attended by transformations both in character and opinion, it were better abolished. The only conclusive evidence that the League is a living, spiritual organism must be the communication of its life to others; and the test of its usefulness and permanency will not be the increase or decrease of the chapter roll, but the sum total of enlargement and quickening brought to individuals and churches in the wide circle of Methodism.

4. It is scarcely becoming to point to the disciplinary pro-

vision forbidding collections except for league purposes as a source of weakness; but modest opinion must be allowed so frank a statement. The danger is here twofold: first, through this prohibition, that the opportunity to educate a whole Methodist generation along lines of larger benevolence and more generous stewardship will be allowed to go unimproved, save as it is attended to by the older generation with less generous views in this regard; secondly, that the prohibition will leave the Epworth League treasury a prey to minor demands. In spite of the disciplinary clause continual attempts, many of them successful, are made to secure financial support for objects worthy enough in themselves, but in comparison to the great organized philanthropies of the Church petty and unimportant. Either consequence earnest men can but deplore.

The indifference of some pastors and the consequent estrangement of their young people; the drawing of a line of demarcation between the older and younger members of the Church; a lessened attendance at the regular midweek prayer meeting, occasioned by the establishment of a young people's prayer meeting; the frittering away of energy in mere hurrah; narrowness and exclusiveness—these are all additional and real perils, but the less dangerous because of the warnings continually uttered against them.

By its numbers, spirit, and religious inheritance the Epworth League is fitted for great enterprises. There are eighty chapters which average over four hundred members each; there are five hundred with an average of three hundred members each, the entire eleven thousand two hundred chapters having at a very conservative estimate sixty each. In addition there are two thousand Junior Leagues, with an average membership of forty each. The whole forms a glorious company of youth and young manhood seven hundred and fifty thousand strong, young, and therefore near to those celestial fountains of existence whence inspiration floods the heart and hope illumines the brain—youth, like the morning, clear, fresh, radiant, the dewdrops on its grasses and leaves transfigured by the rising sun into diamonds; a large segment of a great Church, with five generations of Christian ancestry behind them, dedicated to Christ from their birth hour, and, therefore, the very chivalry of Methodism. Opportunities are

all about them. The Church has a right to expect great things from them.

1. The revival opportunity must claim precedence over all. Methodism has always been a Church of revivals. You can trace all over the country the preachers who organized the Methodist Church at the Christmas Conference by the revival fires they kindled. Everywhere they heralded both God's love and the judgment; and, under the might of the Holy Spirit which breathed through their lips, men fell before them convicted of sin and rose up justified. These preachers exercised every form of ministerial office. They were at the same time apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists. The people cooperated with them. So it must continue to the end. No church order can legitimately interfere with the exercise of any ministerial duty. The preacher dare neglect neither his executive nor his evangelistic function. Nor may the people abdicate the privilege and duty of cooperation with their pastor by employing some one in their stead. That the pastor act as an evangelist and the people cooperate with him is a condition absolutely essential to a revival. When this exists it nullifies the laws of custom and conventional propriety. It leaves the preacher untrammeled by ultrajudicious officials and fosters in the congregation prayer, faith, hope, and love. What love prevails when these graces meet! What blessedness would come to the Church were the revival conditions prevailing everywhere! A revival is the beginning of a comprehensive Christian fellowship, the end of irrelative distinctions; and in a revival scruples are no longer magnified into principles of conduct. There is no sure remedy for indifference, formalism, and legalism save the revival. If there are preachers who do not long for a revival they are inconsequential. Yearning for souls is the secret of all pulpit success. It gives the power to utter words of beauty which touch the heart and the inexpressible charm which wins the fancy of open-minded hearers.

The other element, cooperation on the part of the congregation, it is the glorious opportunity of the Epworth League to furnish. It holds potentially within itself songs which sweeten and soften, the visitation so necessary, the testimonies which thrill and burn, and the prayers which smite through the soul and move to penitence. Its members, fresh from the altars

where they found Jesus and caught whispers of his forgiving love, constitute the spiritual aristocracy of mankind. Their youth is their strength. They have the power of doing. Their intelligence and widening experience are conjoined with force. The joyous fullness of their youth magnetizes. Their vivid insight discerns the only path of duty amid a thousand diverging ways. Their nearness to God, their purity of heart, which mirrors forth the beauty of their Lord, and their hopeful purpose point to them as copartners in a revival which shall shake to its foundations the kingdom of darkness. The significance of organization can have no better illustration than in this revival opportunity. Revivals in detached communities lose much of their force because of the narrow bounds in which they are felt. Revivals, like prohibition, should be by States or nations. This organization has the opportunity of kindling a revival in thousands of detached communities and of bringing them so close to one another that they will flow together, coalesce, and stir the nation to its religious awakening.

2. There is plainly an opportunity of attaching many more loyally to Methodism. To some this will scarcely seem to rise to the height of a great opportunity. Those, however, who know well the spirit of the Church, the minuteness and flexibility of its organization, its simplicity, the broad charity of its theology, its high-toned morality, and its rapid extension will recognize the importance of the opportunity. "Methodism," says Luke Tyerman, "is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ." At any rate, it was an innovation on all previous reforms in the Church. It broke with the customs of the times in two particulars: it opposed the tendency of most religionists to assert the majesty of God at the expense of his love; and it advocated the emancipation of conscience from the burden of legalism. These positions it has maintained ever since. Either would have made it deservedly conspicuous in religious progress; both conjoined make the movement epochal.

Methodism, like Christianity in general, proposes no easy service. In recent years there has been a tendency to drift away from the Church, some being won by the less serious tone and others by the more rigid social exclusiveness found elsewhere. The Epworth League has made this outward

current thoughtful by setting before its members the highest New Testament standard of experience and life. This standard is in direct opposition to social exclusiveness, and directs the path of conduct midway between asceticism and license. In addition, the Epworth League has furnished for itself a means for social intercourse and a channel for the courtesies and amenities which so beautify life. It has also enlarged the knowledge of the history, doctrines, and present work of the great Church of which it forms a part. To know Methodism is to love it; and the very name and department work of the Epworth League bind its members more closely to the Church. A lessened drifting away from the Church is already noticed; and if it remain true to its high standard the Epworth League will prove a magnetic pole toward which the thoughtful, charitable, strong natures of the next decade will gravitate.

3. The educational opportunity. The opportunity is unparalleled for increasing general intelligence by general reading, thereby inspiring our youth to seek a higher education and promoting Bible study. With all our appliances education is a difficult matter and the average of intelligence extremely low. Even with common schools, Sunday schools, sermons, lectures, books, and daily papers in almost endless editions the work is imperfectly done. "Give me a fulcrum," said Archimedes, "and I will lift the world." But where is the lever long enough or the fulcrum stout enough on which to lift the whole generation intellectually? It is a hard task to interpenetrate a whole mass with a single idea; how much more to mellow and ripen the thought of an age by idea after idea, as ray by ray the sun mellows and ripens an apple! To an educator any company of people, however small, affords a chance for diffusing intelligence. What an unparalleled educational opportunity, then, is here presented in this company of seven hundred and fifty thousand compacted and loyal Methodists, waiting to be directed and led! Here is a gateway to the brain kingdom and an avenue to the seats of imperial intelligence. It is all-important to the Church not only to guard these approaches, a sleepless sentinel against impure literature, but also to utilize them for the commerce of Christian ideas. Suppose that this entire membership of the Epworth League, having a taste for good reading, could next year be added to the class and

prayer meetings, the social gatherings, and the Sunday schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They would bring a revival worth having. With good reading comes an enlarged vocabulary and the power of expression; therefore interesting and stimulating recitals of Christian experience would follow. There would be an end at once to much of the vapid nonsense which passes for "testimony." The Sunday schools would be full of intelligent teachers. The prayer service would be a "holy waiting," rather than a caricature upon the "social means of grace" which in some places passes for a prayer meeting. The social life of the Church would be strangely modified. These new members of the Church, with their taste for good reading, would have no social limitations upon them. You could not exhaust their conversational possibilities in a brief chat, nor satisfy their wholesome tastes with anything less than real wit and entertainment. Some new poem whose measure pleased, an article in a late magazine, or an old book which helped to form the taste or direct thought or educate to critical acumen would be the sure basis of a charming conversation. With such young people clownish pageants and full-dress gymnastics would not pass for amusements. There would result a practical and glorious revolution.

The Epworth League can and should be used to persuade fifty thousand additional Methodist young people to attend our Methodist colleges in the next five years. This opportunity is altogether distinct from that before the Chautauqua movement. The latter comes with its ameliorating culture to a great host who could not go to college; but here is an agency with which to bring the neighboring college within the field of vision of every young member of the Church. Before the fires of youth are burned out, while the heart is still saying, "I will find a way or make one," the value of a college training, the ease with which it can be obtained, and the institutions where the college course can be most advantageously pursued should all be pointed out and dwelt upon. The alumni of our various colleges have no fairer field for rendering genuine assistance to their *alma maters* than in recommending persistently and enthusiastically the colleges of their love to the district conventions of the Epworth League. The Epworth League and the Methodist college have a common aim—that of promoting intelligent and

vital piety. The time is fast coming when there will be an Epworth League college day in every State, and when the spiritual department of the Epworth League will be the peculiar form of religious organization in every Methodist college.

There is nothing to hinder the Epworth League from becoming a great school where the Bible shall be studied, not by fugitive passages, but connectedly, inductively, and reverently. The Epworth League conventions on many districts are already great training classes for Bible workers; and no field for projecting new methods in Bible study is more inviting. Here is an opportunity to direct a whole generation of a great Church. It is to be hoped that they may come to the Bible rejecting all traditional interpretation and read it for themselves. It is their right so to do. This opportunity is prophetic of great changes. It will clear away much theological *débris*. Faith will then become an actual entrance into fellowship with the life of Christ; the atonement, a sure motive for oneness with Christ, instead of a legal mystery outside of human use; the Gospel, always good news; conversion, a process of repenting, turning, pardon, and enlargement; sanctification, a life of sacrifice, with a consecration that is renewed every hour.

4. The social crisis presents even a greater opportunity. The requirements of Christianity will soon well-nigh reverse the whole order of Church procedure. The old methods have been wonderfully successful, are still so in many places, and are not in discredit anywhere. Neither are those who employ them. But the Church must adjust itself to new conditions. Only pleasure boats use the old methods of sail and oar propulsion. Commerce has betaken itself to the screw steamer. With or without the consent of the Church emphasis has been transferred from theology to sociology, from the first great commandment to the second, which is "like unto it." Coincident with the decay of what is called doctrinal preaching has come the international agitation of labor questions, a growing consciousness of oppression and wrong among the masses, and a threatening restlessness occasioned by it. The inevitable alienation of classes in our great manufacturing centers, the extortions of the strong, the greed of landlords, the horrors of tenement houses, imperfect sanitation, polluted water supplies, inequalities of police administration, legalized dram shops,

poverty, and vice have made "our neighbor," and not God alone, the theme of the pulpit. The Church is saying less and less about mercy and charity every year, and beginning to direct its thunders more against injustice. Hitherto it has devoted itself almost exclusively to the ranks of intelligence, culture, and orderly society. It has brought in its own children, baptized them, and won those whom easy love has suggested. Henceforth its efforts must be devoted to the outcast and to those who daily pay the penalty of their sin. It must discern in the publicans and sinners—"that outer fringe of society that has fallen away from its true order and is dragged along, a shame and a clog, hated and hating, redeemable by no force it knows"—the special field of Christly service. The great churches which the new generation is to build will not be located in the elegant suburbs, but in the downtown sections. There the Church must undertake and provide hospitals, medical dispensaries, kindergartens, night schools, employment bureaus, reading rooms, gymnasia, bath rooms, Chinese schools—every form of applied Christianity. And this the Church must do, not to protect itself in its luxurious appointments from undesirable members, but to save itself from dissolution. It must be influenced by that tender and melting and most persuasive of all arguments—"for Jesus' sake." Is it not then a providence that the Methodist Church has at this juncture a whole generation of young people organized and obedient? In the whole history of the Christian Church there can be found no greater opportunity than that before the Epworth League—the opportunity to lead the Methodist Church, born in the streets of London and in the highways and hedges of old England, back to the masses from whom it is now slowly becoming alienated, that it may resume its leadership over that mighty throng who yearn in their misery for a Redeemer, and whose sin renders the statement of the doctrine of depravity unnecessary. These opportunities improved will be sufficient reason for the existence of the Epworth League.

Edwin A. Schell

Art. VII.—SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS ESSENTIAL TO THE HIGHEST POWER IN PREACHING.

The chief vocation of the Christian minister is preaching. He has other duties that are auxiliary and supplemental to it, and for which he must have adequate furniture; but his office as a preacher outranks them all. The pulpit is his throne. The Gospel has no power of self-proclamation. It needs a suitable agent and a fitting mode. Man is the accredited agent, and preaching the instrument of his power. By preaching he must engage the attention of men, instruct their understanding, convince their judgments, arouse their feelings, quicken their consciences, and direct their volitions. By it he must awaken men to a sense of their responsibility to God, and also to a sense of their moral insolvency. By it he must draw men out of a world of sin and selfishness to a penitential confession to God of their personal guilt and of their absolute dependence upon divine mercy. And by it men are to be guided, nurtured, and trained for a holy and useful life and for a final residence with God in heaven.

The power of preaching is the power of public speech. This power was an art of great repute in the pagan world when the Christ began his mission. He instantly converted it. His example was followed by the apostles. They did not aim to attract men by gorgeous vestments or stately ceremonials. They looked men in the face and preached to them Jesus and the resurrection. The flaming miracle of the cloven tongue was at once a symbol and a prophecy. It placed a divine seal and emphasis upon the art of speech, and notified the Church that this was the instrument chosen of God for the propagation of divine truth. Infinite wisdom must needs choose the best means for reaching the hearts of men; therefore this must be the best. The successors of Jesus, like him, were great preachers. The people had the law and the prophets, but these were not sufficient. A living voice was needed to state, interpret, and enforce them.

Christianity has always possessed the power of public speech. It has used it to an unprecedented degree. The prosperity or decline of the Church may be measured by the use, abuse, or

disuse of it. It is the exponent of the courage and sympathy of the Church. A higher degree of valor is required to speak than to write to men. It is also true that the way to the human heart is shorter by a sermon than by a book. Preaching is indispensable to evangelism. The work of the preacher is in part ministerial, but it is primarily and preeminently missionary. He must seek men. The lost sheep is seldom found by a pamphlet. The Bible alone will not accomplish the conversion of the world. This is to a phenomenal extent an age of letters and reading. It is sometimes asserted that the tripod of the editor is the modern pulpit, that the rhythmic clatter of the printing press takes the place of oratory. But it may be affirmed that literature, whether it be book, pamphlet, magazine, or current journal, can never be a substitute for the human tongue nor supersede the preacher. It is by the foolishness of preaching that men are yet to be saved.

The highest power in preaching is only attained when the heart of the hearer is profoundly impressed. It is undoubtedly true that the heart can only be deeply impressed through the aid of the reasoning faculties; but there may be rational processes that in no measurable degree touch the moral sense of men. The preaching that so reveals sin as that men feel its degradation, that so discloses the sovereignty of God that men stand in awe of the great white throne, that so unfolds the love of God that with the shame of transgression there springs up the hope of mercy, that so defines moral obligation as to make men feel that true reverence for God is only realized in genuine, abiding, self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of man, and that so addresses the human will as to make it pliable to moral truth and persuasion—this is the summit of all preaching.

But as a matter of fact and observation we find that all preachers are not equally successful. Some have natural ability and trained powers. They use the same words and preach the same doctrines as other men, they are blameless in their behavior, they frequently secure attentive auditors, yet they achieve but little. The apparent results are meager and superficial. They are rarely the center of any deep religious movement. Few are turned from sin to holiness by them. Others, as with the touch of a wizard, pierce through the mantle of thick-woven prejudices, subdue the pride of the most self-

willed, disperse all foes to the word of God, and, laying hold of trembling sinners, lead captive to the cross the old and young, the sage and savage, the river pirate and the devotee of fashion. The effect of their preaching cannot be explained by any of the formulas laid down in books of logic, rhetoric, or homiletics. They are sometimes men of erudition; but their success is not due to their learning. They are occasionally of very slender acquirements; but the effect of their speech is more than the surprise excited by one "whose father and mother we know." They are in some instances orators, from whose lips the truth flows out like beaten oil; but others are plain men, of homely speech, ignoring all the pleasing refinements of oratory; yet a virtue proceeds from them that is not in what they say or in the manner of saying it. Sinners are startled, reflection is promoted, and many are moved to decisive action.

The antiquated legend of the preacher who, on learning that one soul had been led to Jesus in a ministry of thirty years, proposed to invest thirty years more to accomplish the same result has wrought more mischief than good. It ought to be shrouded and buried. If it was ever true it was an impeachment of the credentials of the man who plumed himself with so much vanity on such a scant return. Not that one soul is not of infinite value; but to assume that the word of God can be faithfully declared by a man called of God to proclaim it, during such an extended period, in a populous neighborhood, and to a people who evince no external animosity to it, with no wider result is incredible. Inasmuch as seed is assured to the sower, and bread to the eater, "so," saith the Lord, "shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please."

Are there spiritual laws that account for such a disparity in the fruit of men's labors? Or must we settle down to the conclusion that by the sovereign act of God men are made to differ in their effectiveness? The last alternative would be a complacent way of throwing off all personal responsibility. But would it be rational? Would it be scriptural? There are questions that affect the moral character and status of the preacher and must be considered before we dismiss to a divine tribunal the solution of this problem. Is it not imperative that we should ask whether the Gospel is modified in its power over

the mind or conscience by the personality of the agent employed to declare it? May it not be true that the force of divine truth is increased or diminished by the moral or mental state of the preacher? It may be said that truth is truth, no matter who utters it, or even if it be rolled from the cylinder of a phonograph. And some may say, "Is not divine truth the power of God, whether it issue from holy or profane lips? Can the preacher add out of his own resources to the natural power of the truth, to its vividness, to its dynamic influence, to its illuminating force?" If so, then there is a human as well as a divine element in preaching. This also adds immensely to the responsibility of the sacred office. Of what infinite delinquency a man is guilty who puts in peril the life of the soul—not his own soul only, but the souls of others—and withholds from men the propulsive or the attractive power of a surcharged personality?

Whether the degree of spiritual life in the pulpit necessarily determines the state of the Church and of society may not be susceptible of demonstration; but history points to the existence of such a process. For two centuries succeeding the dawn of the Christian era the men who preached the word held the truth with a reverent and earnest faith. They believed implicitly and spoke with a directness that was simply the natural and spontaneous outflow of the Christ life. This life was the evidence to them that they were born again. Their preaching was chiefly the corroboration of the doctrine of Christ, as it existed in their own consciousness, and pious exhortation to others to adopt and enjoy it. The pulpit was filled with a passion for souls, and the truth was made authentic to the skeptic and to the inquirer by the unconscious art with which it was urged upon them. But soon, like the spread of infected air, devitalizing theories spread among the leaders and preachers of the Church. They were less concerned about their spiritual union with Christ, and more anxious about theories, ceremonies, sacraments, dignities, relics, and external forms. They became dogmatists, ecclesiastics, ritualists, polemists, allegorists, speculators, dreamers, parrot-like followers of other men's notions.

There were, however, two notable exceptions. John Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed," was preeminently a preacher.

He lost himself in solitude for his cause. He aimed to move the conscience of men and succeeded, for his own was powerful and sensitive. It was said of him, "He breathed upon all duties the life and the moving power of the person and work of Christ." He united voice, language, passion, taste, art, piety, and motive in his dauntless enforcement of divine truth. He had a deep, broad, strong, spiritual nature. He was scholarly, lucid, majestic, tropical. He knew the mind of man and how to deal with it so as to secure a prompt response. He was a master in the use of the human voice. But the supreme force behind all these, and endowing them with a holy utility, was manhood in the image of God. He gave forth not only light but heat. He poured his own feelings into his utterances. He left the Church a legacy of a thousand sermons; but one discourse as it fell from his burning lips wrought more effect upon the souls of men than all his published sermons. There was also Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, who was more Protestant than Romanist. It is said of him that "there was an emphatic impulse which he gave to instruction in truth and to impression through it, as opposed to the arts of the mere orator." An intense moral earnestness and deep spiritual insight enabled him to search the hidden man of the heart as from his own self-knowledge. In the fourth book of his manual, entitled *De Doctrina Christiana*, he shows that the personality and earnestness of the preacher are the true secrets of his greatest power.

If these two consecrated men had been supported by colaborers equally devout, direct, sincere, and spiritual Martin Luther would not have been a religious necessity. Great names in the Church preceded these, and many rose to eminence in the ecclesiastical firmament after their translation; but in none of them was there the same unadulterated love of God and of human souls. Gregory the Great observed that "the sermon has most effect when given by the person whose it is." And of the Venerable Bede it is noted that "his genuine sincerity and piety were so apparent as to add greatly to the force of what he said." But he was never a great preacher. He preached mainly to priests, seldom to the people. In the Eastern Church preaching so lost its importance that for a thousand years no great name has appeared stirring the hearts of the masses. That Church has become a mere sacerdotal system. The czar

is the censor of the pulpit as of the press. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty;" but Russia is without the Spirit of God. She has altars, but no pulpits. If the ministry of the Greek Church were in spiritual union with Christ and filled with an unaffected love of the people the truth would blaze, like long-pent-up fires, from a thousand sacred forums, and revivals of religion would be as common and as extensive as the grain harvests of our great West.

The Reformation was a revival of preaching. Luther was a preacher. He wrote, "It was a fire within me. Woe is unto me if I preach not." Even before his discovery of the doctrine of justification by faith he broke in upon the moral and spiritual torpidity of his hearers with the force of a mountain wind; but when he realized salvation by faith his power was multiplied a thousand fold. Townsmen and students alike heard him with intense eagerness. Twenty-five thousand souls in the market place hung upon his words as dying men listen to words of hope. More than the novelty of his doctrine or the force of his style of address impressed them. It was the man—a man who believed in justification from sin, with a clear intellectual perception of that glorious truth, and the rapturous consciousness that it was a fact in his own experience.

John Wesley was but a mediocre preacher for years, and his name would probably never have arrested any but an antiquarian eye in the history of his times if it had not been for that memorable visit he paid on the 24th of May, 1738, to the Moravian Society meeting in Aldersgate Street, where he felt his "heart strangely warmed" with a sense of the forgiveness of sins. He thereafter preached the bliss he felt. He became an outdoor preacher in 1739 by virtue of the expansive power of the love of God and men abiding in him. He could not be kept from the people. He had made no new discovery; he was but the incarnation of the three glorious truths that every man may be saved from all sin, now, and may know it. He was controlled by the conviction that God could, would, and did save from sin. Like the light that leaps from the seacoast tower, no matter from which side of his intellect the truth broke forth it was a flash from the same burning lamp. John Wesley's warm heart was like a great hearthstone, from which radiated a cheerful Gospel wherever he went. The men who

gathered about him put back of the truths they preached the same clear, controlling consciousness of salvation.

John Knox, of Scotland, and Jonathan Edwards, of New England, were each endowed with a strong sense of the sovereignty of God. They were leavened with it, and felt themselves to be vicegerents of the justice of God against sin. They preached as deputies of the God of holiness. They are by some styled morbid preachers, carrying self-inspection to an extreme. Men preach what they are, as well as what they think and believe. The late Charles H. Spurgeon was a bright and shining modern exemplification of the vital relation of personality to the influence of the truth.

Who that heard our great Simpson can ever forget him as, filled with his theme, he expanded his broad chest and drew his form up to its full height. He was then the personification of the truth. Eye, voice, gesture, attitude—all these, subjected to ever-changing modifications, made the word of God irresistible. No one thought of the preacher. Indeed, all volitional thought was suspended. The preacher did all the thinking. There was but one determining brain, and that was in the pulpit. His soul was so full and active that every obstruction was swept before its rush, until through every heart in the audience his message had an unimpeded course. He seemed then like an archangel with orders fresh from the throne of the Saviour of the world.

The history of Christianity is the history of the rise or decline of preaching. Whether it be mysticism, Arianism, pietism, asceticism, theism, materialism, ecclesiasticism, saint worship, Mariolatry, ceremonialism, rationalism, illuminism, or salvation by faith which has predominated among the people, the cause of such predominance may be found in the hearts of the preachers. What, then, are the conditions of power in preaching?

I. The preacher must dwell in Christ, and Christ in him. This requirement has all the authority of an axiom. Every sermon he preaches is an announcement of his personal relations to Christ. He stands before his fellow-men always with Christ's mantle upon him. Other men may be content to allow their position to be a matter of deduction, or they may by certain public subscriptions of their allegiance affirm in a formal way once for all their Christian character; but his confession of Christ in-

heres in every function of his office. He need wear no distinctive garb to keep his office fresh in the thought of the people. The currency of his official title will do that. It is the standard by which he is always measured and judged. A merchant does not lose standing in the marts of trade nor an artisan the esteem of the workshop by the absence of any zeal for the person and mission of Christ. But a preacher cannot be indifferent to the cause of Christ without attracting public attention and inviting common contempt. An engine-driver on the rail, a clerk in the bank or store, a teacher in the public school, a statesman in his political duties, a bricklayer, blacksmith, carpenter, or weaver—these men do not advertise their relation to Christ by the mere pursuits in which they are engaged. They are not required to do so. They may or may not be Christians. But it is otherwise with a minister. He can never separate himself from his profession of Christ. His name, spoken, printed, or written with any official designation attached to it, everywhere carries with it the thought that he is a Christian. He must not merely subscribe to a Christological creed or pose as a mere preceptor, to interpret doctrine to others. He must be in heart fellowship with Jesus. Christ must be in him a living, active power. Christ must be formed within him, so that out of his consciousness of an indwelling Christ he shall preach Christ. If Christ be made unto him wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, then as a concomitant of such a state his projective power will be increased in preaching these realities to others. He will not be the light, but he will be an effective witness of the light. What Lockhart says of Burns may be said of him, "The passion traced before us has glowed in a living heart, the opinion he utters has risen in his own understanding and been a light to his own steps." He will not speak from hearsay, but from sight and experience. He will speak forth what is in him, not from any outward call of vanity or interest, but because his heart is too full to be silent. He will speak it, too, with such melody and modulation as he can, in homely rustic phrase, perhaps; but it will be his own and genuine. This is the grand secret for finding hearers and retaining them. Let him who would move and convince others be first moved and convinced himself. Be true if you would be believed. Let a man but speak forth with genuine earnestness the thought, the

emotion, the actual condition of his own heart, and other men —so strongly are we all knit together by the ties of sympathy— must and will give heed to him. In culture or in breadth of view we may stand above the speaker or below him; but in either case, if he is earnest and sincere he will find some response within us, for in spite of all casual varieties in outward rank or inward, as "face answereth to face," so does the heart of man to man. In a very great degree the highest power in preaching is derived from the presence and work of Christ in the heart of the preacher. Next to the Bible his heart will be his principal notebook.

II. The preacher must realize that he is called of God to preach. The value of piety cannot be overstated. But no degree of saintliness is in itself and alone a warrant for any man to take upon himself this divine office, nor is the power of public speech. The general public and the majority of serious parents in the Church regard the ministry as a profession, to be ranked with law or medicine; and they assume that any man who feels a turn for it in the ordinary sense of the word is entitled to enter it. "No man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." As well might a man assume to represent the government of the United States at the court of St. James because he is a loyal citizen and a patriot, as for a man to claim the right and authority to stand in Christ's stead before men in such an office because he is a sincere disciple of Jesus, or has a natural preference for religious discussion, or is a clever man with the people. One of the most entertaining preachers of the day states that, while upon the hustings and after years of political adventure, the thought took possession of him that if he could hold the attention of men from a street platform on a political subject he could as equally win their attention in a discussion of religious themes. That was his call. It may have been a divine voice that he heard. I do not forget that Elisha was plowing when Elijah laid upon him the mantle of prophetic dignity. But in itself no such suggestion is sufficient authority to preach. The marked change in the social position of Methodism during recent years and the recognition of it in the public press, with the fraternal favor now bestowed upon it by all evangelical denominations, have given rise to new perils, born of new conditions.

Some of these threaten to sap the spiritual life of the laity; some assail the ministry. No position in life introduces a man more quickly to the best social and intellectual surroundings than admission into the ministry. His office provides him access to the best homes in the community. He is only excluded when tainted with crime or suspicion. Even then society is reluctant to disown him. The temptation to seek this office for worldly or social reasons is apparent. But our new environments only more deeply emphasize the necessity of a direct mandate from the skies to insure the highest power of the preacher. The finger of God must engrave it so deep on the heart that it can be seen by the understanding and felt by the conscience. It cannot but go into his manner. The man who represents a great nation at a foreign court and to the world will be chastened in his temper, elevated in his thought, and quickened in his zeal. How more profoundly will this be true of one who feels called of God to stand for him before the world! Think what strength, what courage, what zeal, what love, what self-sacrifice will be born of such credentials! The man who is thus separated from men by the sovereign will of God has assured to him special grace from God for the duties laid upon him. The action of this divine commission upon the reasoning powers must excite them not only to a high degree of activity, but be a guide to the most careful conclusions. He who is to speak for God will be sure to separate the chaff of his own conceits from the wheat of the divine mind. The emotional nature of the preacher will likewise be stirred to its profoundest depths, but at the same time will be preserved clear as crystal. To stand in the light of the throne of the Most High and to speak for him that holds the scepter of the universe in his hand is the sublimest position assigned to any creature.

III. The preacher must have a deep conviction of the truth of his message, that it is from God. He must know its contents and where its boundaries are. Men are anxious for opinions, but the preacher must state facts. He must state truth, not notions. If he does not know the mind of the Spirit, let him keep silence. If he does perceive the intent of God, let him announce it. If he holds realities he will preach realities. If he has nothing but fancies, what else can he furnish but painted rainbows? Rufus Choate said that men should not be

like weather-vanes, veering with the wind, but like mountains, which turn the course of the wind. Nothing so affects one's manner as clearly defined and well-settled spiritual principles in the inner life. The whole external man is modified by their influence. They give inflection to the voice. It is incisive or pathetic, persuasive or admonitory, as they are sharp or tender, earnest or conclusive. The range of its gamut is the sweep of his convictions. The preacher must know the truth to possess it. He must search for it to obtain it. He cannot search well unless he be trained to find the way, and to detect it when he sees it. An opaque mind can never transmit the white light of truth. A disorderly brain can never present an orderly arrangement of the truth. It is as true of ideas as it is of men, that a few well-organized and directed convictions will disperse a mob of fancies. There never has been a time when men were more anxious to hear opinions about God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, sin, salvation, death, immortality, heaven, hell, and the judgment day. But what the world needs now and always are verities concerning these profound subjects. In this world, where the withering grass and the fading flower are the symbols of so much of human experience, human souls are in an agony to find something that is permanent. The preacher who believes his message, with no reservations, will preach it with a full breath, and the mark of his message will be traced on all the being of those who hear him. And, moreover, men will hear him. Effectiveness will be in proportion to faith.

IV. The preacher must apprehend the full significance of man. He must discern what he is and what he ought to be, the nature and complexity of his organization, what his needs are, and what his responsibility is. Next to the study of the book must be the study of man and men. They cannot all be approached from the same angle or impressed by the same methods. But he must reach them. If he does not his ministry fails of its purpose. There are no miraculous endowments which enable him to dispense with study. He must know man to control him. He must feel his necessities to deal with him and help him. He must feel that the welfare of man here and hereafter is poised on man's own self-determining will. The realization of what man is, what he should be, and what he may be will move the soul of the preacher until every drop

of blood in him will quiver with concern. Out of this sense of the value of man sprang that amazing and sublime mediation of Moses on Sinai, when by expostulation he averted the wrath of God from the camp of Israel, "If thou wilt forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." It was this perception of the human and eternal issues at stake that extorted from Paul that wail of agony, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." The effect of this conception of man and his future destiny will be a powerful incentive to the enunciation of the truth. When Sir Isaac Newton was completing his demonstration of the law of gravitation he was so agitated at the grandeur of his discovery that he was compelled to employ an amanuensis to complete the record of it. So the recognition of all that is involved for the human race in the acceptance or rejection of God's overture of mercy to men must inevitably quicken every latent power of the preacher and give it its strongest expression.

One experiment of Mr. Tyndall, in his lecture on light, was always very forcible. He took a piece of alum and, intercepting a beam of light with it, projected an image of the ray of light upon the screen. It was a brilliant but cold spectrum. It was light without heat. The lump of alum held back the ray of heat. But light and heat are twins. God made them so. And light without heat would only serve very soon to display a bleak and cheerless world. It is a great propulsive force. The old Scotch woman's quaint demand of the new pastor was a simple woman's perception of the power of the pulpit, "Give me the word," she said, "hot off the bakestone." The pulpit must furnish light; but it will accomplish but little for men or with them unless that light is accompanied with divine heat and with the sympathy and passion of an anxious, consecrated soul, yearning for the salvation of man and bending every power to realize it.

W. Swindells

Art. VIII.—THE REMOVAL OF THE TIME LIMIT.

This question will without doubt be again brought before the next session of the General Conference; and, although it will hardly be possible to present any new arguments on either side of the subject, the polemical warfare must necessarily continue until one side or the other is victorious.

The Committee on Itinerancy at the last General Conference somewhat startled the assembly by presenting, on the twelfth day of the session, a report recommending the entire removal of the time limit. The vote in the committee had stood forty-nine in favor of this report to nineteen against, or more than two and a half to one—an astonishing majority obtained in one of the most important committees organized by the General Conference. A minority report, signed by sixteen members of the committee, was presented two days afterward, to the effect that "the present time limit of five years should be allowed to stand until the Church has had time to give it a fair and reasonable trial." On the nineteenth day of the session, after a protracted debate, the minority report was substituted for the majority report by a vote of 298 to 162 and was adopted. The question naturally arises why this large majority was cast against the removal of the time limit when the vote of the Committee on Itinerancy was so overwhelmingly in favor of the removal of all legal restrictions. On this point opinions will differ; but it was believed by many in the General Conference that, if the debate on the question could have continued without the interruptions caused by the General Conference elections, the majority report would have been adopted. In all probability it was only defeated through the plea presented in the minority report that the present five-year limit had not been sufficiently tested. It seemed only just that those in favor of the removal of the limitation should be willing to give the five-year rule a reasonable trial. The question was therefore not decided, but postponed, the postponement being secured by the delay of five days before taking the final vote, which delay may be considered providential, inasmuch as great changes should progress slowly and reforms that are sure to come can afford to wait.

The Church tested the two-year limitation for sixty years,

and the three-year rule for twenty-four years, or a little more than one third of the sixty years; therefore will not one third of the twenty-four years be sufficient for the trial of the five-year limit? The General Conference of 1896 will answer this question and, we trust, will give to the millions of Methodism an untrammeled itinerancy for the work of the twentieth century. During the debate at the last General Conference nine spoke in favor of, and five against, the removal of the limitation. The opposition did not argue the question so much as they pleaded for longer trial of the five-year rule. Among the statements made were the following: "If this action is taken you will ruin the itinerancy in twenty-five years;" "The Church will fall into Congregationalism;" "The bishops will be unable to make the appointments;" "Methodism has done grandly under the time limit;" "An itinerancy without a time limit is a thing of which dreams are made;" "The Church is not ready for the change;" "Do not strike down a piece of mechanism so well constructed by the fathers." Danger signals like the above may have frightened the Conference of 1892, but we predict that the arguments of those who favor the removal of all restriction must be met and answered if the question is to be decided again in the negative.

It may not be inopportune to present some of the reasons why the pastoral limitation should be entirely removed:

I. We affirm that previous extensions of the time limit have been beneficial to Methodism. Who will charge that the advance of the limit to three years, and then to five years, has worked hardship to the country charges? Why then array the city against the country and cry "class legislation?" If the country charges do not feel the need of a more extended pastorate how can they be injured by granting such an extension to the cities, which do realize such a need? We claim that the country pastorates have been lengthened by the extension of the time limit from two to five years. The record of five hundred and forty ministers in the Northern New York Conference and the Black River Conference, since 1836, has been traced with instructive results. Previous to 1864, under the two-year limit, the average pastorate was one year, three months, and eighteen days. Under the three-year limit the average pastoral term was two years and twenty-six days, and

in all probability the average has now reached nearly three years; therefore the country pastorate must have been lengthened as well as that of the city, and the city is not arrayed against the country, as has been claimed. Even though the country pastorates might be shortened because of the extension, this is no reason why all charges and pastors should not stand on their merits. Were the cities mistaken in their desire for an extension of the time limit? Were there any memorials from cities asking the last General Conference to return to the three-year limit? On the contrary, did they not present many memorials praying for the removal of all restriction?

II. The limitation is contrary to sound common sense and business principles. What would the commercial world think of removing clerks as soon as they became thoroughly familiar with their trade and customers; or of compelling doctors, lawyers, or judges each five years to begin anew the work of life in untried fields: or of a government that denied congressmen and senators the privilege of reelection? Such limitations would call forth the derision of all thinking minds. The college president and professor are often retained during life, because their value increases with each year; but there would be more reason in limiting the period of service among college presidents than among pastors, for students only remain at college till their studies are completed, while the larger portion of our membership remain in the same church until death. What if it had been the law that the generals in the late war should have been removed at the end of three years, according to the limitation of Methodism at that time? If the cabinet had said to General Grant just before the battle of the Wilderness, "Your time is up, and no matter what the exigencies are, you must go," the government would have been the laughing stock of the civilized world. Why, then, should Methodism, in the midst of revivals, church building, and other enterprises, take the position that the man who has his hand on the helm must go at the end of five years? How can we foretell, five years in advance, the condition of things on a certain charge? There should be no law forbidding the cabinet to use their wise judgment and follow sound business principles, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, in the appointment of ministers the fifth year as for the other four years, and so on to the end of their

pastorate, however long, instead of foreordaining, without foreknowledge of events, that on a certain day when the clock of Methodism has struck five, whatever the exigencies of the case, the pastor must be moved. How long shall such an absurdity remain in the Methodist Episcopal Church?

III. The limitation causes an enormous waste of power. Cities demand longer pastorates than the country. In the cities there is less marked denominationalism, and people attach themselves more to a great personality than to a denomination. There is also greater competition in the cities, and it is impossible for Methodism to vie with other systems, where the preachers are centers of influence in one church for a lifetime, while our ministers are removed as soon as they have thoroughly organized their forces and have become acquainted with their environments. Cities demand that a minister shall take part in great public movements, such as educational and moral reforms. But because our ministers are so little known outside of their own churches their power continues merely local, while the clergymen of other denominations exert a general influence in guiding the current of public sentiment and in inaugurating great public enterprises. This great waste of the personal power of our representative ministry is a serious loss to Methodism and the world. Our bishops who are located for many years at the centers of population have often inaugurated great enterprises, illustrating what our leading city pastors could do if allowed longer time. How absurd, for instance, to think of removing Bishop Hurst from the city of Washington in the midst of the most stupendous educational movement of this century! We have shown that the removal of the disability in the city churches will not necessarily antagonize the interests of the country charges, but on the other hand it will become a blessing to both. Yet, if we should concede a possible injury to the country, are not the cities destined to control the country as Gibraltar does the Mediterranean? Is it not true that the Church which fails in the cities will finally fail everywhere? The limitation of pastoral service is not only a waste of personal influence, social power, and acquaintanceship, but also a loss of money, health, valuable members who drift to other communions, and thousands of probationers who leave our Church because their spiritual leader has been torn away from them in

the days of their first love. Ours is the greatest revival Church since Pentecost, but without doubt loses more converts than all other Protestant denominations combined. A large portion of this waste is caused by the limitation of the pastoral term.

IV. The limitation is already encumbered by its many exceptions. Paragraph 179, section 3, of the last edition of the Discipline says of the bishop: "He may make the following appointments annually, without limitation of time." Then ensues a page and a half of exceptions to the time limit—enough to burden almost any other law to death—and the limitation staggers on under the heavy load to the final doom which a few more exceptions will bring to pass. To the average mind what appears good for bishops, editors, secretaries, missionaries, book agents, college presidents and professors, chaplains, Bible and temperance agents, etc., might also prove a blessing to ministers in the actual pastorate. In conversation Bishop Thoburn said at the last General Conference: "One of our bishops once attempted to enforce the three-year limitation in India. The first case considered was that of a missionary who had remained three years and fully mastered the language of one section of India. I said: 'If you remove this man it will require three years for a new man to learn the language, and the man removed will occupy about the same time in acquiring the language of a new section. It will therefore be a loss of six years' time.'" It is not necessary to say that the rule was not enforced. The effort to transplant the time limit into foreign fields has proved a signal failure. The flower is too delicate to bloom outside of America, and will soon be among the rare specimens of an extinct species in this country. Is not the time lost in the study of a city population and of its great movements as great a waste as that involved in the study of a language? O, that common sense might rule in America as well as in India!

V. If the limitation were removed, although the average pastorate might not exceed three years, we would enjoy the benefit of the feeling throughout the Church and community that the pastor had come to stay. The condition of restfulness among the people and the inducement to plan for a long term would be of great value, although the pastorate might not continue more than three or five years. The entire town or city would

look upon the Methodist minister as a Christian citizen who might remain a lifetime, rather than as a transient visitor whose time of departure was absolutely fixed.

It will be proper to notice some of the objections often made to the proposed change:

1. It is affirmed that a limitation is essential to the permanency of the itinerancy; that is, the bishops would meet with the same difficulty which confronted Asbury, and would be unable to remove ministers after a long period of years by episcopal prerogative alone. We reply that ministers and churches have resisted the appointing power, when removals have been made against their will before the expiration of the limitation. But have any societies been lost to Methodism on that account, or has the old itinerant wheel been retarded in its regular revolution? Independent churches may be formed in other denominations, but rarely in ours. If there should occur a few troublesome exceptions, would it not be better to endure a little friction than to weaken all the splendid machinery of Methodism? How does the removal of the limitation work in Germany, Switzerland, India, and our other foreign fields? Is there rebellion anywhere when missionaries are removed who have been ten, twenty, or thirty years in charge of the same mission? Why, then, look for serious results under similar conditions in America? On the other hand, what bishop would endeavor to move men as desirous of remaining as the people were to retain them? Suppose one had removed Spurgeon. When people entered London they would have said, "Where is Spurgeon now?" To this would be answered, "O, somewhere in Scotland!" We cannot utilize the power of some men in personality and in eloquence unless there is given them a single position to maintain for many years. Some champions of the time limit tremble over the possibility of losing a few rebellious ministers and churches in the event of the removal of the restriction; but they are not frightened over the thousands of laymen and scores of ministers who leave Methodism because of the time limit. They exclaim: "Joy go with them; we can well afford to lose them; the mission of Methodism is, in part, to reinforce the other Churches." O, consistency, thou art a jewel!

With about ninety-five per cent of the Methodist ministry

the limitation is removed already, except that it stands before them as a rebuke for failing to remain a full term. If the bishops find no difficulty in moving ninety-five per cent of our ministry before the expiration of the five years, why may we not trust the episcopal power and the loyalty of the remaining five per cent and remove the legal barrier altogether? In the Southern California Conference, of which the writer is a member, out of a membership of one hundred and forty-six only two ministers have completed the five-year pastorate, and only one is on his fifth year at the present time. Not a single presiding elder has completed the full term of six years, although five men might have done so had they remained in the office to the present time. In the Puget Sound Conference, among its one hundred and twenty-eight members, not one is on his fifth year. In eastern Conferences we are aware there is a larger proportion of five-year men, where great cities demand longer pastorates; but the number will probably not exceed five per cent of the whole. Is not, then, the time limit virtually removed from about fourteen thousand traveling preachers, while its iron grasp clutches only about seven hundred ministers who are struggling manfully for freedom? Shall we not aid this minority to lay aside the weight that they may run the race more successfully?

2. It is also claimed that the removal of the limitation would allow heresies to take deep root in certain sections of Methodism, resulting in the final alienation of the local society. If it be true that we have heretical ministers within our fold would it not be a wiser plan to confine the evil to a single charge, where it could finally be utterly destroyed, than to transfer the deadly plant and scatter its noxious seed among a dozen charges? Cut out the cancer, though it kills one church, rather than transmit the disease to multitudes, even on the supposition that the many would become only slightly infected.

3. It is claimed that the most popular ministers would retain the best appointments, leaving the younger pastors no opportunity of promotion. Does this condition of things obtain in sister Churches? Remove the legal restriction, and two other limitations remain. The desire of ministers and people for a change and the removals by death are sufficient to change about one fifth of the ministry in any denomination every year.

There is therefore a compulsory itinerancy, without the operation of the time-limit, in all the Churches, which opens some city appointments every year; and the young pastor who has outgrown his country charge will gravitate to the city as certainly as water seeks its level.

4. Many articles have been written extolling the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, describing our admirable system of appointing fifteen thousand ministers yearly, and showing how our organization is very like that of the national government—our bishops corresponding to the justices of the Supreme Court, who are elected for life, our General Conference to Congress, our Annual Conferences to the several States, our District Conferences to the counties, and our Quarterly Conferences to the towns and cities. We are told, also, that every charge is supplied with a minister and every minister appointed to a charge, with planetary regularity rather than with the comet-like uncertainty of the other denominations. But what has this to do with the time limit? We had the itinerancy many years before the time limit was born, and the grand itinerancy of Methodism will live on in a larger life after the time limit is dead. The terms "itinerancy" and "time limit" are not synonymous, nor are they united as were the once famous Siamese twins, to whom separation meant death. The time limit is only an attachment put upon the machinery of the itinerancy as an experiment, at the request of one man; and, after nearly a hundred years of trial, the Church is ready to remove the attachment and return to the system of itinerancy bequeathed to us by John Wesley. One of the proofs of the immortality of the soul is the fact that a person may lose the senses of hearing, seeing, tasting, and smelling, while the soul itself remains unimpaired; is it not, then, reasonable to conclude that the man will remain when the sense of feeling is destroyed? May we not use a similar argument in reasoning about the preservation of the itinerancy? The time limit lost a portion of its force in 1864, when the extension to three years was voted, but the itinerancy seemed invigorated rather than impaired. At the General Conference of 1888 the time limit lost nearly all its remaining force, while the itinerancy, the soul of connectional Methodism, seemed stronger than ever. Therefore, if the last spark of life in the time limit should go

out forever in 1896, the principle of the itinerancy would feel no fatal shock, but would move on untrammeled to the grander achievements of the coming century.

In closing it may be well to add utterances of two representative men on this question of the removal of the limitation. Dr. R. S. Storrs some time since thus expressed his views:

> I should fear that the strong tendency must be, if other men are as dependent as I am on outside incentives, to lead them to rest, after several removes, in past preparations, rather than to brace themselves for fresh research and recent thought. The systematic forecast of mind which plans for results only to be reached after years of labor, would seem to me likely to give place in this scheme to a hasty scramble for immediate effects, accomplished by startling immediate efforts. And there certainly is a power which comes with years to one who has long guided a congregation, baptizing, marrying, and burying its members and becoming familiar with family traits, experiences, history—a power which cannot be transferred to others, and which no more can be gained in a brief pastorate than a wheat harvest can be extemporized. This seems to me an evil to be remedied. The Church will never have its just power in populous cities until its ministers have the opportunity to get fully identified with the life of such cities and to take, as they ought, a leading part in their educational and social development. I have no doubt that the practical sagacity of the Methodist mind, for which I have an unfeigned admiration, will find a way to remove ere long what seems to me a grave defect.

And Bishop Goodsell, in the *Review* for January, 1893, after showing that strong churches grow about strong men, continues:

> Dearly loving and highly honoring our own Methodist Episcopal Church, ought we not to ask, in view of these facts, whether much of our tenuity in the great cities is not due to the rapidly fading remnant of an itineracy of which we have had little, practically, since the abandonment of the old circuit system? Have we not sacrificed the man to the system, and so have we not been fighting against the providence of God?

E. W. Caswell.

Art. IX.—THE REIGN OF THE SPECIALIST IN OUR SCHOOLS.

American education has received of late a wonderful impulse from German pedagogy. Ever since our young men have frequented European universities and there imbibed the spirit of progress there has been an improvement in the former routine methods of instruction in our institutions of learning. The change for the better has been so radical that it could be termed the American educational *renaissance*. A new spirit has been infused into our schools, and courses of study have been changed to meet the demands of our modern intellectual life. With the introduction of European university methods the aim of the college professor has also undergone a change. It is no longer his ambition to be considered a successful teacher, but rather to be known as a specialist.

It must, however, not be forgotten that the average American college is far from being, either in organization, purpose, or scope, the equal of the European university. If its curriculum embraces much more than a German gymnasium or a French *lycée* it undertakes work that it cannot do thoroughly. In view of this fact it is not necessary that its chairs be filled by men of extraordinary attainments in any one specialty. The questions asked when a vacancy is to be filled in our high schools, academies, and institutions of collegiate grade should not be, "What original research has the candidate made? What books or learned treatises has he written? Where has he studied? What degrees has he taken? Has he been abroad?" but, "What is his ability as a teacher? Can he arouse the students to activity? Can he inspire them with a love of the true and the good? Has he correct views of education? Is he hedged in by a specialty? Does he drive a hobby? Is he a man of good morals and correct habits, and will his influence on the youth coming under his instruction be salutary?" These and similar questions, however trite, are far more important than those pertaining to one-sided scholarship, which so often determines the choice of a man when a vacancy is to be filled. Of course, a candidate for a certain position should be intellectually, as well as otherwise, thoroughly qualified to fill it. What I mean

to say is that in order to be a successful teacher in the secondary school or average college he need not be a specialist in the sense in which the term is now generally understood. For example, to teach Latin successfully one need not be a Sanskrit scholar, and an acquaintance with Provençal and Old Spanish does not enable one to impart with greater ease the ability to read, write, and speak French—the only objects aimed at by those studying that language in our schools of secondary or collegiate grade. A minute knowledge of fossils may be of great satisfaction to the possessor thereof, but the teacher of science in the ordinary academy or college can make but limited use of it in the school room. From a desire to be scientific in their instruction teachers are often tempted to slight those things that are essential to the pupils and to indulge their private tastes for subjects which the students ought to postpone to a later day. Common sense would seem to indicate, for example, that before the study of Germanic philology can be pursued advantageously by the American student the German language should be mastered first. And yet there are institutions whose undergraduates, though they cannot read German at sight nor write it with an ordinary correctness, are pursuing, perhaps as an elective, the study of Gothic or some other branch of Teutonic philology.

It has become the style in many schools to teach all about a subject, but not the subject itself. Some teachers consider all elementary and practical work beneath their dignity; they would have their pupils fly before their wings have grown. They ignore the fact that the average undergraduate is little interested in roots, etymologies, collated texts, and the rest of the material which constitutes the philologist's stock in trade, but rather in acquiring a mastery of the languages themselves which they are studying. Why, then, should the teacher in a school of collegiate grade wish to work according to the methods of university professors, by using the classic page for the purpose of tracing words through the cognate languages or by commenting on a critical point in the text with an enthusiasm that would merit admiration if it were opportune or lavished on a worthier object? The fact is, the method of many a modern teacher has lost touch with the needs and capacity of the pupils intrusted to his care.

I do not depreciate the value of philology to a teacher of language. It is to him in a certain sense what chemistry is to the physician and anatomy to the surgeon. On the contrary, I think the broader his linguistic attainments are the better will he be qualified for his work. But in the case of the average teacher philology must be considered simply his stock in trade, his reserve power, on which he can draw at will for purposes of illustration as occasion may require. The same holds good with many other branches of learning. The object of most American colleges and of all secondary schools is not to train specialists, but to educate symmetrically the young people intrusted to their care. We should distinguish between the teacher as an educator and the teacher as a specialist. They are two persons with widely different objects in view. The aim of the one is to develop his pupils into a symmetrical manhood and womanhood and to prepare them for the duties and responsibilities of life. The aim of the other is much more circumscribed. His purpose is to prepare a few men and women for particular vocations by imparting the comprehensive knowledge necessary for their successful pursuit. The latter work, however, comes legitimately within the range of the university and the special school. Hence, what I am finding fault with is the tendency to introduce these special studies and methods into schools of lower grade, thereby circumscribing and limiting the more important educational work. I do not hesitate to assert, therefore, that it is more important that the professors in our colleges and secondary schools be great teachers than great specialists. If they not only understand thoroughly the branches they undertake to teach, but are also many-sided men and women with broad views and educational scope, they will benefit the youth frequenting these institutions more than if they undertake work which is out of place and which they cannot hope to do thoroughly, because they lack the proper material to work upon.

Many of these would-be specialists are not only one-sided and narrow-minded, but their attainments in general knowledge are also inferior. I have met some of them who, in spite of their high-sounding academic titles, were utterly lost when off their beaten track. One, a philologist, on a certain occasion inquired whether there were not two kinds of potatoes, one kind grow-

ing in the ground, the other above ground. Another, a mathematician, wanted to know whether the name Gudrun did not mean a German city. A third, a scientist, did not know that there are two Frankforts in Germany. I could extend the list. Such cases tend to show that men of one idea, especially those that have become so by a premature forcing process, are not the most desirable persons to conduct the studies of the youth in our secondary and collegiate institutions.

Though arrogance and sham are to be deprecated, no one will withhold respect from a really meritorious man who has devoted not a few semesters at some foreign institution and whose reputation centers in that fact, but the best years of his life to the acquisition of that profound knowledge which fits him eminently for original investigation and elevates him above his compeers. Such men deserve the name of specialist. They are the proper persons to fill the chairs in our universities and highest schools of learning. And it certainly rejoices the heart of every true American that we have many such eminent men, representing the various brancheso f learning, whom we need not hesitate to compare with others of like stamp across the Atlantic.

This one-sided view of education by men of one idea who are imitating university methods is working mischief among the pupils of our secondary schools. They are imparting their spirit to the immature youth under their instruction, some of whom are injured thereby in their educational career. Boys and girls are devoting to some "elective" or "specialty" the time which they ought to spend upon other studies. Of course, this is usually the fault of their instructors, who, caring more for their own hobbies than for the symmetrical development of their pupils' minds, not only allow, but even encourage, them to go on.

Instead of making students more accurate and thorough, the teacher who rides a hobby often accomplishes the reverse. In his attempt to treat the subject exhaustively he generally introduces a text-book which is by far too full and comprehensive for his class. It is not unusual to see books used in secondary schools that are quite above the capacity of those studying them. How can a class of immature learners master the contents of a manual of six hundred octavo pages in a term of twelve weeks?

And yet such and similar impossibilities are not rare undertakings in our schools. The inevitable result is neglect of other, usually more important, studies by the few that are interested in the subject, and superficial acquirements, followed by disgust, on the part of the rest of the class.

That the particular branches taught by the various professors in our collegiate institutions are, as a rule, considered by them all-important is clearly demonstrated at the educational conventions held from time to time. The questions there discussed are generally such as pertain to the relative importance of the studies constituting the curricula of our schools. Each teacher, as a matter of course, defends the branch represented by him; whereas the more important questions affecting the students' morals and their future welfare are too often ignored. In a paper read at a recent convention of college teachers the merits of the natural sciences as a means of discipline were duly exalted. The speaker claimed, among other things, that no other study is so well adapted to develop the observing faculties as flowers, animals, and minerals. In the discussion that followed a professor of ancient languages asserted that a Greek manuscript would answer the purpose equally well!

This craze for specialists, specialties, and electives has had more than one injurious result. In the first place, the schoolmaster of the stamp of a Mann, Arnold, or Diesterweg has become rare. In our higher schools the educator has, to an alarming extent, been supplanted by the specialist. But what is more deplorable, this spirit has been infused into the schools of lower grade. The dead mechanism and routine of former years have given way to the "new education," which too often shines only in borrowed light reflected from our higher institutions or from Germany. Children are overburdened with an array of studies at which an adult might recoil. Boys and girls who should be kept at their three R's are introduced into regions of knowledge far beyond their capacity and, in order to bring about visible results, their brains are gauged from time to time by stringent examinations and their papers—not their normal mental growth and healthy progress—accordingly marked on the scale of one hundred.

There will in due time be a revolt against the reign of the specialist, experimenter, bogus reformer, and hobbyist in our

schools. In Germany the reaction has already begun. The words lately uttered by the emperor are full of significance to us Americans no less than to his subjects. Intellectual education in certain directions has evidently been overdone in Germany, and the day is not distant when similar protests will be heard here. But the reaction will have to originate with the people and necessary reforms be brought about by them. There is little hope that the schools will institute any change in this direction of their own accord. With them education is mostly *Selbstzweck* from the kindergarten to the university, and the branches taught are objects of paramount importance. The lack of centralization in matters pertaining to education leaves little hope that the defects mentioned can be remedied by State authority; and the various educational conventions meeting from time to time have no power to restrict the experimenter with his ever-changing plans, or the specialist with his hobbies, or even to define their legitimate domains should it be considered expedient to do so.

Victor Wilker.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A VENERABLE bishop lately said to a Christian congregation that the centuries have never seen a time when it was so necessary as it is to-day for laity, as well as clergy, to incorporate the utmost attainable intelligence with their religion. The age demands reasons. Even the papal Church shows signs of perceiving that the temper of the modern mind is such that the attempt to indoctrinate by force of authority is certain to be resisted and must prove disastrous to the authority which attempts it. Rome shows increasing deference to the free intelligence of the world. An eminent university president says that "throughout all education, both of the school and of the family, there has been too much reliance on the principle of authority, and too little on the progressive and persistent appeal to the reason." It is not unusual to find those who have received views and doctrines simply upon authority coming to the day when they demand of themselves and of their teachers, "*Why do I believe these things?*" The shock, too, of having heard these doctrines denied and their faith ridiculed as credulity sometimes precipitates inquiry. The skeptical or perplexed catechumen, disciple, or hearer appears in every Sabbath school, congregation, seminary, and college. To him who studies to serve and guide his fellow-men great is the satisfaction of encountering and the privilege of helping the inquiring mind. A pastor felt this when, at the close of service, three young men came to the foot of the pulpit stairs to ask if certain statements in his sermon were really true just as he had put them. This questioning showed an interest more gratifying to him than an expression of their mere pleasure, phrased in compliment, could have been. It let him see exactly where they were in their thinking, gave him a momentary chance at them then and light by which to train his guns on them thereafter. In our editorial in this issue on "Minds in Opposition," we have written chiefly of exceptional types and attitudes of mind; yet these are sufficiently prevalent to make it almost certain that every teacher and preacher will sometime be put to the test of facing their interrogations and demands.

"THE HERESY OF THE METHODISTS."

PROFESSOR BLACKIE, of the University of Edinburgh, writing of the origin of Methodism, after declaring that it was no part of John Wesley's original intention "to be other than a loyal-hearted adherent of the English Episcopal Church," draws from the history two lessons which he sets forth as follows:

What, then, was the cause of the separation? Not doctrine, certainly, nor form of government, but simply a noble passion for an aggressive Gospel for which he had no field in the regulated routine of local service in the Established Church. The eighteenth century, both in England and Scotland, was a season of quiescent recoil from the civil and secular convulsions of the seventeenth; and, whatever might be its virtues, the Church certainly could not boast of any of the impassioned zeal for a high moral ideal by which the Christian Church in past ages had combated and conquered a world that lieth in wickedness. There lies, also, in the very nature of an Established Church, as a formally fixed organism of moral service, an aversion to irregular impulses and a tendency to confine its action within the bounds of a prescribed propriety. This was all very well if the Church could be looked on merely as a sort of school of the higher ethics for adults, in which the evangelical schoolmaster had nothing to do but lead the scholars through an authorized series of sacred lessons and then dismiss the class; but what of those who could not, or would not, at any rate did not, come to school—a class of which there were great multitudes at that time, as there always will be, not only in the slums and dark dens of large towns, but in the streets and byways, wandering loose all over the land? For these the Established Church of that time, with its well-marked parishes, rare old chapels, and nicely intoned liturgies, had made no provision; and the hundreds and thousands of unclaimed and degraded creatures, with no wisdom but that of the lowest and most material type, were lying at the gate of the vicarage or the porch of the episcopal palace without any evangelist to help or even to dream of helping them. Take the analogy of a well-walled and well-cultivated garden, richly stocked with odoriferous flowers, succulent herbs, and fruitful trees, with nothing wanting to please the eye and gratify the appetite of the most fastidious beholder, all within the inclosure and under the care of a skillful gardener, without fault or failure, as perfect as any field of mortal culture may be; but cast your eye outside, and you behold nothing all round but a vast stretch of serviceable soil, with a rich crop of briers and brambles and wild flowers, but altogether unconscious from year's end to year's end of the spade of the tiller or scythe of the mower. Even such a face did the great body of Englishmen in neglected regions present to the apostolic eye of John Wesley in the year 1740. But he was not the man to rest content with feeding on the luxury of what had been achieved in the rich field of spiritual gardening by the regular gardeners; he would travel forth from Oxford, as St. Paul did from Jerusalem, and conquer the world for Christ, as Julius Cæsar did the political world for Rome. Such was the heresy of the Methodists; and the great lesson which we learn from it is that the real heretic against whom St. Paul would have lifted up his voice was not the man whose name now stands at the head of a well-compacted spiritual body of Christian soldiers, but the commander of the regular army, whose blindness to the advance

of the enemy caused a loyal officer to desert the ranks and draw the sword for king and country on his own score.

Such is the first lesson that a thoughtful man learns from Methodism, and the second follows close upon it. If, on the one hand, the State Church is justly punished for its laxity by the loss of a large section of natural adherents, on the other hand there is a great gain when the glaring magnitude of her loss leads her to a pious recognition of her offense and spurs her to a noble rivalry with her once noble sister and now honorable opponent. As, when a careless boy at school sees the prize which he deemed his own carried off by a less talented but more diligent fellow-student, his pride is aroused, and in a fit of noble self-indignation he girds himself manfully for a public regainment of his proper position in the class, so the English Church of the last century, for a season lamed in her noblest function by the exclusive dominance of a formal propriety in her services, has been stirred into a vigorous display of popular sympathy and apostolic aggressiveness by John Wesley and George Whitefield.

This expression of the views of a now venerable Scotchman, distinguished for scholarship and culture, touching one of the most momentous chapters in ecclesiastical history is of sufficient interest to justify our quoting it in these pages, although in reference to some things he uses a mildness of phraseology which our understanding of the history would not permit us to adopt. The condition of the Established Church at the time when Wesley led his great crusade for vital godliness is not correctly represented under the analogy of a "well-cultivated garden, richly stocked with odoriferous flowers, succulent herbs, and fruitful trees, with nothing wanting to please the eye." It was not under the care of skillful gardeners, "without fault or failure, as perfect as any field of mortal culture may be." On the contrary, many of the gardeners were indolent, negligent, and often absent, the trees were fruitless, and the inclosed garden was much overgrown with weeds. The garden of the Lord had become like the vineyard of the slothful, until in many places there was not much to choose between the condition of things inside the walled inclosure of the Church and the unfenced and untilled wild moorlands outside. Wesley was as much a missionary of awakening to the culpably delinquent Church as he was a messenger of salvation to the pitiably neglected multitudes. If only the Church had been wise enough to receive the message instead of casting out God's holy prophet!

INDIA AND CHINA.

The discussion as to the comparative merits and claims of China and India as mission fields, which began at the annual meeting of the General Missionary Committee last November,

continues in various places and occupies some space in the "Arena" of our present issue. The discussion is every way good. It will intensify and extend the interest of which it is the evidence, and will increase and correct the Church's knowledge of the facts. It is conducted by the servants of Him who gave himself for all tribes and races alike, and it will in the end profit both India and China. Some years ago, when no debate was on, the present editor of the *Review*, after making a study of China in connection with the life of Bishop Wiley, wrote as follows:

If new beatitudes were to be pronounced might it not be said, "Blessed is that servant of the Lord Jesus who has given manhood's morning and life's last expiring energies to the redemption of China?" Is there any mission field where the results are more firm and permanent? The divine power of the Gospel is seen in its making headway in two nations so widely different as China and India; but constitutional differences might be expected to be perceptible in the results of work in the two countries. Observe the Chinaman, with his short neck, shrewd, oblique eye, and practical look. Dr. Wentworth says you could almost as easily deceive Satan as a Chinaman. He is the common-sense man of affairs, thrifty, sober, unideal, matter-of-fact, astute, careful in his accounts. Americans and Englishmen sometimes call him, with fine superciliousness, "a trader." Look at the Hindoo, with his slender figure, high, narrow forehead, deep, pensive eyes. He is dreamy, imaginative, metaphysical, speculative, more apt to live in the clouds than to take account of practical matters. The difficulty in China would naturally be to make any impression, to divert attention from earthly affairs to the concerns of a spiritual realm. Once really secure attention, and truth might be expected to take effect. In India, on the contrary, it must be comparatively easy to catch listeners for eternal themes, but the trouble would be to carry persuasion home through all the intricacies in which they involve the argument; and while the missionary might obtain ready hearing he would experience difficulty in holding the subtle, philosophizing, visionary mind to firm convictions and clear-cut doctrines, converts having a tendency to slip through the meshes of reasoning or drift away in misty dreams from all firm hold on anything.

But as for the Chinaman, only arrest his attention, penetrate his thick imperviousness, carry the citadel of his convictions with Christianity's phalanx of facts, induce him to test its claims, and you will have a stable, determined Christian, a man for hard work, steady service, executive management, and early self-direction. The proportion of apostates and backsliders in China ought to be small. The Chinese are of the stuff to make stubbornly heroic Christians, many successors in holy obstinacy to Ling Ching Ting, as many martyrs as may be necessary to the victory of the faith in the Celestial Empire. Gordon's admiration for the sturdy qualities of the Chinese comes out in his Khartoum journals. He longs for Chinese soldiers in the Soudan, and would like to see India garrisoned with them. The trial of faith in China was severe; but after the Gospel had proved its power by actual and stable results is there any place where laborers more distinctly receive the assurance, "Your labor is not in vain?"

Happy Bishop Wiley!—to have bestowed his earliest, longest, last, and most loving labor on a field where increasing results are so sure, solid, and abiding. His pioneer work contributed to introduce the leaven of Bible truth into a

compact nation of from three to four hundred millions, all using the same written language. He stands inseparably identified with the brightest hope of a venerable, rich, sagacious, and powerful empire having an area equal to the whole of Europe, the oldest nation in existence, and likely, despite Russian ambitions in Central Asia, to maintain its colossal integrity for all the future; an empire not to be dismembered or subjugated by foreign powers, in which respect the lax, disbanded, unorganized millions of India—a medley of something like twenty-eight diverse races and thirty-five nations, with half a hundred languages—bear no comparison with the cohesive, industrious, energetic, unified population of China.

If one would labor and die where he will never be forgotten, could he find a better place than China? It is the land of records. Its archives hold the systematic history of three thousand years. Its chronology records the founding of the Chow dynasty a hundred years before David was king of Israel, and of the Hia dynasty a thousand years before the rise of the Assyrian empire. China will keep her Christian annals as scrupulously as her pagan. No one doubts that a millennium hence Shee-Hoang-Te, the national hero who built the Great Wall two centuries before Christ, will be as well remembered as to-day. In China it is possible that a thousand years hence a Christian city on the banks of the Min may point, with native reverence for forefathers still, to the secluded valley in which is our bishop's grave, and speak of Hwaila Kangtok as one of the fathers of the Church, one of the chief ancestors of Christianity in China. Most blessed servant of the Most High, that God should make his grave in the land of long memories!

The spacious and splendid opportunities now opening in India give us no reason for modifying what we wrote in 1885 concerning China. Doubtless some one will some day in like manner and with good reason write: "Happy Bishop Thoburn! to have given his life-labor to India, first to till that field, then to gather the white harvests thereon, and at last to lay his body to rest under the feet of the busy band of reapers, who shall bind the golden sheaves of God's endless harvests in India."

RENANISM IN SOCIAL LIFE.

The papers have been circulating the last sayings of Renan, the leading anti-Christian of this century. He admits in these last words grave doubts about the success of his ideas. Of course he expects the ultimate death of supernaturalism. They all do. "A new middle age" of Churches and "an eclipse of civilization" are coming, he thought at the last. This means that he got to realize that a few hundred skeptical philosophers do not constitute the world, and that Christianity has gone on its way as complacently as the fabled ox on whose horn a fly had alighted. It has long been understood that Renan undid his hostile critical work by his frank admiration of the character of

Jesus. That character is the everlasting voucher for the supernaturalism Jesus taught.

This seems a good time to point out one reason why the world will not accept Renan in place of Jesus. The great French skeptic disclosed it in these same last words—"The Greek work will go on forever." The word "Greek" has two values; in one of them it is a light to think by, in the other it is a rule to live by. In the first sense Greek influence is undying; in the other, the practical world has no faith in it—it is a synonym for social failure, and the success of society is the chief human concern of the modern world. This practical world takes for granted science, research, education—in one word, Greek light. It has also settled for itself, and settled it forever, that Greek life was the most stupendous failure of all time—in great part because Greek light inundated the whole of Hellenic history and disclosed the yawning depths of its social disasters. The French imitations of Greek life, its revolutions and its communes, have not commended Hellenic social ideas and order.

Renan and his followers have made the French illustrations of Greek life especially interesting to practical men. We have no call to defend nor disposition to admire French Catholicism, but we are compelled to see that this Church is not responsible for the Greek imitations. The first thing the Parisian *plebs* does in a rising is to strike at the Church and announce its Renanian creed of negation. French Catholicism has had no small share in maintaining social order against mobs whom French philosophers have taught infidelity. And this we say, without denying the claim that the absurdities, corruptions, and tyrannies of Romanism are in part responsible for the making of infidels.

Of course Renan had no sympathy with the mobs; of course, also, he did not realize that he had contributed in his measure to the essentially Greek habits of these mobs. With singular blindness he seemed to associate rampant socialism with the Church, though every revolt in Paris from 1789 until now has professed some form of infidelity. Nor has an anarchist been found in France who attends mass or reads his Bible. This practical side of the Greek—this Hellenism in politics and in social crime—has received less attention than it deserves, because the scholar and the scientist are ashamed of the social failures of the Greek people and do not care to draw attention to them. But, outside of France, people of good sense can have no scruples to deter them from pointing out that invariably social disorder springs up in France

among the unbelieving mobs raised up by French "philosophers." The creed of the rabble and the anarchist is but a coarse form of that of Renan. Practical men the world over know this, and have a profound distrust of the kind of "light" which converts ignorant men into demons. As long as barbaric outbreaks fill their wild ranks with Renanians, so long will the world reject Greek life; and since Greek light by itself can lead to nothing better its limitations and insufficiency are so manifest as to constrain the sane and practical world to prefer that hallowed solar light which shines in the face of Jesus Christ.

MINDS IN OPPOSITION.

HUMAN oppositions are of many kinds. That there are different temperaments is generally recognized. As early as two thousand years ago an attempt was made to distinguish them under the four heads, choleric, sanguine, melancholy, and lymphatic. The kinds have been numbered as high as nine and as low as two. Temperament has been defined as the sum of the natural physical peculiarities of a man. A medical journal explains it to mean "the peculiar way in which the individual reacts to the stimuli of his environment." It may be said that there are antipathetic or porcupine temperaments that bristle toward their environment; their most natural impulse is repulse, they are chronic objectors, they incline not to assimilate the new, their acceptances are slow, their reconciliations reluctant. Such a temperament puts its owner in frequent if not incessant opposition. It is the recalcitrant disposition of a mule which receives approaches with his heels.

But we are not now to write of temperaments. If it be said that temperament is the sum of physical peculiarities and that there are different types, it is in like manner and no less true that there are various types of intellect, minds constructed in a peculiar way; and although the different types of mind have not been grouped and classified as distinctly as have the temperaments, they are nevertheless known to exist.

Several mental types are found exceptionally and extremely difficult to deal with in any effort at instruction, inculcation, or indoctrination. Every experienced spiritual instructor knows, for example, that there are certain dry, prosaic, literalizing minds which seem unable to grasp, and are little affected by, the mystical meanings of religion, and to whom, when they accept it, the

whole great matter reduces itself for the most part to a solemn and imperative obligation to righteousness and a conscientious, faithful doing of duty; minds with small faculty for spiritual conceptions, no vivid mental picturing power, little ability to interpret symbolic language (and most language is symbolic, especially when it deals with invisible and immaterial things), with sensibilities too dull to receive any delicate impression or to attain more than the faintest sense of communion with an unseen personality. Many things are difficult of explanation to this matter-of-fact and wooden sort of mind. It is not, however, of this type that we at present design particularly to speak.

It is well known that in many a circle there are oppositions of various kinds that can be relied on almost as confidently as the Gulf Stream. Occasionally in families, churches, conferences, legislatures, parties, boards of trustees or managers there are habitual opponents who are considerably surprised when by accident they find themselves once in a while both on the same side of a question. Of two customary antagonists in debate one could say of the other, "I knew the habits of his mind so well that I could predict which side of any question he would naturally take, and if I preferred that he should take a particular side I could generally insure it by getting in promptly and vigorously at the beginning on the opposite side."

Most of us have at some time been brought at least into circumstantial and adventitious relation with persons who uniformly took a position so remote from ours that a telephone was almost a necessity for any consultation; and if we desired to call them up through a central office we should be obliged to say, "Give me the antipodes!" It has come to be recognized that there is one specific type of mind which, for want of a better name, is described as polar. In the terms of logic, polaric opposition is the extremest possible opposition or contrast, as of black and white in colors. The mind we speak of is called polar for the reason that, so soon as any intellectual proposition, not axiomatic and self-evident, is stated, this mind instantly flies to the opposite standpoint, formulates without conscious purpose or effort the contradictory proposition, and inclines to stand just there until driven from it and rationally compelled to come round to the statement. In a deliberative assembly it argues and votes in the negative; on a jury it often constitutes a stubborn minority of one.

We judge that it might be possible by advertising to find a considerable number of parents, instructors, pastors, and employers

who have to deal daily with one peculiarly constituted mind which can usually be reckoned on for opposition. The expectation which locates him at the other pole and plans to deal with him there is seldom disappointed. If an affirmative proposition lifts its head this mind flings at it a negative; and if the proposition is negative the mental reaction is energetically positive. Like Diana on her tower, it inclines to shoot its arrow straight against the wind. Nothing puts so intense a strain on an instructor as is sometimes forced by an acute antagonizing mind, compelling him to answer offhand unexpected objections in connection with great subjects in the realm of philosophy, metaphysics, theology, or exegesis. To see straight and think clear and at the same moment formulate extempore replies, which shall not merely nonsuit the objection fairly, but be intelligible and convincing to the objector, exact the highest effort of the mind; and a chronic objector perpetuating such a strain may be a trial indeed.

But it is also true that such an occasion affords the teacher his most spacious and sparkling opportunity. It is the bugle of the tournament, which bids him ride the joust and show how readily truth can unhorse objection. Pressure puts the instructor at his best, and his most brilliant work is likely to be done in presence of a challenge. The objector sometimes renders a service to truth by eliciting its strongest statements, compelling it to call up its reserves and produce its uttermost evidence. One of the most unique, fresh, and cogent of modern evidential sermons shaped its outline instantaneously in the mind of an eminent educator, at the moment when he was driven to bay and put to his last proofs by the question of a pupil in his class room, "Why do you believe this?" The capable instructor likes such intellectual excitement. Life is worth living when definite opposition gives a chance to wrestle intelligently with it. Every good fisherman prefers the gamy fighting of the trout to the logy acquiescence of the pickerel. Nothing is so intolerable and deadly as stupid and apathetic agreement, which usually means indifference. A skilled instructor instigates dispute as a stirring antidote to the monotony of submission; he wakes up the class with startling and dubious questions. To break up stagnation he provokes combat and brings on a conflict of minds, till sometimes the air is a-sparkle as from the collision of flint and steel.

Some minds will receive things in bulk by an act of general consent and comprehensive trust, without going critically into details. Others have unquiet analytical propensities. They are

often found picking things to pieces, and are under a native necessity of thinking their way through a subject step by step. These are they who halt here and there over knotty points and must clear up those points intelligently, or at least exhaust all possible efforts so to do before they can go on. They are found now and then at a stand, asking questions, stating objections, and petitioning for light. A perilous misfortune is it for such a mind when it is surrounded by those who cannot answer its questions, have no patience with its demands, construe its attitude as disloyal, and regard its sincere inquiries—sincere none the less but all the more when intensely earnest and in manner somewhat peremptory—as a disrespect to the elders and an affront to sacred truth which must be promptly and sternly suppressed by its official custodians. Occasionally in some communions the questioner has been made to feel the heavy and repressive hand of authority laid on by a dull dogmatism too ignorant to explain or comprehend; and then sometimes there have followed the righteous resentment of a conscientious and faithful soul smarting under undeserved maltreatment and a revulsion which made a hopeless and everlasting breach. There is no denying that undue harshness and unwise haste have been in time past responsible for the loss of some who might have been saved if a capable and tactful rescuer had been at hand. In lamentable instances of dark, and fortunately for the most part distant, history, honest heads have been bruised for containing inquisitive brains. Let it be remembered all along that we speak thus only of sound and sincere souls who chance for a time to be in intellectual trouble, unable to assent to what is not clear to them. Happy is it, on the other hand, for the perplexed and pertinaciously questioning mind when some wise, gentle, skillful friend or teacher is at hand, who knows how to release the entangled and struggling reason. Many years ago a young minister of studious, searching, and philosophic mind used to take his difficult problems to Dr. Whedon, who was at the time his most accessible theological seminary. To-day he gratefully bears the following testimony: "Whedon was the only great man who did not make me feel like a fool. He would understand my difficulty, take me up just where I was hitched, and unsnarl me." In schools, academies, colleges, theological seminaries, and churches no little similar work of explanation, illumination, guidance, and deliverance is being done by well-informed pastors, wise elders, and capable instructors; and every day increases the number of those competent to do it.

Some of the cases requiring most discreet and judicious handling have belonged to the class of "polar" minds. Though often difficult, it has generally been found possible to manage them successfully on the side of right reason and Christian truth, even when only a few primary convictions were imbedded in them. A gentleman fishing at Punta Gorda, Fla., got a big tarpon, six feet long and weighing one hundred and twenty eight pounds, on his hook. He treated him gently, gave him plenty of line, and let him run. If he had been violent with him, if he had tugged and jerked, he would have snapped the line or torn the hook loose. The line was light, long, slender, strong. He played him for an hour. The fish tried every way to get off; he dove, he rose, he darted to and fro, he ran straight away. It was of no use. The hook was deep in, the line too strong. The big fellow tired himself out and gave up. The fisherman landed him, not by force, but by patience, not by a net woven of many lines, but with only one. This is a parable for those whom Christ has made fishers of men. Every soul has some one conviction which may be used to bring him to the Lord. A young man, under religious conviction, but in great mental bewilderment over problems of thought, most of which were unfamiliar to him and all of which were too vast for him, sought an interview with a minister, who asked him to state his difficulties. After listening to a list of things concerning which the visitor said, "I cannot believe these things," the pastor said, "Well, what *do* you believe?" And with explosive emotion the quick answer leaped from his lips, as if he loved to say it, "I believe in God *tremendously*." With that one blessed divine conviction hooked deep into the vitals of his soul it should have been possible with the aid of prayer to land him completely on broad and solid Christian faith; and so it was. Blessed is the man who believes something tremendously! It is better to believe one holy central fundamental truth mightily than to hold a thousand tenets languidly, listlessly, coldly. It is not the length of his credo that saves or empowers a man.

All truth has native and affinitive relation with the normal mind, although ever and evermore religious truth is under necessity to win its way over outworks of reluctance and resistance, by which its access to the mind is frequently obstructed. A serene and discerning seer has written, "There is for every man a statement possible of that truth which he is most unwilling to receive—a statement possible so broad and pungent that he cannot get away from it, but must either bend to it or die of it."

The problem in each special case is to frame that comprehensive, lucid, and convincing statement so fitly for the particular and peculiar individual mind, that he "shall not be able to hide from himself that something has been shown him which he did not wish to see" and which disposes of him because he cannot dispose of it. The certainty that it is possible to frame such statement gives the signal to go ahead with the attempt; and the reward is sweet, for there is no higher joy than to bring the lost and wandering mind out of the woods into the open, to fetch the doubter flush with the necessary conviction he has hung back from, and to see Truth, robed in the beauty of holiness, lay her soft hand upon him, while a voice like unto the voice of the Son of man is heard overhead saying to him, "Truth is my deputy and you are my prisoner." No higher joy, did we say? Hold! there is one joy which, if not higher, is at least more intense and intimate, and that is the rapture of the captured soul when it finds itself in the beatific embrace of the truth it was born for but perhaps for long time fled from, and with a sacred and final gladness, as of the bride unto the bridegroom, exclaims, "Home at last! I am my Lord's and he is mine." Nothing can match the bliss of such captivity.

Not every case of skepticism is entitled to courtesy. The genuine and the spurious, the virtuous and the vicious, must be distinguished. The more capable and masterful an instructor is the greater his power of discrimination, and the less likely is he either to be harsh toward any inquiry that can possibly be construed as sincere or to be imposed on by the unprincipled troubler. The late Dr. Jowett, the famous master of Balliol College, Oxford, evidently was a discerner of spirits. One day he was met in the "quad" by an undergraduate who informed him that he, for his part, could find no positive evidence of the existence of God. Quickly perceiving that he had on his hands a shallow-pated, bumptious, agnostic sprig, the wise and resolute master, always patient toward a real case of distress from having been in distress himself, but never to be trifled with by pretenders, took the trenchant and decisive way of dealing with this pretentious case, and struck it smartly a stinging blow after this fashion: "Well, Mr. B., if you do not find a God by five o'clock this afternoon you will leave this college!" A simple bit of surgery, done with neatness and dispatch; the pus let out of that tumefaction with one stroke of the lancet!

Amid the variety of phases which questioning takes on, caution

and discrimination are necessary to intelligent action, and a knowledge when to resort to the knife and when to use emollients. It is desirable to make sure whether it is at bottom a case of captious quibbling, a penchant for eccentricity, a propensity to shock the orthodox, an itch for notoriety, a mental instability unable to settle, always unfixed, forever dallying with something forbidden; whether it may be the rebellious current of young blood against established things, a wanton effort to annoy and discomfit the teachers and guardians of traditional views, a spirit like that of the insurgent, in Halévy's Parisian story, born on the wrong side of the barricade and pledged to fight "against the government—always, always, always!" no matter what that government might be; or whether there is under it a motive which entitles it to respect, patience, and assistance.

For the wickedness of what the Bible denounces as unbelief no syllable of apology can be spoken. As to the willful and obdurate rejecter of the truth, we can only stand sorrowfully aside while the terrible anathema of Holy Scripture goes blazing and crushing to its mark. Yet in order to deal justly with minds in opposition it is needful to remember that under the surface skepticism of some there may lie a faith as deep as the sea. They are skeptical only in the original root meaning of the term, the Greek word from which it is derived signifying thoughtful, reflective, looking cautiously about, considering carefully—in this sense skeptics, but far away from being infidels, unbelievers, deniers.

W. W. Story, in his poem entitled, "A Roman Lawyer in Jerusalem," embodies in verse the theory that Judas delivered Jesus into hostile hands because he had boundless faith in his divine Master, and thought it no harm to put him in a situation which would compel him to put forth all his glorious power at once, destroy his enemies, and set up his victorious kingdom. The New Testament makes it impossible for us to accept this whitewashing theory about the betrayer of our Lord. Nevertheless it is a fact that, behind the severe tests to which some exacting minds subject whatever claims to be true, there is the unuttered faith that truth is able to vindicate itself as such by silencing and overpowering everything that can come against it. They have no sympathy with infidelity or Pyrrhonism. They are certain that truth can be known and established. In the center of their souls is the belief that truth is invincible, and that, while "error dies of blood poisoning from a pin scratch, truth will get well though run over by a locomotive." They expect the truth to

answer all reasonable questions in a manner as straight as a line of light, as clear as crystal, and as steady as a sharpshooter's aim. They want divine truth to get itself up from behind the mountains, burn its way through the mists as the morning sun does, and dazzle them with its splendor, that they may know it for what it is. They are in dead earnest, and are determined not to be put off with anything less than absolute and some way demonstrable reality. They do not deny the word of prophecy, but only want it made more sure to them; therefore they serve on you a writ of certiorari. It is axiomatic that a divine revelation must be so related to the intellectual and moral nature that when honestly considered and examined by a seeker after truth he will find that its line is flawless and its hook is bedded so deep in the inmost tissues of his being that he cannot get away without tearing his very vitals out.

Youth in general is given to pushing against law, authority, and doctrine. It delights to put them in straits just to see what they will do, experimenting even with the Ten Commandments to find out whether they are founded on fact. This tentative youthful insubordination is intensified in some cases by a peculiar native indisposition to take anything on trust merely out of respect for authority. We hear of a precocious child who, when an attempt to teach him the alphabet began with "That's A," immediately said, "How do you know it is A?" Now and then we encounter an honorable, frank, and fearless mind which habitually and instinctively challenges all traditions; never submits out of diffidence, courtesy, or mere deference to age and experience; cannot be subdued by iteration, as in one case we are told that "The poor young fellow, continually hearing the same thing put to him, gave in;" but requests of every affirmation its credentials, and will have reasons for accepting before it accepts. Christianity is the only religion among men that can safely and gladly welcome such a mind. Looking on such a one, Jesus loves him. The Gospel cries, "Believe, believe!" yet is only too happy when any human intelligence with honorable intent straightens itself erect and replies, "On what compulsion must I? Tell me that!" There are compulsions by reason of which a sane and open-minded person must believe. This is what makes thinking a jubilee to the Christian reasoner and logic a spiritual ecstasy.

A young man at majority has broken into the intellectual world and finds himself in the presence of institutions, systems, and establishments. Some system of doctrine stands before him,

built up by men of previous ages who are nothing but names to him. He has never examined its foundations, does not know if it has any, thinks as he walks about it, "If I can upset this structure it is not well founded. I'll try it." He begins to batter the walls with intellectual catapult and ram, he pries and digs. Thus he gets acquainted with the foundation; discovers what buried buttresses support it; finds it grooved and riveted into the very frame of things, wedged away down into the central widths of the world; knows now that it is solid and immovable, built upon rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; moves into it and settles down, content for time and eternity in its castellated security. Every well-founded structure is well pleased to feel the pickax and crowbar of examiners smiting and prying at its foundation. An exultant thrill runs through its sound timbers, and its molecules make merry at every stroke. They who know what Christianity's fortress is built of and built on are not in trepidation lest rationalizing critics or World's Parliaments of Religions or anything else shall undermine or demolish it.

It is important also to bear in mind that there are certain critical periods of later life and various bodily conditions especially liable to be beset by intellectual as well as physical disturbances. There are in nature electric storms which so disturb the magnetic currents that the needle of the most reliable compass loses sight of the pole and whirls about like a poor bewildered thing at the mercy of wild elements. When the disturbance subsides the needle gets its bearings and settles once more into steadiness as faithful as its intent was all the time pure and loyal. Similarly, there are in human nature certain abnormal nervous states when the brain is disturbed and the mind slips its cable and drifts about in the dark with no sight of sun or star, driven by strange currents and veering winds. This condition is pathological; its victim is a sufferer, often unable to see the grounds of faith and sometimes, while the crisis lasts, floating off into hopeless doubt, which may take the form of denial and possibly the aspect of bitter opposition. Frequently relief for such a case comes along the lines of physical treatment, with patient waiting on and, so far as possible, assisting the recovery of a normal nervous condition, until the mind regains its equilibrium as by the steadying of the throne on which it sits. Just here we cannot help remembering that it is written of an estimable woman, lately gone to God: "She was original and independent as a thinker, and sometimes seemed to doubt the postulates of the faith which at last she so fully received; but it was

always the earthen vessel, not the treasure it contained, which she questioned."

Apologetics should not constitute the entire staple of our preaching; yet teachers and preachers everywhere must be prepared to deal with minds in opposition—not only with the perversely obstinate "carnal mind" which is "enmity against God," but with honest minds unable, not unwilling, to see clearly, doubting Thomases not disloyal, but perhaps so constructed by the Creator as to be very exacting about proofs and not able to settle down except on grounds both clear and firm, not to be put off by the dicta of one or of one thousand, but insisting on the particular sort of evidence that will strike their peculiar minds conclusively. May not the exhortation, "Make full proof of thy ministry," be lawfully construed to include the meaning, "In your ministry make full and cogent proof of the things you preach?" Was not Paul a pattern of this kind of preaching? Witness his address before Agrippa. Indeed, there is reason for thinking this to have been the apostolic style. Peter's explanation of the healing of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful is a marshaling of evidential facts which makes the argument march like an army.

Not a few of the strongest men in our ministry, some of the most absolute and dogmatic believers, formidable champions, and sturdy defenders of the faith, have come through severe and trying experiences of searching, questioning, and struggling. For each there have been exigent hours, intense crises of intellectual perplexity, debate, and conflict, when he was working his way through the immense meanings and tremendous mysteries of life and destiny. That period of storm and stress is over now. As to some of those great questions, he has thought out in the light of God's word an interpretation which makes the subject intelligible to him so that reason rests satisfied. Whether that solution coincides precisely in all particulars with the teaching of any particular school or with any particular man's construction he does not care much; it is true to the accepted fundamentals, and it rivets his soul and his reason to God and his truth. It is heaven's hallowed secret confided to him in terms suited to the construction of his own mind. It is his divinely authorized version, translation, and understanding of the divine will, upon which he has closed his contract for a million ages with the Eternal; a contract which he carries in his farthest inside breast pocket next his heart; a contract duly signed with blood, sealed with the mark of the cross, and witnessed by the Holy Spirit. As to certain other problems

which perplexed him, he has come to the conclusion that these are too vast for human solution ; they belong to the realm of the infinite, which it is unreasonable for the human reason to expect to reason out, or to those matters of which the Master says, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now," and he has laid them on the shelf of a devout and rational trust to await the fuller explanations and clearer light of the communicative and luminous hereafter. One minister said to another, "The questions I really think about nowadays I leave unanswered. The matters which are now most discussed are as a rule things that do not puzzle me and as subjects for debate do not interest me." This probably means that a lucid mind, rarely gifted with spiritual comprehension, has, at life's meridian, satisfactorily disposed of the questions which continue to be discussed by those who have not settled them; and that the problems he leaves unanswered are such as man's reason in its prime is unable to solve, and of which God has not revealed the solution.

The mightiest faith to be found on earth is often the well-won prize and final possession of wrestling souls—souls capable of feeling the burden of existence, the significance of life, the abysmal needs and enigmas of the human lot, and the vastness of that unseen, immaterial, but not unsubstantial universe in which the mind of man, a free-willing and free-thinking creature, is let loose to run at large. Now, as of old by the brook Jabbok, some blessings and distinctions are wrested out of the night by striving with the unseen Reality in a temper half-suppliant and half-antagonistic, until to the suffering wrestler there comes the pause of satisfaction and the gift of power as the angel gives up his secret to the prevailer.

It is only through some such experience that the deepest convictions are obtained. And deep convictions are a necessity. The difference between opinions and convictions is the difference between powerlessness and power. Some men have only a stock of opinions like clothes in a gripsack, and some have convictions like live sinews and muscles on their bones. Opinions are "store goods," furnished readymade by creeds, Churches, schools, newspapers, magazines, books, by antiquarian tradition-mongers, as well as by novelty peddlers of every sort. Convictions are homespun, raised on the place ; a man acquires and develops them for himself through turmoil, labor, and trouble, by athletic exercise, in close spiritual grapple with great problems, difficulties, and realities. Opinion is a sapling, without pinroot, and may easily be

bent, broken, or uprooted. Conviction is an oak that has seen wild weather, fought for its footing against the fury of tempests, and, while rocking in the storm, sent its roots down and out to bed them deep in the firm earth to feel for the cleft of the rock of ages, and to knit themselves about it, in and out, with a reticulated and many-fibered grip.

Men with rooted convictions are the sinewy thinkers and reasoners whose preaching has substance and fiber, weight and force, before which strong and heady sinners must go down. The man who has demanded reasons for his faith and hope and got them from Him who says, "Come now, and let us reason together," is able to give the reasons he has gotten. The preaching for to-day must not be mere affirmation and exhortation, but demonstration closing in on mind and conscience with the clutch of conclusive argument and the marshaling of irresistible proof. There must be power in the pulpit to silence the gainsaying mind, to deprive it of its objections by fair debate, and to reduce its citadel as by circumvallation, starvation, and manifestly superior force to unconditional surrender.

The first glory of doctrinal Christianity is that it is not a string of enfeebling and devitalizing negations, but a body of well-knit, healthful, and cheering affirmations; and the second glory is that all its affirmations are capable of proof. Its normal procedure is to declare the truth on the authority of God's infallible word, and then to compel its acceptance by reasons furnished to the mind accompanied by the Holy Spirit moving on the heart.

So intellectually and morally imperial is Christian truth that it can even compel the credence of constitutional skeptics. Converted infidels are its frequent trophies. A university president, thirty years in the ministry, said: "I am a born skeptic. The natural action of my mind is to doubt everything, to resist and dispute and deny if I can. I am so suspicious that I never believe if I can help it." Not a few men more or less of that cast are devoting their lives to preaching, with all the glowing passion of certified souls, the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. Men so made that they will not believe except under irresistible rational compulsion are, like that rugged, stalwart, intrepid thinker, Paul, the slaves of Jesus Christ, simply because, as thinking beings who have opened mind and heart freely and frankly to the evidence, they cannot help themselves. "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen!*"

THE ARENA.

INDIA AND CHINA AS COMPARATIVE MISSION FIELDS.

At the last meeting of the General Missionary Committee there was what is reported in an American Methodist weekly as "one of the most remarkably able debates ever had in the history of the General Committee." We learn that "the debate occurred on the relative claims of China and India," and that "the controversy was as to which has the greater claim" on the Church? By the admission of speakers in the Committee a wonderful hold has been won by India on the sympathies of the whole Church. It was said, "The Church is biased in favor of India;" again, "The tide is unfairly in that direction;" again, "Bishop Thoburn has hypnotized the country." To us who know the facts of the wonderful work going on in our missions in India it does not seem strange that the Church should be, not "hypnotized," but waked up, by a recital of the wonderful works of God. It is not "bias," but deep sympathy for a mighty work of evangelism, such as our foreign field has never had before. No General Committee has any right to misinterpret or stem this "tide." The Spirit of God is saying to the Church, "Push the work in India with great power." It surely is not wise at a time like this to talk about keeping all missions to one iron rule of supply or scaling all down alike. Indeed, those who opposed giving India more than China seemed to see this; hence the effort to make it appear that the claims of these two countries are the same, or at least that no special help must be extended to India.

It was argued that India does not enter into the future of America—a selfish plea which has, after all, no foundation. As a matter of fact, India has entered into the life of America, and will enter, as China cannot. The people of India are Aryan, of our blood and speech, our kinsmen, also, in mythology and thought. Their philosophy and thought to-day are influencing us much more than the mentality of China can. It was urged that India is the "ward" of England, while China is the "ward" of the United States. Now, there is very little in this desperate argument, for the fact is that China, also, is more the "ward" of England than of the United States. The commercial relation of England to China is much closer than that of the United States. England touches China all along her Indian border. At Hong-Kong she has territorial possession in China, and at that point and in Singapore and the Straits Settlement she rules over far more Chinese than the United States ever did or perhaps ever will. England is constantly, as an Asiatic power, in negotiation, territorial and political, with China. Hence, if it comes to the matter of relation, England, and not the United States, should evangelize China; and, as a matter of fact, England has far more mission work in that country than has the United States.

The true way to look at this matter is to recognize the claim of any

mission field to be settled in the light of the real opening presented, as indicated by success. India is the "ward" of all Christendom. Here, in a vast territory, three hundred million souls are open to all possible civilizing and Christianizing influences. India is in a state of tremendous transition, such as is no other country on the globe to-day. Here, in a population equal to one fifth of the world, changes, great beyond conception, are taking place. Communities equal to considerable cities become Christian every year, the converts of our mission alone numbering about fifty a day for the entire year. Here is the opportunity of the ages, and all Churches are justified in making special effort for India. If comparative results are an index India is now a most hopeful field for Methodism. She was entered ten years later than China, yet her faster growth is seen from the study of the following table, made up from the most recent figures available :

	Foreign Missionaries.	Helpers.	Baptisms for past Year.	Members and Probationers.
India	93	1,273	15,155	44,933
China	53	406	1,710	8,833

From this table it will be seen that the foreign missionaries in India are in number nearly double those in China; that the number of helpers is three times greater; that baptisms are nearly nine times as many; and that the total of the members and probationers of our Church is more than five times greater.

When our General Committee comes together again it is to be hoped that they will have studied the situation better, and that they may accord to India the aid demanded by the hour. When the time of refreshing comes for China, then help must be commensuate with the demand.

Bareilly, India. T. J. Scott.

THE URGENT DEMANDS OF OUR GREAT FIELD IN CHINA.

To all thoughtful Christians having in mind the command of their Redeemer to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature the Chinese empire, containing as it does one fourth of Asia and having considerably more than five million square miles, with a population of about four hundred millions, presents an unparalleled field for the activities of the Christian Church. While the idolatry of China is free from the obscene rites practiced under other forms of paganism and the ethics of Confucius are incomparably in advance of most other heathen teachers, the people are nevertheless in great need of the Gospel of Christ, all their native systems of religion having failed to bring them nearer to God or to elevate their spiritual or moral condition. No greater problem can be presented to the Christian Church of this age than the conversion of the vast multitude of people inhabiting the Chinese empire. It must be for some great and good purpose that, in the marvelous providence of God, this great nation has been preserved for four thousand years. The intellectual ability of the people, the great honor paid to students, and the high

rank accorded to literature give the greatest hope for the future development of China, and assure us that when converted it will take high rank among Christian nations.

While all this is true it is also true that there is a better opportunity for the prosecution of the Gospel enterprise at this time than ever before. It is possible for the missionary of the cross to proclaim his message anywhere within the bounds of the empire. The five hundred Christians of thirty years ago have increased to fifty thousand actual communicants and, probably, to over two hundred thousand adherents. Places which we could only enter with difficulty thirty or forty years ago are now centers of revival interest and power, as, for instance, the city of Hinghua, in our Foo-Chow Conference, from which the Rev. W. N. Brewster wrote very recently that, at the close of a three days' meeting which filled the chapel so that an extra meeting had to be organized outdoors, over one hundred new converts were received into the Church; and in the whole Conference more than a thousand were added during the last year, and nearly as many in North China.

There seems to be quite a general feeling on the part of the missionaries that a mighty outpouring of the Spirit of God is near at hand and that within a few years we shall witness the conversion of large numbers in different parts of the empire. Bishop Thoburn, with the prophetic insight which characterizes him, in speaking of the great movement in India said: "It has not yet reached China, but it will not be long before that land will also be experiencing like scenes of divine power in the conversion of large numbers of souls."

It is perhaps to be regretted that, in view of what was thought to be the necessary reduction of one ninth on the work generally at the last General Missionary Committee, there was some discussion of the comparative needs of China and India. The fact is that both of these great mission fields need much more than we can supply; and, whatever may be said as to the greater obligation we may be under for the conversion of China, the fact is that we have very large results in India and that we must take care of the converts we have and enter the doors which God is opening before us in every direction.

We have never thought it necessary to proportion our appropriations to the ingathering of members in any particular mission. In 1870 the Foo-Chow Mission had 1900 members and probationers, and the North India Mission 839; but in 1871 only $16,224 were appropriated to Foo-Chow, while $81,302 were appropriated to North India. No doubt the continued large appropriations to the great field in North India during the years when, so far as numbers were concerned, the Foo-Chow Mission seemed to be much the more prosperous have had to do with the great ingatherings of these later years in which we all rejoice. Reductions in our appropriations to China now may seriously cripple the work and retard the accomplishment of the great results for which we have reason to hope in the near future. It would be a great calamity to allow our conquests for the Master to be retarded by the fears created in a season of

financial panic. The increasing success of our work, and the new fields opening before us and calling for helpers, conjoined with the increasing number of consecrated young men and women offering themselves for service, show that the providential order is to go forward; and we cannot afford to disregard it or to refuse obedience. We ought, if possible, not only to keep up the appropriations of the past years, but to make considerable increase to meet the growing demands of the work in connection with our four missions in that great empire. There ought to be no note of retreat sounded in any portion of our great field, and least of all in any of our missions among the heathen. S. L. Baldwin.

New York City.

HAPS, MISHAPS, AND PERHAPS OF METHODISM.

In Bishop Goodsell's article, "Whither?—A Study of Tendency," in the *Review* for January, 1893, we find much food for reflection and somewhat for suggestion, if one may presume so far toward an *episcopus*. In the course of events Methodistic during the greater part of the first century after the organization of our Church the liturgy was left behind with several other good things, such as the college, the seminary, and hospital work. The order of deaconesses was wanting in all Protestant Churches *ab initio*. Now that our Church is taking up these neglected things all our bishops, editors, and publishers utter many and strong commendations which do much to encourage and hasten forward these good works, except the "tendency" toward restoring the ritual. About this there is a hesitancy of speech. I second most heartily E. R. Lathrop's suggestion, in the "Arena" of the July number, that our book agents publish an edition of the *Sunday Service* which John Wesley prepared for us. Why should not this movement be commended by our bishops in their quadrennial and their several annual addresses? Such help would afford the cause something better than a mere index of progress. Bishop Hurst has recently, and by example, taught us to seek after the "old paths," in that he used the form of prayer from the apostolical constitutions (viii, 20) of the fourth century in consecrating deaconesses in Washington, D. C. There is a vast field of Methodism, however, where the people never see or hear a bishop. The ritualistic tendency has not reached the rural churches. But it is here, especially, that we need more emphasis upon that which differentiates Methodism from the Congregational Churches in forms of worship. The lack of reverence for the house of God and the Church of God cannot be otherwise remedied.

When we consider "our tenuity in the great cities" shall we attribute so much of our failure to "the rapidly fading remnant of an itinerancy" that it should be put away as an impediment? Perhaps we might better conclude, after considering carefully what becomes of a great society after a Spurgeon leaves it, and what useful service the strong men of Methodism give who build into half a score of churches thirty years of toil and then add twenty years more in the broader pastorate of an itin-

erant *episcopus*, that this "tenuity" in the cities is not a feature of Methodism alone. It belongs to Protestantism. Dr. Cuyler says: "Dr. Strong confirms the opinion which I have long held, that the proportion of American people who regularly attend a place of worship on Sunday is diminishing." The Roman Catholic Church gathers the masses in the cities. Protestant Churches are losing them. What is to be done? It is not a question of settled or limited pastorate. The whole Protestant Church must follow the leading of Methodism and establish Christian hospital and deaconess work in all our large cities. Such a movement would promote that union of the Protestant Churches which is essential to ultimate success. If we have only a "fading remnant of an itinerancy" in some of the cities there yet remains the great country places in the West and South, with undiminished congregations, where the itinerant will continue to go abroad for another century at least. And before the Church enters upon her third century the little New England village station will have become tired of being left "to be supplied" and will have recalled the itinerant preacher—perhaps.

American statesmen, too, will soon be compelled to inquire into the condition of our cities, where the proportion of Americans in public offices is diminishing, and where the American young men are discriminated against in labor organizations dominated by foreigners. Bound together in the same bundle are the two pressing questions, Shall our cities be Christian? Shall our cities be American? The deaconess and hospital work will help to gather in the masses to the Church. A revival of ritual will help Methodism to hold the children of her own people.

Lexington, Ky. J. D. Walsh.

A GREAT NEED.

Were I asked to form a list of things in my judgment most essential to the well-being of society in this country from this time forth, after due recognition of the Church and the public school, as respectively first and second by unquestioned right, I should place third upon the list the press. Society needs, for the development of that high grade of public morals so necessary to the best results and for the conservation of recognized standards, a public press having conscientious scruples and moved by moral considerations. The press of the future, to be worth most to the people for these purposes, ought to be free from the taint of favoritism toward popular sins and, so far as practicable, free from the domination of parties or of classes. This "consummation devoutly to be wished" is unfortunately not yet, and not very likely to be at any very early day. Even supposing a few of the better and larger journals of the times to be above reproach in this regard—a supposition requiring the exercise of some charity—yet it remains undoubtedly true that the general attitude of the press toward moral issues of the present day is far from being complimentary to the country. Setting aside religious journals as out of this discussion entirely, the outlook is not hopeful. Perhaps exception ought

to be made in favor, also, of journals serving certain special purposes not concerned particularly with questions having moral bearings. This, then, confines our attention to that large class of miscellaneous newspapers dealing with matters of general interest and having essential influence upon morals.

Doubtless it is true that the press of the present day has come to be a mere index of public sentiment. Ought it not rather to be an element of power in molding the public mind for moral safety? We have to-day in this country a large and increasing number of journals, furnishing accurate statements and lucid discussions of financial and political questions, both national and international. Why, it may be asked, should it be thought an improper thing for a journal of respectable standing to hold as well-defined and accurate views upon moral questions? Why should news be always of the most sensational character? Why may not one be permitted to read a clean statement of facts, upon a page free from all disgusting particulars dug up out of the filth by some reporter pandering to indecency of thought? Why should it be thought a thing improper for a convention of religious people to be given an honest column, while the latest "mill" between two brutish men is, if mentioned at all, crowded to a corner of small proportion?

The treatment of the problem of intemperance to-day is left to journals making a specialty of temperance discussion, or to religious papers able to speak of it only in a limited space because of the pressure of other interests upon their notice. In each case what is written is likely to reach only those having already strong opinions in favor of temperance. Ought we not to have newspapers which are clear on this question? Undoubtedly we ought.

The social evil to-day is often helped along by journalists of loose morals, or by journalists under the domination of a constituency having loose ideas upon this subject—which amounts to the same thing. The demoralization prevalent in some sections of the country, with regard to the enforcement of laws against certain classes of criminals, becomes "confusion worse confounded" under the treatment of many newspapers.

Villainous combinations for defending evils are allowed to exist because a public organ of sufficient conscience and nerve to drive it out of existence is wanting. That arch criminal, the rumseller, takes advantage of the apathy and blindness of the people and the cowardice and sympathy of rum-led or rum-made officials to carry on his business indefinitely. An editor having convictions on the subject might at least awaken public spirit to eradicate the evil. Lynch law has become the order of the day in certain sections of the country. News sheets publish wholesale the dishonorable details and defend the perpetrators of a worse type of murder than lynch law ever attempts to avenge.

We may well ask, What is to be the end of all this? The inventors of the modern rapid printing presses have conjured up a spirit difficult to control. If power sometimes is put into the hands of good and safe men, to the end that some thousands of individuals may be influenced by

them for good by the aid of printing, it is also within the power of evil men and men of loose thought to sway multitudes by the same means. And it would seem that more energy is put into the business and that presses of the greatest speed are used by the latter class.

In the mind of the writer the ideal newspaper, the one great need of the future, must embody, as elements of usefulness, a clear and spicy presentation of facts, that it may be readable as a news sheet; a preference always for clean, wholesome treatment of public questions, particularly of moral ones; a fearless handling of evils, under whatever name, and no matter by what influential means they may be supported; such an attitude toward the religious convictions of the people as shall tend rather to conserve and build up than to destroy the same. In fine, the ideal paper of the future must be a champion of moral reform and must lift up the standard for advance in every good thing. In the name of all common sense, why should this ideal be out of all reach? I do not think it is. I believe we ought to have, and will have sometime, a class of clean journals, edited by conscientious, able men.

Evans, Colo. J. A. Long.

"BRIMSTONE OR ROSEWATER."

Years ago the now sainted Bishop Thomson wrote an editorial for a Methodist paper with the above caption, strongly inveighing against the sickly sentimentalism so largely substituted for the fiery and vigorous Gospel of the days of our fathers, and ardently urging a return to the preaching of the "law of the Lord," which is "perfect" and powerfully efficient in the conversion of souls. Subsequently, that great thinker and writer, Dr. Curry, who seemed to despise above everything else an "emasculated Gospel," noticed and enforced the exhortation with characteristic vigor. Do we not need a similar reminder in our day? The charge so frequently made by our Universalist friends, that she fears to preach the eternal suffering of the finally impenitent, tells heavily against orthodoxy; as in the main the preaching of the law, which is "holy, just, and good," is seldom heard, as of old, in her pulpits. And in this bad custom Methodism seems conspicuous.

But if the trend continues much longer in this direction will we not need the service of another John Wesley? Do we not need a strong but friendly hand to turn us back into the "old paths," lest we be overtaken in the enemy's land? Surely the "foundations" have been "moved." Before long Hades will be less dreadful than the cave of Adullam, and the sting of death will be almost entirely taken away. Have we not lost our way? Should not a halt be called? Shall not the constitution be revised, in order to secure better bearings and the reaching of a safe harbor? We drop the hint and await the issue. Who will clear away the mists and pour the light of truth upon our pathway? Let him come forth in the name of God and sound doctrine, and he shall be heard.

Catawissa, Pa. J. B. Mann.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTER VI.

This chapter is devoted to an historical treatment of the criticism of the Pentateuch. The student should note that the current view of the Mosaic authorship is also the earlier view. So far as the external evidence is concerned the authorship of Moses is well established. The philosopher Philo, the historian Josephus, and the Christian fathers affirm the Mosaic authorship, so that the voice of the early Christian Church, as well as the conclusions of the Jews, harmonize with the teachings of Christ. It will be seen from this chapter that the consensus of thought until the eleventh century favored the Mosaic authorship, and that the earliest criticism was not an attack on the recognized belief as a whole, but was confined to a few points, namely, Gen. xxxvi, 31; Deut. xxxiv, and a few other passages.

It was at the period of the Reformation and immediately following it that the destructive criticism was introduced. The Reformation gave scope to free inquiry and allowed attacks which had not before been extensively employed. In this chapter we notice also, after the middle of the seventeenth century, the rapid development of a sentiment antagonistic to the Mosaic authorship, in Hobbes, Peyrère, Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Le Clerc. The eighteenth century produced Bolingbroke, a bitter antagonist of the Mosaic authorship, and Carpzov, Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others, who, in a greater or less degree, defended it. The nineteenth century has been prolific in literature on the Pentateuch, and the chief contributors to it are mentioned in this chapter. Most of the writers are antagonistic to the received view, notably Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen, whose views have gained wide currency and have had great influence over many of the younger scholars of our time. All, however, do not find the same reasons for their conclusions. Some go so far as to deny the supernatural in the whole history, and others admit the supernatural while rejecting the authorship of Moses. It will be seen that Kuenen acknowledges that Moses was the leader of the Israelites in Egypt, that "the Exodus is an historical fact," and that the ten commandments "are derived from Moses." The value of these admissions must be carefully weighed. The later defenders of Moses have not been so numerous, at least in their published works, but they have not been wanting. The author mentions Professor Curtiss, Professor Watts, Professor Green, and others. The literature on the side of the Mosaic authorship is just beginning to come into prominence. Only recently have the defenders of the old faith felt the necessity laid upon them of aggressive action, and hence the delay in responding to a series of attacks which should, perhaps, have received attention before.

While the student should study with care all the writers whose names are mentioned by the author, he should lay special emphasis on those modern scholars on both sides of the question who have made the most decided

impression upon the times. The sixth chapter is very important as preparing the way for the critical discussions that follow. A very clear conception of the points of difficulty raised by scholars is of the utmost importance in enabling one to appreciate all that appears from time to time on the subject of the Pentateuch.

In reviewing this chapter let the student give special attention to the following important particulars:

1. The names of those who have favored the Mosaic authorship in the different centuries.

2. The names of those who have maintained the opposite view, in a greater or less degree.

3. The points of variance and of agreement on the part of those who have antagonized the current view. This will enable the student to note the consensus or the conflict of scholarship upon this question.

4. The dates at which certain forms of objection arose, and the persons who first introduced them. It will be observed (p. 70) that the hypothesis of Elohistic and Jehovistic documents originated with Astruc in an "anonymous work published in 1753." This has proved a fruitful source of speculation, which has variously expanded the number of documents supposed to have been used in the compilation of the Pentateuch, according to the mental habits or caprices of individual critics.

5. The position of the newer criticism on each side of the question of the Mosaic authorship.

This chapter will show that the hostile forces are not a harmonious and well-disciplined army whose cohorts act in concert and in mutual support of one another, but are often a loosely compacted host, obeying conflicting leaders, mutually destructive one of another, and united by no single bond save a common desire to overthrow the orthodox positions.

THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT IN COLLEGE—SOME MISTAKES.

In previous papers the candidate for the ministry is supposed to have been entered as a student in college and to have begun his college course. But he has scarcely taken up the regular work prescribed by the faculty before schemes to modify the course in some particulars come to him or are brought to his attention. Some one tells him that it is possible to abridge his stay in college by taking studies with some other class in addition to his regular work, and thus diminish his residence by at least a year. The desire to save time in preparation and to enter more speedily upon his chosen work of saving men is very commendable and should be given due weight. As an argument in its favor it will be cited that some men now eminent in the Church have done so and, by their after success, have demonstrated the wisdom of the plan.

But this haste on the part of students is greatly deprecated by all college faculties and works lasting injury to the young men who yield to it. It is destructive of that exact scholarship which is largely the aim of a college course. The college is not so much a place to get information as a place

where opportunity is afforded to secure mental discipline and to lay a thorough foundation of scholarship. To do this will require time. Accurate investigation cannot be made hurriedly. "Make haste slowly" is a law of special application to students. A mere committing of words and phrases to memory, a rapid glance at a lesson before entering the class room, a general and vague conception of the subject in question do not constitute the best training. One who would make the best use of his college life should prepare each lesson carefully, discover its salient points, note its bearings, and thus make each step a basis for succeeding steps.

This haste also fails to accomplish the object proposed. No matter how hard one studies, he cannot in a year do more than one year's work. Passing through the course and passing satisfactory examinations thereon do not fulfill the real ends of a college education. There must be growth, mental and spiritual development, a constant expanding of the faculties. These cannot be gained by extraordinary efforts, but must be wrought by slow and daily toil. The courses of study in institutions of learning have been prepared by wise and experienced teachers and are the results of extended observation. They measure what a student can safely undertake; and he who uses his faculties to excess in order to do more will really accomplish less in actual scholastic results.

It must also be remembered that for the needs of the ministry such haste is unnecessary. There is at present an ample supply of ministers for the demands of our Church, and the cry of the Church is not for more preachers, but for better preparation on the part of those who enter its service. When new fields were being opened more rapidly than at present there was a great demand for young men, and often mere boys were pushed forward into the ministry. But now, especially in our older communities, the "boy preacher" is no longer sought after, but men are required who can rightly divide the word of truth. The people are anxious to have well-qualified ministers, especially such as are thoroughly fitted by study and by experience to expound the Gospel. They prefer to wait for young men to finish their studies rather than have them rush prematurely into the ministry. It is a great mistake for a student to cut short his course. It injures his health by over-application, and at the same time impairs his scholarship and his future usefulness.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE "ITINERANTS' CLUB."

Diagnosis should precede treatment. We therefore preface our suggestions by a brief statement of the case under consideration. It must be borne in mind that the objects to be secured by the Conference course of study are information, disciplined mental power, and studious habits. The unprepared condition of a large number, if not a majority, of the brethren in the course must also be remembered. They begin and finish their studies with few or no reference books, and have access to very limited libraries. The worry over two sermons weekly is greater during this period than at any subsequent time, and of course the sermons are

first in importance. Pastoral work is imperative in its demands and destructive of studious habits. Very few have naturally a strong relish for hard study, and their surroundings do not stimulate such a desire. The household cares are most taxing at this period, and a garden is necessary to make up the deficiencies of the salary. The winter months are spent in revival meetings on the circuit, or, if the brother is pastor of some mission or small struggling church in a city, the enemies of study are there equally numerous.

The severity of the course of study must also be considered. The text-books are about the same as are studied in college and theological seminaries, whose students have had the benefit of academic training and the help of competent professors. And as to the exegetical work required, while the course simply calls for written sermons, essays, and syllabuses, yet it suggests no models or helps.

After considering these facts we would point out some remedies:

1. The brethren in the course of study, as also on the examining committees, must keep alive to the real and great objects of the course. Its claims and importance should be so presented as to command their respect. The testimonies of living and successful pastors or others should be given on its value as leading to a permanent command over intelligent men. The best way to produce conviction on this subject is to continually illustrate its truth from the experiences of men who have been greatly influential in the ministry or in kindred religious work.

2. Further, the brethren must be taught how to study. Let teachers present their theories and suggestions, and let brethren who are successful pastors and students also give their methods of study. If they have risen to prominence without academic training let them state their earlier experiences. Methods of home study should be presented, and the way should be shown to read, analyze, and memorize. One of the vital deficiencies even in the college curriculum is the absence of any instruction on how to study. It is, therefore, a wonder that many Conference students get as much as they do from the course of study. If they are helped to a knowledge of how to work the good results will be multiplied.

3. They need help in their exegetical studies. They do not appreciate the possibilities of this line of work; they have no ideals to follow, and no competent criticism is available upon their exegesis when it is done. They also need help in their "written sermon and essay." What difference is there between the two except that one has a text and the other not? Dr. Crooks has said that it is hard to find ministers who can write an article for publication in which their calling will not be manifest. The brethren have books on homiletics. Let them also be given hints on essay writing, let profitable and broadening subjects be suggested, let masterpieces of essay work be pointed out, and let it be shown what makes them masterpieces.

4. Systemization must be insisted upon as the *sine qua non*. The putting off of study till two weeks before Conference should cease. Since there is no law on the subject, and no uniform method throughout the Church,

we must try some other means. Let a competitive examination be held once each month or two months. Let the papers be prepared at home, and certified to as having been written without help. Grade on the scale of 100; publish the names of those who stand at 90 or over, and the result will be thorough work throughout the year.

To withhold these helps because brethren ought to attend our schools is unwise. Any method here suggested can be used to advantage even by the best theological graduates. GEORGE H. KENNEDY.

Sibley, Ia.

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(*Continued.*)

HAVING noticed suggestions in the *Review* concerning the best methods for Index Reviews, I herewith send an outline of my own method. It may perhaps help some who have not found help elsewhere.

Date.	Page.	Subject.	Name of Book.
1887.			
1|24	43	Canaanites.	Fisher's *Christian Religion.*
7|15	482	Celsus the Heathen.	Harman's *Introduction.*
1888.			
5|11	499	Colenso.	*Hist. Rationalism.*
24	33	Cicero.	*Life and Epistles of Paul,* Conybeare.

First, as to keeping dates: I find I have thus a carefully catalogued history of my reading and the growth of my library. 1|24 means January 24, 1887; 5|11, May 11; and the 24 just under 5|11 means May 24, belonging to the month last named above. The next column contains the number of the page in the volume; and in order to find the place quickly when turning to the page designated I find I have marked it lightly on margin of the leaf with a pencil. The subject column needs no explanation further than to say that the subject is most easily found when indexed under its most prominent or striking word, if there are more than one. Lastly, I believe the name of the book or magazine is always better than any number; for (1) each book a preacher has should be known individually by name, as the acquaintance it should be, and not by number, as a convict, and (2) in order that books may be readily found, if numbered, they must of necessity be shelved consecutively, which could not be so done as to add anything of symmetry or design to the rows of books.

Get a book scaled to the alphabet, rule it for yourself, according to the form above given, and I will guarantee that the plan will work well. Only keep it up; do not abandon indexing.

I proceed thus: I slip a piece of plain paper in the end of the book after the last fly leaf, attach it with the tiniest bit of mucilage, and when reading or studying jot down on this slip whatever of useful or striking I may notice. When one slip is filled I substitute another; and when the volume is completed I transcribe the slips into the Index Review.

Salt Lake, Utah. J. D. GILLILAN.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.

How significant that, when devout Christian scholars were almost hushed to silence by the impious audacity of learned rationalists, and when irreligious critics were determined, at all hazards, to overthrow the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures by reducing a large portion of them to the same level as the mythological legends of Greece and Rome —how significant that at this very juncture the stones themselves, in accents clear and strong, commenced to remonstrate and speak with such convincing power as to put to the rout an army of unbelievers! Yea, verily, those who will not believe Moses and the prophets "are now confounded by bricks and stones." For as the histories of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria are studied—as their monuments, so long buried or silent as the sphinx, are subjected to critical examination—floods of light, amounting almost to a new revelation, have been given to the world. Not that the decipherment of these ancient inscriptions has brought to light any valuable or additional religious truth, but that it has in various ways confirmed and supplemented the facts recorded in the Holy Writ. It is a suggestive fact that not one of these archæological discoveries has at any time or in any way brought discredit upon the book. They all seem to confirm the inspired record and confute the baseless assertions of the so-called critics, who are now compelled to change front. Thus many passages which, thirty years ago, destructive critics were wont to label unceremoniously as "uncritical or unhistorical" are now severely left out of the discussion; since these very passages have been supplemented and confirmed by most impartial witnesses—and not only impartial, but venerable with age and authority—and by accounts which are not a mere patchwork of ingenious and speculative writers, but authentic documents from first hand.

How puerile do many of Voltaire's objections to the trustworthiness of the Holy Scriptures appear in the light of modern discoveries! How certain the great French *savant* was that Moses could not have been the author of the books bearing his name, since the art of writing books was unknown in his age, and with what plausibility did he contend against the Homeric origin of the *Iliad*, since papyrus was not employed for writing purposes till ages later! What value can be placed upon the *dicta* of Wellhausen, who likewise discredits the high antiquity of the older books in the Old Testament, and, like Cheyne, depresses their dates, because, as he claims, "the art of writing was restricted to formal instruments, and that upon stone?" Were we to believe this school of critics the numerous references in the Pentateuch to books and writing are anachronisms, which betray the late origin of such books, and which prove conclusively that they could not have had Moses for their author.

It is now admitted on every side that carving and engraving on stone,

and, indeed, on softer substances, was known in Egypt from gray antiquity. According to Budge the earliest hieroglyphic known to us is that on the monument of Shrea, of the second dynasty, or more than four thousand years before Christ. Hieratic writing may be traced back to the eleventh dynasty. The old specimen so far discovered is what is called the Prisse papyrus. This remarkable document was brought from Thebes to Paris by M. Prisse d'Avennes. It was found in a tomb of the eleventh dynasty, and thus must have been at least twenty-five hundred years older than our era. From a statement at the end of this papyrus we learn that it is only a copy of another, much older, of the time of Phtah-Hotep, of the fifth dynasty. The lofty teachings of this document show a very advanced stage of ethical culture, remarkable indeed for so early an age, which goes very far to contradict the too prevailing idea that the human race in its early history was almost in a state of barbarism. Curiously enough, the sage who wrote this papyrus deplores the degeneracy of his times and the low state of morals in his day, and then longs for the return of better, happier times.

The discoveries at Telloh, in the valley of the Euphrates, where, among other objects of great interest, nine statues of Gudea have been found, show most clearly the advanced stage of civilization in Babylonia. Some of these statues are covered with cuneiform inscriptions, which, though not far from forty-seven hundred years old, are remarkably perfect. Mr. Boscawen, speaking of them, says: "The characters of the long inscriptions are as carefully engraved and as free from primitive or archaic forms as if they had been cut in the days of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, B. C. 606." Inscriptions on stone, more or less perfect and of great antiquity, have been found also in many other places along the Euphrates, notably at what is supposed to have been Ur of the Chaldees, in Hamath, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and in the ancient kingdoms of the Minæans and Sabæans, to say nothing of Egypt. If, therefore, engraving on stone had attained so great a degree of perfection at so early an age, it stands to reason that writing on softer materials must have been common too. The slate and pencil were certainly used before the chisel and the graver. The paintings of Egypt testify to the remote age of ink and pigments of various kinds.

Explorations in Egypt have been very fertile in results. Papyri written centuries before Moses have been found in large numbers, as also palettes of great antiquity. If the Egyptians were skilled in the art of writing on papyrus, and that with different-colored inks, long before Abraham entered Egypt, why should Moses have been unable to pen his lofty thoughts and employ similar materials to convey his ideas to mankind? Though we have not yet discovered any ancient copies of the Pentateuch fresh from the hand of Moses, yet we do emphasize the fact that the production of such a copy was possible in his time, nay, centuries before him. The incidental reference in Genesis to the transfer of the field of Machpelah by Ephron the Hittite to Abraham presupposes some formal instrument in writing. The Hittites were a great people, formidable

foes of the most enlightened nations of antiquity. Abraham also had come from Ur, which boasted of a high degree of culture. No one can read Gen. xxiii, 17, 18, without being impressed with the exact legal style and language of the deed: "So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city." In this connection we might mention that Mr. Flinders Petrie, the indefatigable explorer in Egypt, found, among other writings, at Illahun, a will made about 2500 B. C. It is written on papyrus, a model of brevity and conciseness. The testator settles the entire property on his consort, but with certain limitations as to the disposal or charge of the houses. A guardian is appointed for the children, and the will is properly signed by two witnesses. It would be an easy matter to multiply instances to show the prevalence of writing among the various nations of antiquity from the Nile to the Euphrates centuries before a single line of the Bible is said to have been composed. Unreasonable indeed must be the man who in the face of these facts will insist that Moses, owing to his ignorance of the art of writing, could not have been the author of the first five books of the Old Testament.

But, as hinted in a former paper, the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets will forever overthrow all these plausible objections to the universal prevalence of a written language anterior to the Exodus. Here we have, not a few disconnected tablets, but a small library—in all, half as large as the Pentateuch. Here we have letters, not only from one country, but letters from Babylon, Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Phœnicia—yea, letters in large numbers from various cities in central Palestine. More than half a dozen of them are from Jerusalem itself. All are agreed that they were written prior to the Israelitish occupation—according to some a long time before the time of Joshua. Now, if Egyptians, Babylonians, Armenians, yea, if the lesser nations scattered through Syria and Phœnicia, and even the petty rulers in and around Jerusalem, had learned the secret of expressing themselves in writing; if the internal correspondence of Palestine was carried on by means of brick tablets, at or near the time the Hebrews were in the wilderness, why should it be deemed incredible that Moses, brought up in the court of the Pharaohs and "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," should have been able to manipulate his graver or stylus on a soft clay tablet or his brush or reed upon a papyrus? And if he himself were not, it was certainly within the range of the probable that he could have employed some professional writer, as governors and rulers were wont to do in ancient times. It is reasonably certain that the excavations going on in Palestine and the surrounding countries have many surprises in store for the Bible student.

The discovery of a tablet at Lachish, of the same age and in the same characters as those found at Tel-el-Amarna, is probably only an earnest of a rich harvest for the archæologist. If, as some suppose, this was a

letter from a neighboring city to the governor of Lachish it possesses greater importance than any of the tablets discovered in Egypt, since it proves that the cuneiform script was used in ordinary local correspondence. Now, since this tablet has been discovered among the ruins of ancient Lachish, what may we not expect in the very near future? Who knows but that some venerable mound in or around Jerusalem may yet yield up the original copies of all the Old Testament books? What havoc such a find would make in the camp of those who have turned the Pentateuch into a patchwork of mosaics, so that the Pentateuchal analysis resembles a formula in some higher mathematics! But, should these originals never be discovered, let us no longer doubt that Moses could have written them, and that either on papyrus or clay tablets. The early origin and prevalence of writing in very ancient times have been so clearly established during the past ten or fifteen years, that not even the most radical critics care to deny the possibility or even probability of the Israelites being acquainted with it from their earliest history. Says Professor Driver, in the *Contemporary Review:* "That written records may underlie the narratives of the Pentateuch cannot possibly be denied; indeed, in some cases such records are expressly referred to."

There is another thing about the letters written from Jerusalem and various cities of Palestine that is of great value. Like Peter, these also betray their origin, for, though written in the cuneiform script and in the main in the language of Babylon, yet their local coloring and their idiomatic expressions are unmistakable. Thus, not only the script, but the mode of expression, is peculiar. They exhibit the same differences as we might expect to find in writings of various nationalities in Europe at present. Speaking of the peculiarities in the letters written at Jerusalem, one has well said: "The conclusion, therefore, seems to be justified, pending any evidence to the contrary, that the scribe had acquired his knowledge of Babylonian at the Egyptian court, while his mother tongue was Hebrew, or, more correctly speaking, that dialect of Hebrew current in Palestine at the time, and which, as will be shown later on, has a decidedly Aramaic tinge." These letters are very valuable, for both the writing and style have their distinguishing features and thus conclusively prove that the art of writing was not confined to one language or people. The very facts that the Palestinian did not express himself as elegantly as his brother, who spoke a sister dialect in the northeast, and that his letters were full of defective constructions, characteristic local colorings, and idiomatic expressions, show that writing was very common in premosaic times.

In what unexpected ways does God vindicate the truth of his word! "Thy word is truth." Let us not be too ready to yield to the bold assertions of those who would relegate a large portion of the Old Testament to the realm of the unhistoric or mythical. Our Holy Bible, containing grander truths than any yet discovered on tablet or papyrus among the ruins of Egypt or Babylonia, should at least be accepted till we have some safer criterion for rejecting it than the multifarious, ever-changing, self-contradictory evolutions of rationalistic minds.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

MISSIONARY USE OF PASSPORTS IN JAPAN.

Some months since Dr. L. Busse, a professor in the Imperial University, Tokio, Japan, wrote an interesting essay in which, among other topics, he discussed the moral quality of the use which missionaries have made of the privileges of the passport for purposes of propagandism. The newspapers of Japan have raised the question whether the missionary is not "immoral" in such use of the privilege. Passports are issued to foreigners both for travel and for residence in interior Japan, the latter kind being granted only to foreigners employed by Japanese. A few have been granted for purposes of preaching, but generally for teaching, missionaries so employed preaching as they have found opportunity. The traveler's passport has, or rather had, a time limit of six months, and was strictly limited to purposes of "health" and "scientific research." The bearer was compelled also to travel in the order of the places named therein; and if he returned before the expiration of the time he could not start anew except on another permit. The question seems a fair one how missionaries could honestly preach the Gospel under a permit of such character. Dr. Busse and others have frankly said that if these passports could not be used consistently most of the missionaries would cease at once to avail themselves of them, save within the strict construction—for sickness and science.

It must be borne in mind that the primary object of the restrictions is to assert the principle that the power to restrict foreigners within treaty limits still rests with the Japanese. Secondarily, also, the intention is to prevent trade in the interior, where there is no provision for the adjudication of the trade disputes which are sure to arise between natives and foreigners. These being the objects of the restrictions, anything that does not contravene them might be interpreted as within the four corners of the passport. And, in truth, when the proforeign feeling and sentiment ran high, say five years ago, this was the interpretation placed upon the law, and the administration continued thus liberal till the antiforeign feeling set in and some abuses occurred, when the term for residents in treaty ports was changed to three months, and for those resident in the interior to two weeks. It is also to be borne in mind that foreigners have never attributed to the law any other intention than that of restricting trade in the interior. The clause relating to health and scientific research is practically a dead formula.

The question raised in the case of the missionary, however, is whether, having a definite intent—that of propagandism—he makes an honest use of the privileges of the passport. It is true that nobody else stops at any ulterior purpose he may have in securing a permit of travel. But can the missionary conscientiously apply for such a permit when his sole purpose is the preaching of the Gospel?

It would be easy to say the whole matter is in the nature of a restraint, and that the application of the restraint is with the party making it. If the Japanese government interprets evangelistic tours as within the terms of the contract, what responsibility has the missionary in the case? We do not know the technical reading of the passport. Common usage, however, fixes an interpretation till it is challenged. But if the treaty is of the nature of an honorable concession and the Japanese administrator is lax or corrupt it would be a question with all honorable foreigners, missionary or other, whether they would be parties to the obliquity. If the administration be morally lax missionaries can scarcely avail themselves of its concessions. The *Japan Mail* does not wince in the least in charging missionaries who avail themselves of the privileges of the passport, if employed for evangelistic purposes alone, as acting in opposition to the plain intent of the law, and hence as guilty of morally oblique conduct. The *Mail* makes a large concession to those missionaries who, honestly going for health or scientific research, choose to preach during their travels. Such preaching it holds to be merely incidental, as playing on a fiddle might be in the case of a musician. It is not altogether clear that the analogy holds, however. It is not in evidence that any intent to prohibit missionary evangelism under the permit has ever been made known, whether incidental to health or not. That moral science or religious science was intended to be excluded from the contents of the terms "scientific research" is not affirmed. A very wide construction may be put upon this expression, and the question is, Who is to interpret it? If the Japanese declare that the strictest construction shall be put on the terms of the passport and throw on the missionary the responsibility of adjusting his conduct to such a construction there can be no doubt as to the course any fair-minded and honest missionary must pursue. The question is, What is the intent of the government? It has hitherto raised no question as to a passport secured for avowed purposes of evangelism. If now it does raise the question the missionary has no other duty than to conform to the requisition; it is privilege, not right, that he acts under in going into the interior to propagate his faith.

It is well that the Church at home should bear in mind that whatever has been done in Japan by missionaries has been accomplished under restrictions of residence and travel which, even when interpreted in the most liberal way, impose limitations not known in any other of our foreign fields. Even granting that the passport permits evangelical work, the missionary can pursue his aim only if employed by some Japanese or during a temporary and limited sojourn. The marvel is that we have made so much advance in the interior under these conditions.

THE USE OF THEOLOGICAL TERMS IN HEATHEN LANDS.

One of the greatest difficulties in foreign missionary work is the adoption or creation of terms to convey correctly Christian theological ideas. In India the missionaries have, with general unanimity, agreed in their

use of terms for God. *Deva* is a common term for "a god." This has become of frequent use, in some localities, for "God," as we mean the term to be understood. In other parts of India this term could not be properly used without making God one of many gods. The Mohammedans had preceded Christians in many portions of India, and they used the word *Khuda*, "Lord;" and as the idea of the Moslem, that there could be but one God, had obtained among the fifty millions or so of people speaking the Urdu, or Hindoostanee, language the missionaries readily adopted that word. For the Hindi-speaking people they found the term *ishwar*, "lord," which, combined with *param*, became *Parmeshwar*, which expressed the idea of "Supreme Lord."

But the difficulties of finding a term in Chinese on which the missionaries could agree has continued from the first until now. It is eighty-five years since Morrison reached Canton, and yet missionaries of one nation differ in their use from those of another, and even missionaries of the same mission are divided on the term that should be chosen. Bible societies and Bible translators have been embarrassed by the conflict over the "term question;" and, as Chinese is in use in Japan and Korea, there seems danger that the controversy will be extended to those countries. The Roman Catholics have adopted a word, in which they have been followed by the Greek Church, in Japan and Korea. They have used the term *Tien-Chu* for a century and a half. They fought the battle early and settled it for themselves, or had the pope decide it authoritatively for them. *Shang-Ti* is the competitive term, but is the word used from of old by the Chinese for their chief object of worship, they having an altar at the present day set apart for this cult at Peking, together with another altar to "Earth," as this is to "Heaven." We do not propose to enter into this discussion, and only make reference to it to emphasize a class of difficulties in missionary work which we at home are apt to overlook. It is no easy thing to convey the high and distinctive ideas of Christianity to peoples who are entirely devoid of the essentials of the concept. Almost equal difficulty is experienced in China in finding a suitable word for the "Holy Ghost." Indian missionaries recognize the necessity of paraphrase and commentary in using native terms for "sin" and the eternal state of the good. Either new terms have to be invented or existing terms elevated for the presentation of Christian concepts in every land where Christianity is newly propagated; and one of the marvels of modern missionary history is that this difficulty has been so far overcome that no great heresy has arisen among Christian adherents secured from non-Christian peoples.

It is also well to remember the confused use of religious terms which obtained at the Parliament of Religions. Representatives of heathen religions were restricted to the use of the English language, and necessarily used terms which in translation couched Christian thought wide as the poles away from the thought in the original. The foundation idea of the convention, that of the "fatherhood of God," is impossible to Buddhist terminology; "salvation" with a Hindoo means escape from transmigra-

tion; and "sin" comprehends external conduct, such as the destruction of insect life, not noticeable in Christian ethics.

Rev. Henry Haigh, of the Wesleyan Mission in India, in a paper read at the Bangalore Conference, says of the "simple villagers" that, however innocent of philosophy, they have "*inherited a standpoint*, and all the sentiments, the prejudices, and the common practices of their life cluster around and grow out of that. . . . It is possible for the missionary to make statements which seem to him to lack nothing in clearness and for the Hindoo villager to assent to it all. The missionary means Christian truth in his statement. The Hindoo means essential Hindooism in his assent, and could mean no other. But the missionary does not understand this, and goes off delighted at having preached Christianity, when all that he has done is to confirm the Hindoo in his Hindooism. How could it be otherwise? To the missionary who has not studied deeply the thought in which every Hindoo has been steeped, terms mean only one thing. To the Hindoo there is no Christian connotation whatever in these terms. And so the missionary who means so well is miles away from his simple villager, even when there is the clearest statement and the readiest assent."

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON BUDDHISM IN JAPAN.

It has now come to be acknowledged that Christianity has produced a profound impression on the Buddhist community of Japan; and a high authority, distinctly non-missionary, has said: "If Christian propagandists in Japan had accomplished nothing beyond awakening the religious sense of the nation they might still claim to have done much for the country." The Japanese Christians connected with the American Board substituted for their Annual Report in 1892 a pamphlet, entitled a *Brief Survey of Christian Work in Japan in* 1892. This pamphlet represents that the Buddhists have been roused to engraft on their system many features of Christianity which seemed good to them. This is probably limited, however, to a section of the Buddhist community, while another section has been stirred up to a revival of Buddhism in pure and unadulterated antagonism to Christianity. The Neo-Buddhism is represented as claiming that Buddhism "is wide enough to hold all the truth of all the religions in the world." This "Broad Church" wing of Buddhists has adopted a distinctive marriage ceremony, organized Buddhist "Endeavor Societies," after the idea of the Christian Endeavor organizations, for the younger members of the Buddhist community, and imitated missionary, educational, and other propagandist methods. They have carried their modifications of faith and practice so far as to have been spoken of as "Christianized Buddhists." These are confident that their history, philosophy, and religion, despite Buddhist dissensions and moral decay, will win for them respect and influence among the nations of the earth. The *Japan Mail* thinks "contact with Christianity has not only revivified Buddhism, but has also renovated it."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Konstantin Schlottmann. Although dead he still speaks through the posthumous publication of his works. Had he lived he would have affected the theological world powerfully in many directions. The dictated portions of his lectures on biblical theology (*Kompendium der biblischen Theologie*) have recently been given to the reading public. His discussion of the contents of Rom. vii will be of special interest. According to him this famous chapter describes the condition of Paul prior to his conversion to Christ. Such must ever be the conclusion of sober exegesis, although the Old Testament law, or the law written in the heart, is required to reveal the conflict between the higher and the lower nature in man. Among the concepts which Paul here discusses is the difference between spirit and flesh, which is not equivalent to the distinction between spirit and body. "Flesh" denotes the entire human nature in its false and usurped independence, that is, in its separation from God. In this "flesh" bear rule all the psychical and physical powers, directed, as they are, toward this earthly life, since "flesh" includes both soul (ψυχή, not πνεῦμα) and body (σῶμα). The human spirit, on the contrary, designates all the higher spiritual powers, which are directed toward fellowship with God and the realization of his will, and which are capable of receiving the divine Spirit. On account of this difference between the flesh and the spirit the two strive against each other (Gal. v, 17). To the lust of the flesh, however, belong not only sensuality, but also enmity, envy, and everything which stands opposed to the fruit of the Spirit. In the normal condition of the psychological trichotomy the spirit rules over the soul and body. The dominion of the flesh, on the other hand, is that of the soul, which is lower and directed purely toward the world. In so far as the sensuously directed soul is enslaved by the body and its impulses and habits sin and death rule in the body and its members. "Fleshly" and "worldly" are, therefore, synonyms; as also "spirit," the "inner man," and "mind," which last, however, occurs in other connections. The divinely related spirit manifests itself even in the carnal person, but can only attain supremacy by the redeeming grace of God. Until then the condition of man is one of death. If any stricture is to be made upon this profound and satisfactory treatment of the theme in hand it is that it does not sufficiently emphasize the fact that, although it does not describe the converted state, this chapter does portray the state of a soul under the influence of God's Spirit and grace.

Hermann Schultz. Of an altogether different type is the celebrated biblical theologian of Göttingen. He is as radical in his views of the Old Testament as Schlottmann was conservative as to the New. He does not hesitate to ascribe (*Alttestamentliche Theologie*) the principal contents of

the so-called historical books to the effect of tradition and myth. By tradition he means the beliefs of a people who are just entering into the period of veritable history concerning their past. The beginnings of the nation, the figures of its progenitors, etc., are not handed down in the form of exact history, but in song, proverbs, and stories, and enriched by the poetic spirit, not with the intention of falsifying the facts, but involuntarily. In the tradition there is also a germ of truth. Such literary productions he regards as of the greatest value. They reveal as much of the true life of a people as does sober history, and even more. It is his opinion that we dare not suppose Israel to have been an exception to the universal rule without doing violence to the laws governing the development of mankind. The myth differs from the tradition in being, not merely a story of the past, but a story containing a theory of the supposed history. The myth he regards as the best possible form for the revelation of religion. So that to him the admission that the supposed history in the Old Testament is largely traditional, and the religious ideas mythical, does not rob it of its character as a true revelation, in which he still believes. These, instead of veritable history, have been chosen of God as the medium by which he would convey to mankind the knowledge of the true religion. There are, however, several difficulties in the way of accepting his views. They practically spring from the denial of the miraculous element contained in these stories. He assumes that the very form which these supposed miracles bear is evidence that they are the imaginings of the human mind, rather than the relation of actual occurrences. But the chief objection arises from the very supposition that to Israel was revealed the true religion. The traditions and myths of other nations contained truths of religion; but the supposition is that the traditions and myths of the Jews contain the true religion. This at once lifts both Israel and its religious literature out of the plane occupied by other nations and explains why Israel had no traditions and myths, as was the case with other peoples, but veritable, marvelous history.

Martin Sorof. This scholar has led the way in an attempt to explain the origin of the Acts of the Apostles. He holds (*Die Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte*) that in its present form the book is not the work of Luke, but that he wrote an account of the preaching of the Gospel among the heathen, chiefly by Paul, and addressed it to Theophilus. From a Judaic Christian source came an account of the preaching and acts of Peter. These two were taken by Timothy and made into a work the purpose of which was to give an account of the spread of Christianity without reference to national distinctions. Timothy was the better fitted for such a task, since the mingling of Jewish and Hellenic blood in his veins would sufficiently widen his thought to include Gentile and Jew. In this way he proposes to explain the differences of style between the first and second parts of Acts. The document of Luke must have been written much earlier than the Acts as they were finally left by Timothy and as we have them to-day. The reason why Luke did not carry on the

history of Paul beyond the second year of his imprisonment at Rome was that Theophilus probably lived in Rome and knew for himself. And Timothy did not carry it forward because his work was rather one of compilation than of original writing. In the same way is to be explained the fact that, although the plan of the work by Timothy included a general history of the spread of the Gospel, while that of Luke chiefly related to Paul's preaching to the heathen, he still allowed the address to remain to Theophilus, who would be principally interested in the Gospel to the Gentiles. Luke's work was only intended for a limited class of readers (Gentiles). The incidents related of Peter were likewise designed for Jews. But the work of Timothy was for a wider circle of readers. This, Sorof thinks, will explain why the work of Timothy could pass with all parties for a work of Luke. It was addressed to Theophilus as a continuation of Luke's gospel. The small circle of readers having Luke's work would not notice the difference between the larger writing and the smaller. On this supposition, too, he thinks it is explicable why such widely divergent views of the Acts have been taken. But, even on the supposition that Luke would not have written to Theophilus all that is contained in the Acts, we could not accept the conclusion that Timothy was merely a compiler and that his work has no unity of design.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Der Todtenkultus bei den Juden (Funeral Ceremonies among the Jews), by Dr. I. Rabbinowics. Were it not that this book is written for the express purpose of introducing young theologues into the study of Jewish funeral customs we could scarcely credit what we here find of superstition and formality. From the instant that a person is taken sick until a greater or less period subsequent to burial the duties and rights of the dying and the living are defined with Pharisaic minuteness. It is the duty of the Jew to visit the sick and pray with him. But if he is lying upon the earth or on a low bed the visitor must not sit on a chair, lest he place himself higher than the Shekinah at the head of the sick. If the visitor prays in the presence of the sick he may employ whatever language he chooses, since the Shekinah understands all languages; but if in the absence of the sick he must pray in Hebrew. It is the custom, immediately upon the death of anyone, to pour out all water which may be in the house of the dead and in three houses on each side. Detailed instructions are given as to procedure in case the death occurs on the Sabbath or is produced by violence, and just how and by whom the body may be washed and clad for burial. A child which dies uncircumcised must be circumcised at the grave. The mourners dare not eat in the room where the dead lies. The ceremony of rending the garments must be performed standing. It must be done prior to burial. The rent must be in the garment over the breast and be as broad as the hand. If the mourner loses another relative the same day he must rend his garment in

a new place the width of a hand. But if the second relative dies after the seven days of mourning are passed he may merely enlarge the first rent a little. A eulogy must be pronounced over every dead person who had lived to be five years of age. The speaker must speak touchingly, so as to cause as many as possible to weep. The merits of the dead are to be set forth, but must not be too greatly praised, although it is allowable to praise the dead somewhat more than he deserves. The virtues of dead children should be touchingly described, and on such occasions the merits of their parents and relatives may be emphasized. If anyone has purposely taken his own life no eulogy is to be delivered. The first meal after the return from the grave must be furnished by others than the relatives of the deceased. Too great mourning incurs the risk of having soon to mourn another death. If a member of a benevolent or religious organization dies the whole society has reason to fear that still other members will die. And so on for illustration.

Kritische Geschichte der Exegese des 9. Kapitals des Römerbriefes (Critical History of the Exegesis of the 9th Chapter of Romans), by Dr. Valentine Weber. No subject is properly understood until the history of its literature is mastered. This work takes up and discusses thoroughly the views on this passage of the Greek exegetes during the first four centuries, namely, those of Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Clement of Rome, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Methodius, Ephraem the Syrian, and three great Cappadocians—Basilius the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. It then takes up in the same way the Latins—Ambrosius, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Augustine. The result of this investigation shows that the exegesis of this passage passed through various stages, the expositors seeking by different methods to set aside the difficulties which it presents. Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and Pelagius took verses 15–18 as the words of an opponent of Paul's argument, not of Paul himself. Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Pelagius explained verses 20 and 21 as a *reductio ad absurdum*, so that they did not express Paul's own thought, but the consequences of the thought of his opponents; while Origen, Chrysostom, Ephraem, and Ambrosiaster simply referred these two verses to the fact that the divine mysteries are unsearchable. Among all the exegetes prior to Augustine, Chrysostom was the only one who took verses 14–23 to be a united whole expressive throughout of Paul's own thought. Augustine rightly recognized the content of the verses to be "grace as a gratuity." But he failed to find the correct significance of the passage, supposing that it was directed against the Jewish Christians of Rome, whereas it was in reality intended for the Pharisaic Jews in the hardness of their hearts. He took it also as signifying the individual, whereas it has reference to the blessings conferred upon society by its call to the kingdom of heaven and to God's special providence over the nations. To this outline of the contents of the book we may add that the high Calvinistic theory, so far as it was drawn from Augustine, was drawn from a

view which had been influenced more by philosophy and the absolutism of imperial authority than by the general spirit of the Pauline writings. Paul always conditioned the reception of free grace upon the individual's faith.

Die Laienpredigt und der Pietismus (Lay Preaching and Pietism), by Emil Wacker. Here we shall consider only what the author has to say about pietism in the Lutheran Church, where it is declared to be, not a consequence of the doctrine, as in the Reformed Church, but a consequence of apostasy from the true doctrine. This is in reality the key to all that the book has to say against pietism. It does not wholly reject doctrine, but it gives it a secondary place. Not correct faith, but correct life, is the demand. Along with this goes a certain subjectivity in the religious life to which the author objects. With him the word and the sacraments are most important. With the pietists the emphasis is placed upon the personal religious experience. The saying of Luther, that the Christian doctrine is heaven and the Christian life earth, is not that of the pietists, who believe that the life should be as heavenly as the doctrine. The author objects to Spener, in that he applies the words, "Behold, all things are become new," not to a gracious state, but to the moral condition. According to good Lutheran doctrine this is a serious error. These words are expressive merely of the fact that all is new in our relation to God's law and that complete moral newness is impossible. He thinks the consequence of the pietistic view to be a superficial conception of conversion; that is, the profounder idea of conversion lays the stress upon a gracious state, rather than a moral renewal. The feelings played a great part with the pietists. Then along with the subjectivity of the religious life went a dangerous tendency to separatism. Pietism could not understand the significance of the inherited ecclesiastical order. Furthermore the pietists rejected, at least practically, the doctrine of monergism and adopted that of synergism. These, and many other similar faults, Wacker finds in pietism. Most of these Americans have been taught to regard as virtues. This author finds far more to criticise in pietism than in the dead orthodoxy of the period just preceding, and from which it sprang as a reaction. Pietism, like monasticism, drifts toward Rome. "The only way which does not lead either to apostasy or to Rome is the way of the Lutheran faith, when it is maintained in its original form."

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Lay Preaching in Germany. Recent years have witnessed a phenomenon of more than ordinary interest in the Fatherland. It is the development of the idea of lay activity in religious work. Although the German Reformation asserted the universal priesthood of believers, yet for a long period the spiritual interests of the congregations were placed almost exclusively in the hands of the ministry. To this hour many of the clergy are jealous of any participation by the laity in distinctively spiritual work.

Yet the general tendency is setting rapidly in the direction of lay activity. Several causes have conspired to this end. Perhaps the chief is the development of the inner mission work. This has demanded far more workers than the ministry could supply, and lay workers became a necessity. So long has the Protestant Church in Germany been accustomed to the inner mission work that prejudice has been largely disarmed. Then the so-called "sects" of Germany have exercised a profound influence toward the same end. Methodists, Baptists, and others have given considerable liberty to laymen in church work, and the effect has been found beneficial, a fact not hidden from the masses of the religious elements of Germany. To this must be added the influence of the Young Men's Christian Association, which has taken considerable hold upon some of the larger cities of Germany. Besides, ecclesiastical methods in England and America are studied by the more progressive Germans with much zeal. Tourists in America see the advantages to be gained by our system, and, so far as they are laymen, feel that they have been too little allowed to exercise their privileges in Christ Jesus. What the laity of a Church seek they can always secure, in conservative Germany as elsewhere. There are other causes also for increased lay activity. The long student life of the educated clergy has unfitted many of them for the necessary sympathy with the masses. Many of them, too, are cold and rationalistic and furnish no true spiritual food for their parishioners. Then, the exceedingly large parishes, often numbering from fifty thousand to eighty thousand souls, with but two, three, or four pastors, render impossible that true pastoral oversight which is needful for a congregation. Much of the time of the pastors is occupied with purely clerical work, such as recording births, marriages, and deaths, with German minuteness of detail. The demand is, therefore, for more workers than the ranks of the ministry can afford. To these causes must be added the socialistic propaganda, which threatens both Church and State, making more popular methods of church work necessary. The development of this class of workers in Germany may be estimated by the following facts gathered from the third book mentioned in this number under "Recent Theological Literature." In Würtemberg the Evangelical Association sustains seventeen lay preachers, who act as colporteurs, hold meetings for worship, and do other pastoral work. They are in some cases not wholly dependent upon their salaries, which are very modest. In Baden similar work and workers are found. In the Rhine Provinces and Westphalia there are twenty-four persons employed, who often do far less colportage than preaching and pastoral labor. In some cases they are opposed, in others assisted, by the pastors. They stand in high repute among the ecclesiastical authorities. In East Prussia, and elsewhere, lay preaching was at first strongly churchly, but when it encountered the opposition of the pastors it went on its way regardless of them and threatens to end in separation. In Schleswig-Holstein the work of lay preaching is carried on with the consent of the authorities of the Church and with their cooperation and warm encouragement. The Society for Inner Missions was until recently under the leadership of

Baron von Oertzen, a layman, recently deceased, and admitted to membership only such as had a heartfelt experience of the power of the redeeming blood of Christ or were longing after it. The object of the society is to spread the word and the kingdom of God, especially among those who for any reason are far removed from the influence of the Church. They have eleven workers, six of whom are specially educated. But these are only a part of the many organizations whose chief characteristic is that they encourage or support lay activity. To those who are jealous for the Church and its constituted authorities these things are a thorn in the flesh, even though they are compelled to admit the good done to individuals thereby. But it is an unquestionable fact that lay activity, not alone in preaching, but also in all departments of church work, is making rapid progress, and that it is meeting with such success as wins increasing numbers of men to the opinion that it will solve the problem of churchly usefulness in Germany.

The Drink Evil in Germany. Not only does this curse of humanity rapidly increase, but theologians, jurists, physicians, statesmen, prison officials, and educators combine, with all who come in contact with the drunkard, in an earnest effort to oppose the ruinous fiend. Even the emperor has become aroused and is lending a hand. Among those who have spoken out upon the subject are men renowned beyond the borders of Germany. We give a few of their utterances. There is nothing new in them to American thought, but they will help to feather our arrows against those who assert that in Germany, where beer-drinking is common, drunkenness is rare. Pastor Von Bodelschwingh says: "The sale of poison by the apothecaries is closely watched; but hereabouts one person is permitted to cause the death of another by alcoholic poison." Pastor O. Funke says: "Humanity passes over into beastliness by reason of the appetite for strong drink." Professor Dr. M. Rhode exclaims: "Where has anything been done against the intemperate indulgence in strong drink? I mean anything thoroughgoing, extraordinary, against this extraordinary evil? Whether anything will result from my efforts I cannot tell. I am doing my duty and must leave the result with God." Professor Endemann, jurist, declares that the right to arrest the drunkard in the interest of public welfare and to incarcerate him in an asylum arises from the fact that he is impoverished or otherwise rendered unfortunate by drink, and that in law the lover of strong drink must be considered as in need of a guardian and insane. Robert Mohl affirms that the poverty of men is chiefly their own fault, since it is caused by their inclination to indulgence in drink. Gustav Rümelin regards the saloon as the asylum of indolence, the chief source and place of wastefulness, and the scene of common drunkenness and the rudest and often bloodiest excesses. Gustav Schmoller thinks that one could almost without exaggeration affirm that the future of Germany depends upon this question. Von Moltke says that a healthy man needs no stimulant under ordinary labor, and to give it to children, as is often done, is positively criminal. Dr. Hufeland declares

that all spirituous drinks tend to shorten life, and that mankind has never suffered under a sickness so dangerous as the pest of strong drink. Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld regards the drinker as far more dangerous to the social and moral existence of the family than the insane. Privy Counselor Illing says that, according to the experience of the officers of penal institutions in Prussia, the larger part of the crimes and offenses which are investigated are a direct or indirect consequence of the use of spirituous liquors. From so many and such varied, though harmonious and energetic, utterances on this subject, in the land whence the defense of drinking customs is chiefly drawn in America, it becomes evident that a sentiment is being developed which will at length crush out this evil.

The Situation in Persia. The visit of the shah to Europe is understood to have great significance for the religious as well as the political situation. He has been favorable to reforms which introduce European manners and methods, and this has excited the enmity of the people, and particularly of the priests, especially as he has separated them from all participation in government affairs. There has recently appeared a long-desired messiah who, according to the expectation of the masses, will sweep from off the face of the earth all non-Mohammedan peoples and elevate Mohammedanism to a universal sway. This may lead to bloody persecutions and to efforts to overthrow the shah, who will doubtless be influenced by occidental rather than oriental views of this messiah. Under the leadership of a fanatical Mohammedan messiah it would not be difficult to produce disturbances which would exhibit all the old-time barbarism of Islam.

The Gustavus Adolphus Society. The forty-sixth annual convention of this organization was recently held in Bremen. Its affairs exhibit an encouraging growth. The number of branch organizations has increased from 1,831 to 1,837, and those of the females from 483 to 502. The appropriations of the association amounted in Germany alone to 1,009,300 marks, and together with those of Holland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy to 1,042,867 marks. The entire income of the society was 1,830,135 marks, and its property was reported at 3,003,931 marks. During the past year 27 churches and houses of prayer were dedicated through the help of the society, and 23 congregations were started in the erection of houses of worship, 10 parsonages erected, and 9 schools established.

Methodist Union in Australia. For several years an effort in this direction has been made in imitation of Canadian Methodism. The movement has gone so far that a numerous general convention of delegates from the various Methodistic branches has been called to arrange the details of the consolidation. The *New Zealand Methodist* says that until the present time the Conferences have worked upon an individual basis; but now they exchange their opinions mutually in the expectation of an early union.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE traveler's journal of rugged adventure and brilliant discovery is a noticeable feature of present periodical literature. Whoever keeps pace with the current magazines needs no other assurance that the explorer is abroad. The successors of Mungo Park in Africa, of Kane among the arctic snows, of Von Humboldt, who went everywhere, are always in the field. Man has the instinct for exploration. Strong-shod for the rough journey, carrying in a light pouch the equipment for the tour of a continent, open-eyed for every wonder, and vivid in his descriptive quality, he climbs every mountain and crosses every desert in search of knowledge. It will be a sorry day when the traveler has trodden the last foot of the earth's surface and exploration has merged into full discovery.

But until that unfortunate period shall arrive such a tourist's story as that of E. N. Buxton, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, will only whet the appetite for further exploration. Entitling his article "In the Mountains of Egypt," he has written of his personal visit to the broken chain of "granite vertebræ" which lies back of the Nile and is separated from it by "a belt of waterless desert." The conveyance of the party was by the back of camels; the cameleers were of the Maazeh tribe, good-natured, spare, active, and "probably changed as little in the last five or six millenniums as any people on the face of the earth." Of the silence of the desert the author speaks in graphic phrase: "It is an experience to be felt nowhere else. Here is a little sample such as the world was before the pulse of life began. There is no sound of water, no rustle of leaves, no hum of insects; even the thud of the soft pads of the camels can scarcely be called a noise. It is to visit a dead planet." Following the gradual ascent from the plains to the foothills and then to the mountains, the traveler describes the "bizarre and fantastic" rocks, traces the limit of vegetable and animal life, and identifies such historic scenes as Badia, the "important well of the Romans at the base of Gebel Dukhan." Nor is the bleak desert without its witchery for Mr. Buxton. Whether the mountaineers are not better circumstanced than the fellaheen to whom he returns is his query. "I wonder," he concludes, "which race is the happier; or are we Northerners better off with our fretting life, and machines, and books, and endless strife? Why does not some Edison invent a delicate balance for weighing happiness? Anyhow, I am certain that a month in the desert with chosen companions would rank high."

Another readable and instructive article, in which less of nature and more of humanity is introduced, is the paper by T. J. Hughes, on "Village Life in Mexico," which opens the table of contents in the April *Chautauquan.* If the history of a day be "complex and various" throughout the world, it certainly has its unique features in the Mexican environment which the author visited. In structure, the usual house is "a blocked-shaped and thick-walled adobe, with no windows, heavily barred door, cement floor, and two rooms containing but two or three articles of fur-

niture;" as to agriculture the traveler found that maize is "the chief product of the country;" as to education, the instruction of the children is not neglected, so that it is rare "to find an adult who cannot read and write;" for a four-footed companion almost every family has "the patient burro;" in the cultivation of the social instinct the nights are given to music, song, and visiting. "Thus the evening is spent," says the author regarding this semitropical simplicity; "and one by one the flickering lights of the fires go out. The children have long since ceased their yells, and only occasionally is heard the bark of the dog. The songs of a solitary family sitting up later than usual are the only echoes of the dying day, and after a while silence, unbroken silence, reigns over all. The village sleeps, to be awakened for another day by the song of the cock."

Still other instances of the traveler's description occur in the *Fortnightly Review* for March, where Dr. J. W. Gregory tells of "An Expedition to Mount Kenya—A Story of African Adventure," and Henry W. Lucy writes a paper entitled "From Cape Town to Cairo." The former of these articles is given up to the rugged scenery and the aboriginal wildness of the lake region of Africa. To a height of 16,800 feet did the daring traveler ascend Mount Kenya, studiously aiming to study the fauna, flora, and geology of the district, as well as to ascertain other obtainable facts. Mr. Lucy's article cites the view of Mr. Cecil Rhodes as to England's permanency in Africa: "He does not believe England will ever withdraw from Egypt, and, seeing in his mind's eye the British flag permanently flying at Cairo, he desires to make a highway of communication with the older British outpost at the Cape." The article thus has a political flavor, and is hopeful in its vision of a future British boulevard "from Table Bay to the Suez Canal." Yet it is no less the animated and crowded description of an alert nineteenth century traveler.

The *Biblical World*, under the editorship of Dr. Harper, is a free lance among the theological publications of the day. Its March number has contributed articles as follows: 1. "The Theology of Paul and of John Compared," by Professor G. B. Stevens, D.D.; 2. "Paradise and the First Sin, Genesis iii," by W. R. Harper; 3. "Hindooism's Points of Contact with Christianity," by Merwin-Marie Snell; 4. "The Duties of Man as Taught by the Book of Proverbs," by C. F. Kent, Ph.D.; 5. "Wisdom in Teaching Critical Results," by Professor F. B. Denio. In the first of these papers the writer finds that John, much less than Paul, presents a system of thought. Yet these two great Christian teachers "in many ways supplement each other, and both illustrate and enforce with peculiar power the great truths of God's love and grace which constitute the changeless substance of the Gospel of Christ." In the second article Dr. Harper reviews in his characteristic way the always fascinating story of the sin in the garden of Eden, and concludes concerning it that the writer was "ignorant of the real geographical and historical facts," and that it is "prophetic in the wide and in the narrow sense." In the concluding

paper Professor Denio notices "the sensitiveness often manifested regarding the discussions respecting the Bible," and suggests how those who help forward Scripture study may quiet this feeling of alarm.

The *Lutheran Quarterly* for April has as its table of contents: 1. "The Ascension of Christ," by Rev. John Brubaker; 2. "The Relation of the Church Council to the Pastor and his Work," by Rev. S. J. Taylor; 3. "Evidential Value of Apostolic Testimony," by Rev. M. L. Young; 4. "Dr. Remensnyder's Lutheran Manual," by M. Valentine, D.D.; 5. "What Constitutes True Christian Worship," by Rev. E. S. Johnston; 6. "Descensus ad Infernos," by Rev. M. G. Boyer; 7. "Character and Democracy," by Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk; 8. "The Coordination of Word and Sacrament," by Rev. Adam Stump; 9. "Incentives to Missionary Activity," by Rev. P. C. Croll; 10. "North-East College," by Rev. W. E. Hull; 11. "Professor Pieper and the Lutheran Manual," by J. B. Remensnyder, D.D. The first of these articles holds that Ascension Day, with "its great and sacred meaning," should be "more generally observed in the Church." The usual arguments for the credibility of the apostles, in the fact that they reported the things which they saw and suffered for the truth, are presented in the third paper. As to Christ's descent into hell, the writer of the sixth article holds the view that he "went in his entire person to the prison house of the spirit world, and proclaimed that all the promises made to Noah and the prophets concerning a coming Messiah were all fulfilled, that man's redemption was complete, and made it plain that he was victor over death, the grave, Satan, and all the powers of darkness." In the ninth article the Rev. Mr. Croll finds a threefold incentive to missionary activity in the considerations that it is "for the Master's sake," "for the heathen's sake," and "for our own sakes."

The April number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* opens with a practical article by E. T. Bromfield, D.D., on "The Sabbath School Movement of To-day." In "The Ecclesiastical Situation in Scotland" Dr. N. L. Walker foresees the coming of disestablishment, and then predicts the union of the three Presbyterian bodies now operating in Scotland. The article of Professor J. I. Good, D.D., on "The Witness of the Reformed Church of Germany against Rationalism," is a worthy review of the defense of evangelical truth in Germany. Professor N. M. Steffens, D.D., writes on "The Principle of Reformed Protestantism and Foreign Missions;" and Professor H. W. Hulbert discusses "Political Science and Christian Missions." The gist of Professor William H. Green's exhaustive article on "Klostermann on the Pentateuch" is that this "veteran professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Kiel, in his recent treatise on the Pentateuch, enters a vehement protest against the methods and results of the higher critics in their work of dismemberment." The final paper, on "Christian Beneficence and Some New Theories Affecting Property," by Dr. David R. Breed, challenges

the teachings of Dr. George D. Herron and others, and estimates the terms employed toward men of wealth, in the writings of these recent sociological teachers, as "unduly severe, unreasonable in character, and not warranted even by the Scripture which is quoted in their support." It then proceeds in a discriminating way to inquire what the Scripture really teaches as to the acquisition and disposition of property.

The *London Quarterly Review* for April has: 1. "Dean Stanley's Life and Influence;" 2. "Roman Portraits;" 3. "W. H. Smith;" 4. "Modern Views of Inspiration;" 5. "Four English Socialists;" 6. "The Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti;" 7. "Sacerdotalism and the Succession;" 8. "Labor and the Popular Welfare;" 9. "Old New England." The portrait busts of ancient Romans in various Italian museums, as seen by Mr. Baring-Gould, form the basis for the second article. The men studied are Julius Cæsar, Cæsar Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero. In the fifth article the socialistic views of Mann, Webb, Morris, and Bax are considered. The last article is a charming notice of New England life in the seventeenth century.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* is diligent in its compilation of records worthy of preservation. Its table of contents for April includes: 1. "Memoir of David Clapp, Esq.," by W. B. Trask, A.M.; 2. "British Officers Serving in America," communicated by W. C. Ford; 3. "Governor Simon Bradstreet's Ancestry," by I. J. Greenwood, A.M.; 4. "Rev. Stephen Peabody and Wife," by W. C. Todd, A.M.; 5. "Memoranda by Robert Foster, of Kingston, Mass.," communicated by C. E. Briggs, M.D.; 6. "Letters of Colonel Thomas Westbrook and Others," communicated by W. B. Trask; 7. "Snow Genealogy," by Mrs. Charles L. Alden; 8. "Rev. William Adams, of New York, with Adams and Bradford Descent," by Miss Emily W. Leavitt; 9. "Connection of the Family of Edison, the Inventor, with Digby, N. S.," by Judge A. W. Savary; 10. "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard," by C. E. Banks, M.D.; 11. "Some Descendants of Rev. John Robinson of Leyden," by Hon. A. S. Thurston; 12. "The Maverick Family," by I. J. Greenwood, A.M. In addition, "Notes and Queries" and other miscellaneous departments contain many matters in which the genealogist and historian must delight.

The *Canadian Methodist Review* for March–April opens with Professor M. Randles's second paper on the question, "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal?" Thomas Manning, M.A., traces the "History of Dogma;" J. W. Cooley continues his discussion of "The Guidance of the Holy Spirit;" James Crisp urges the "Christian Education of Children," and Chancellor Burwash, S.T.D., continues his analytical studies in Genesis. The concluding article, by Rev. A. M. Phillips, is a study of the Epworth League and Christian Endeavor pledges. The spirit of these pledges he commends, and the advantages in taking them he considers to be many.

We may only quote the full table of contents of the *North American Review* for April. It contains "Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," by Cardinal Gibbons; "New Parties in Parliament," by Justin McCarthy, M.P.; "Reform in the Consular Service," by the Honorable W. F. Wharton; "The Republican Outlook," by the Honorable T. H. Carter; "Our Navigation Laws," by C. H. Cramp; "Forgery as a Profession," by Robert A. Pinkerton; "Tariff Reform and Monetary Reform," by the President of Brown University; "Wild Traits in Tame Animals," by Dr. Louis Robinson; "An Anglo-American Alliance," by A. S. White; "How We Restrict Immigration," by Dr. J. H. Senner; and "The Suppression of Lawlessness in the South," by Governor Stone, of Mississippi. The department of "Notes and Comments" ends an unusually strong number of this always strong publication.

The *Presbyterian Quarterly* feeds its readers with solid meat. Its April number has: 1. "The Attractions of Popery," by R. L. Dabney, D.D.; 2. "Dr. Driver on the Authorship of Isaiah xiii and xiv," by W. M. McPheeters, D.D.; 3. "Presentationism *versus* Representationism," by J. A. Quarles, D.D.; 4. "A Pupil of John—Polycarp," by W. Beattie Jennings; 5. "Ordination to the Ministry of Christ," by A. C. Hopkins, D.D.; 6. "Why We Are Presbyterians," by J. A. Scott.

The *Treasury* for April introduces to its many readers the Rev. John R. Davies, D.D., lately inducted into the pulpit of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, as the successor of Dr. Howard Crosby.——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for April has, among other articles, one on "Woman's Position in the Church," by Mrs. Keister Harford, M.A., and a second on "Woman in Official Life," by Ada J. Guitner, M.A.——The *New World* is among the most solid of the Quarterlies reviewing "religion, ethics, and theology," though orthodoxy may sometimes take issue with its conclusions. Its March number includes: "The Human Element in the Bible," by Philip S. Moxom; "Universalism a Progressive Faith," by A. N. Alcott; "The Origin of Goodness," by Minot J. Savage; and "The Ante-Nicene Doctrine of the Unity of God," by Thomas R. Slicer.——The *Contemporary Review* for April among thirteen contributed articles has "The House of Lords and Betterment," by the Duke of Argyll, and "The Bogus Apotheosis of the British Army," by Archibald Forbes.——*Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* in its April issue has an article on "Our Philanthropic Agencies," by Archdeacon Farrar, and a beautifully illustrated advertisement of the projected tour known as "the World's Temperance Crusade." Miss Willard is herein likened to Peter the Hermit.——The *Gospel in all Lands* for April gives particular discussion to Hindooism.——The *Catholic World* for April among its articles has a noticeable paper by Rev. Kenelm Vaughan on "What Catholics Have Done for Education in Mexico."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Non-Biblical Systems of Religion. A Symposium. By the Venerable Archdeacon FARRAR, D.D., Rev. Canon RAWLINSON, M.A., Rev. W. WRIGHT, D.D., Rabbi G. J. EMANUEL, B.A., Sir WILLIAM MUIR, Rev. EDWIN JOHNSON, M.A., T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., the Honorable RASMUS B. ANDERSON, Rev. WILLIAM NICOLSON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 243. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The names above given on the title page are a sufficient guarantee that something worth reading is within. The chief trouble is that, being simply brief magazine articles, reprinted from the *Homiletic Magazine* of London, the tremendous topics attacked can only be treated in a very fragmentary, and hence in a somewhat unsatisfactory, manner. "Ancient Egyptian Systems," "Ancient Canaanite Religions," "Earlier Hellenic Religions," "The Religion of the Ancient Scandinavians," Islam, Buddhism, "The Jewish Faith," "Positivism as a Religion," and "The One Purely Moral Religion" are briefly considered. But not much of importance can be said on such themes in ten or fifteen minutes. The most satisfactory and suggestive of the papers now considered are those by Rabbi Emanuel, on the Jewish faith, and by Professor Thomson (whose name for some reason is not on the title page with the rest), on positivism. The rabbi speaks respectfully of Jesus, "the great Teacher whose influence has so profoundly affected the world." "He lived and died," he says, "an obedient son of Israel. Nor was his death the signal for the establishment of a new religion. . . . Indeed, it was Paul's preaching that authorized such departures from Jewish practice as constituted the establishment of a new faith; and from an historical point of view I am inclined to name Paul, rather than Jesus, as the founder of the Christian religion." How indignantly and vehemently the great apostle would have repudiated any such honor (perhaps the rabbi does not regard it as an honor) any reader of the epistles can clearly see. The author of the essay, who evidently belongs to the liberal wing, calls Christianity a sister religion to Judaism, the two faiths, "once rivals, long foes, now and henceforth, it is to be hoped, friends and fellow-workers, . . . striving together, though by different methods, to bring all men to the knowledge and worship of the Most High." Professor Thomson's paper is equally noteworthy. Of positivism as a philosophy or as a science very much has been written, but of positivism as a religion most people are much more ignorant; and this is the less to be wondered at in that by no means all who accept the positive philosophy receive also the teachings of M. Comte in regard to religion—"the religion of "humanity," or "human catholicism," as it is sometimes designated, in contrast with Roman Catholicism. Its trinity is humanity, the world, and space. It has its saints' days, its sacraments, its priesthood. But these are mostly on paper. Its temples have yet to be built, its priesthood has yet to be instituted. The followers of this new cult are exceeding few, and it has been admitted that out-

side of France and Britain they can be reckoned only by units. It is a religion that offers no pardon for the past and lifts no veil from the future. What can it do for men? It goes too far for the materialist, it goes not far enough for the spiritualist. Humanity does not long to be worshiped, either collectively or individually, but desires above all else to rest its hopes on some beneficent and almighty Being who will give peace to its conscience and strength to its will.

The Ideal of Humanity in Old Times and New. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, Author of *On Self-Culture*, *Four Phases of Morals*, etc. 12mo, pp. 201. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a small volume of unconnected essays, grouped under a remote, unrelated, and somewhat fanciful title. It is not so much the ideal of humanity that is set forth as the views and reflections of good Professor Blackie on a variety of subjects, such as "David, King of Israel," "Christian Unity," "Wisdom," "Women," "St. Paul and the Epistle to the Romans," and "The Scottish Covenanters." Everything from the pen of John Stuart Blackie is well worth reading. In general he can be depended on for the broad, balanced, and fair-minded judgment which goes with high intelligence, wide culture, thorough scholarship, and full maturity. He is equally at home in the realms of religion and of culture. His writings mix the two together. His religion is intelligent, and his learning is saturated with piety. His style may be indicated by an extract from the first of these essays: "Of all the fair chances that can befall a young man at his first start in the race of life the greatest unquestionably is to be brought into contact, and if possible to enter into familiar relations, with a truly great man. For this is to know what manhood means, and a manly life, not by grave precept or wise proverb or ideal picture; but to see the ideal in complete equipment and compact reality before you as undeniably and as efficiently as the sun that sheds light from the sky or the mountain that showers water into the glen. As when the poor primeval dweller in a cave of the wilderness is for the first time brought into the view of a pillared Greek temple or a massive Florentine palace he leaps into a new conception of what a human dwelling means, and, stirred with an imitative ambition, proceeds forthwith to shape for himself a miniature of the temple or the palace, . . . so the young man who first comes into living contact with a Cæsar or an Alexander, a Shakespeare or a Bacon, passes at one step, as it were, from a dream of manhood to the fact of a great personal possibility, or at least of a noble human relationship. He may not hope ever to become a Cæsar in war or a Shakespeare in literature, but certainly he has become feelingly alive to the kinship which he may claim and the aspirations which he may indulge. What is a great man? A man is great among men just as Mont Blanc is great among Swiss, or Ben Nevis among Scottish, mountains—a man rising above the normal level of his kind, with as marked an elevation as these heights above the common reach of heaven-kissing hills, and at the same time possessing all the qualities and virtues that belong to terrestrial

elevations generally. This is a qualification that must be distinctly marked. Mere height will not make a Ben Nevis or a Mont Blanc; and so a mere superiority in any of the special qualities or positions that belong to a man will not make a truly great man. The man must be a complete man, a man all round, but at the same time a man in his peculiar sphere of the social harmony, presenting to the general eye a superiority as marked as any high Highland Ben does above its lowly congeners. A great genius is not necessarily a great man; he may be a Beethoven in the lordship of sweet sounds, a Raphael in the cunning handling of brush and pencil, a Napoleon in the well-ordered sweep of ambitious war, but not therefore a great man. Jove is not Jove merely as a strong launcher of the thunderbolt, but as the assertor of justice, the avenger of perjury, and the protector of innocence. Nay, so far is mere special greatness of any description from giving a man claim to the praise of a truly great man that, as we daily see, there is a strong tendency in the cultivation of any prominent specialty to defraud the other capacities that belong to a well-accoutered human creature and to disturb the balance of his manhood. Thus it happens that the strong point in a man's professional exercise becomes a weakness in his human character; his favorite virtue, like a pampered child, becomes his prominent weakness; the exaggerated presentment of one feature destroys the fair proportions in which the beauty of an æsthetical whole consists; and in this way your mere lawyer, for instance, becomes an expert intellectual fencer, your mere poet a blower of splendid soap-bubbles or a colorist of clouds, and your mere parson a bundle of sacerdotal conceit. Let us say, therefore, that a great man is a man who, while in the exercise of his special capacity soaring as high above common men as an eagle above a barn-door fowl, is deficient in no function that makes a man a man." We judge that the essay dearest to its writer's heart is that on "The Scottish Covenanters." Professor Blackie is a true Scotchman, and tells with proud and patriotic fervor the magnificently heroic story of those stout, brave Christian men, of whom the world was not worthy, who belong to the noble army of martyrs for religious liberty. Concerning the assassination of Archbishop Sharp, he says it was an unplanned accident which would never have occurred had Sharp been man enough and gentleman enough to say: "My countrymen north of the Tweed have as much right to read presbytery out of the Bible as I have episcopacy; they do not interfere with my rendering of the sacred text, and I have no right to interfere with theirs. Let Charles, a trifler and a pleasure-hunter, perform what pranks may suit his lawless humor at full swing; but I am a Christian priest and a minister of God's Gospel of peace, and can have nothing to do with a policy which, in kinship, not with Christ, but with the Neros and Diocletians of pagan times, commences with the assumption of a spiritual power in matters which can belong to no secular authority, and ends in the persecution and death of the most faithful servants of God and the most loyal subjects of the king that the country can boast."

Religion. By G. DE MOLINARI, Correspondent de L'Institut, Redacteur en Chef du Journal des Economistes. Translated from the Second (Enlarged) Edition, with the Author's Sanction, by WALTER K. FIRMINGER, B.A., Merton College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 200. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The topic which this distinguished French author has taken up in the small volume before us is sufficiently comprehensive, and of lasting importance as well as widest interest. Nor can his treatment of it be much criticised. He makes a strong plea in favor of ecclesiastical liberty and the disestablishment of the Church, which we certainly believe in over here in America. But the writer being a member of the Gallican Church, and the translator, who also supplies notes, being a member of the Anglican Church, they cannot naturally be expected to adapt their discussion very largely to an American audience. Some things here, however, are of permanent and universal value. Part First takes up "The Past and Present of Religions," Part Second "The Future of Religion." The history is traced almost exclusively from what might be called the scientific or natural standpoint, though the supernatural is by no means denied. The second part is mainly occupied with the separation of Church and State, which the author regards as both inevitable and desirable, especially because only thus can religion most effectually exert its influence upon the conduct of individuals and the direction of human affairs. The concluding sentence is as follows: "We shall believe that we have lost neither time nor trouble if by writing this book we shall have given birth to the idea of founding an association for securing the economic liberty of religious bodies." That religious bodies this side the sea have complete economic liberty is something for which perhaps we do not sufficiently praise God. We extend to our brethren in France and Britain who are striving after it our cordial sympathy.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Captain of the Janizaries. A Story of the Times of Scanderbeg and the Fall of Constantinople. By JAMES M. LUDLOW, Author of *A King of Tyre*, etc. New Edition. Post 8vo, pp. 404. Price, paper, 50 cents.

The Prince of India; or, Why Constantinople Fell. By LEW WALLACE, Author of *Ben Hur*, etc. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 1,078. Price, cloth, $2.50.

There are interesting reasons why these two books, both published by Harper & Brothers, should be noticed together. They have been brought into studious comparison in the public mind by various parallelisms and contrasts. Whoever seeks for an explanation of the curious and close resemblances between them must enter into some mysterious psychological problems. Putting side by side the undeniable similarities and the offered statements concerning them, it is difficult to reconcile them except upon some very subtle and occult theory. Although each book has a different topic and is written in a different style, both cover to a large extent the same period in history, both making large use of the fall of Constantinople in its capture by the Turks in 1453. And it is in this portion of the history that the most marked and puzzling coincidences occur. The first

resemblances that strike the reader are the time, place, and prominent historical characters in both stories. The most singular resemblances lie chiefly within the field of invention. We present some of them. Ballaban, the Captain of the Janizaries, is, in outline of career, reproduced in Mirza, in Wallace's *Prince of India*. Both are Christian children, both are captured by Turks, both are educated as Janizaries, both become comrades of young Mahomet and his intimate advisers, both are sent by Mahomet to act as spies in Constantinople before the siege, both fall in love with the heroine of the book, and both befriend her and save her life at the same time (the capture of the city) and in the same place (the chancel of St. Sophia). As to the heroines, Morsinia, in Dr. Ludlow's book, and Irané, in General Wallace's, both are of noble rank, both are orphaned by the murder of their parents, both are brought to Constantinople, both attract the desire of the Emperor Constantine while Phranza, the chamberlain, is seeking a wife for Constantine at Eastern courts, both decline the emperor's advances, both appear on the walls during the siege and create the illusion of the Virgin Mary, both are befriended by a lover—Mahomet's confidential friend Ballaban, in one book, and Mirza, in the other, and both are rescued in the chancel of St. Sophia. When Mahomet enters the building both are given to Mahomet—one by Ballaban and the other by Mirza. As to Ballaban, in the *Captain of the Janizaries*, and Lael, in *The Prince of India*, both are kidnapped near the Hippodrome, both are concealed in the old water-vault of Constantine, both are taken down the steps to a boat with lights flashing through the darkness and a forest of pillars around, and both escape by the drowning of one of the captors in the water-vault and the killing of the other at the entrance. Other resemblances are seen in the two monks discussing the "Filioque," and the two Janizaries' reminiscences of childhood. In addition to specific similarities like these it has been remarked that in general the two books make much the same impression. In every discussion of this peculiar matter it should be borne in mind that Dr. Ludlow is secure in the fact that his book was published seven years before *The Prince of India* appeared. General Wallace denies that he had any knowledge of Dr. Ludlow's book or ever so much as saw it. *The Captain of the Janizaries* took six months in the actual writing; the writing of *The Prince of India* extended through six years. Dr. Ludlow keeps closer to historic lines, and his book has a firmer framework of fact. General Wallace gives freer rein to imagination, and is not restrained by regard for the details of the history of which he makes liberal use. The author of *Ben Hur* aims at splendor and high-wrought dramatic crises, and largely achieves his aim. His pages are at times like a heavily embroidered piece of oriental tapestry, stiff and elaborate. In the labored accumulation and interweaving of innumerable details there is enough to account for the long years spent in the writing. The book pants a little with its effort. We can hardly say that history is the warp and romance the woof, because the romance so greatly exceeds the history in quantity. General Wallace's book shows signs of the advantage he has enjoyed in his extended opportunities to

study the minutiæ of oriental scenes and customs and to command for his work what is called local color. On the other hand, we cannot help feeling that, while in Dr. Ludlow's volume there is less effort spent upon details and a less gorgeous and glittering style, there is more compact substance, less artificiality, and more real power in swift, free-hand drawing and the portrayal of personal characters. The odd resemblances between these two books, appearing, seven years apart, from authors unacquainted with each other, furnish another of the curiosities of literature, intensify public interest, and multiply the readers of both books, each of which is well worth reading. Were there no gain from such reading except to make one of the great catastrophes of history stand out in startling and memorable pictures of blood and fire it were enough. For this accurate reproduction of history in a blaze Dr. Ludlow's is the more valuable work. The difference between the books in this respect is illustrated in the fact that Scanderbeg is a real and important historic character while the Wandering Jew is an utter fiction. Similar strange coincidences are not wanting in literature ever since men began to write. Attention was recently called to the remarkable resemblance between one of Tennyson's poems and one published years before in the *Yale Literary Magazine* by Charlton T. Lewis. But the two books before us furnish one of the most remarkable instances of extensive, minute, and mysterious parallelism to be found in literature. It is most interesting to read them both in the order of their publication.

The Law of Psychic Phenomena. A Working Hypothesis for the Systematic Study of Hypnotism, Spiritism, Mental Therapeutics, etc. By THOMSON JAY HUDSON. 12mo, pp. 409. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The subtitle of this book, "A Working Hypothesis for the Systematic Study of Hypnotism, Spiritism, Mental Therapeutics, etc.," clearly identifies its nature and motive. The "working hypothesis" is that we have two minds and that the second mind (subjective) is amenable to "suggestion." Of course the author believes that all the unusual psychic facts manifest in hypnotism, etc., are best explained by mental duality and suggestion. There are two preliminary objections to the theory: first, that we are not conscious of having two minds, and, second, that the theory is distasteful to the scientific mind. Further, the line of separation between the two is not made at all clear. For example, it is the objective mind which reasons; but the subjective mind does the remembering. Now, we cannot imagine an act of reasoning so simple that it requires no aid from memory. A bolder hypothesis is required—that both minds remember. We are not able to find any advantage in dualizing our conception of the mind. All the author's facts are, in our judgment, consistent with mental unity. At all events, he has not proved the necessity of his hypothesis. Nor is there anything novel in the doctrine of suggestion; it is only the application of the doctrine that presents novelty. Here our author ventures upon the really important part of his theorizing. The power of controlling another by suggestion has been found to be a very limited one. As an

hypothesis it not only fails now and then (and one failure sets it aside), but it fails in a large majority of cases. The author saves his hypothesis in a truly heroic manner by just prefixing the word "*auto*" to the word "suggestion" when the hypothesis fails. It is like saying that all substance is iron or noniron; or that every man is good or not good. To ascribe the failures of suggestion to suggestion itself by the theory that the mind of the patient counter-suggests—life would be easy if *pro* and *con* were always so easily convertible. We need a new theory about mysterious mentality, but more sifting of the so-called facts. So far as these facts have passed beyond the testing stage into general acceptance they are easily enough explained by standard books on psychology. There is, however, a larger mass of "facts" which have not passed the testing stage. Most of the difficulties of the subject are created by doubtful "phenomena," in which deception and self-deception may still be used as a "working hypothesis." A new hypothesis is of no service in explaining what never happened. Dreaming, somnambulism, hypnotism, trances, etc., are easily enough accounted for, and are consistent enough with common psychologic teaching. The author believes that hypnotism cannot be used for criminal purposes. Only a bad man or woman can, by suggestion, be made to do wrong. This is probably too cheerful a view, and the author's confidence may be explained by his hostility to legal restraints upon hypnotic experiment. The intelligent reader who remembers that most of the author's phenomena have long been as simple as arithmetic will find the book entertaining as well as ingenious.

Introduction to Elementary Practical Biology. By CHARLES WRIGHT DODGE, Professor of Biology, Rochester University. Crown 8vo, pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.80.

After the publication of Huxley and Martin's *Practical Biology* there appeared for many years nothing new in the way of a practical guide for laboratory work in biology. Rapidly advancing knowledge has, however, produced every year new ideas among educators as to methods of instruction, resulting in the last few years in the publication of a number of books on elementary biology, both practical and theoretical. This work of Professor Dodge is one of the best of them all. The aim of his undertaking is to give the student an outline guide to laboratory work in elementary biology, including the study of both plants and animals, and to teach him to use his eyes and brain together. The work begins with the study of the animal and plant cell, and then passes to the study of higher forms. Among animals we find directions for the study of the sponge, hydra, campanularian hydroid, the starfish, the earthworm, the lobster, the locust, the crab, and the frog. Among plants it treats of Vaucheria, the stoneworts, the rockweeds, molds, mushrooms, liverworts, ferns, and the flowering plants. Added to the laboratory directions we find an appendix giving a list of reagents, with directions for making them and for their use; and, lastly, there is a list of references to important works on biology and a glossary. The work is designed as a laboratory guide, and for nothing

else. It has no descriptions and no figures. It is purposely designed to be absolutely unintelligible except to one who has the actual specimen immediately in front of him for study. The special feature of the book, and that which gives it particular value, is the method by which it directs the student in his laboratory work. This consists in asking him a series of questions, many of which may be answered from simple observation, but some of which require the exercise of considerable thought and originality on his part. None of the questions are answered, nor can they be answered except from personal examination of the specimen. They cover various topics of comparative anatomy and homology, of physiology and function, and will certainly lead to a more thoughtful study of animals and plants than any other laboratory guide that has yet appeared. It is true that the questions are sometimes entirely beyond the ability of the student to answer. It is a little surprising, for example, to find an elementary student expected to tell why the locust has both simple and compound eyes, or why so many earthworms can be seen on the ground after a rain—questions which are still puzzles to the specialist. Many such unanswerable questions are found in the book. The author states, however, that he does not expect an answer to all the questions, but inserts them simply as suggestions. This method of teaching is certainly the ideal one. Practical biology should have for its purpose, not the storing of the student's mind with facts, but to teach him to see and think for himself. The ordinary laboratory guide gives so many minute directions and so much information that it has rather the effect of curbing than of stimulating one's originality of investigation and of thought. It is doubtful, therefore, whether any of the text-books of biology which have been published in the last ten years are so well adapted to stimulate the student in the right kind of observation and thinking as this one of Professor Dodge, that tells him almost nothing, but asks him questions and forces him to find the answers for himself. It is, perhaps, a matter of question whether the ordinary student can find the time for the study of biology in this way. To answer some of the questions or follow satisfactorily some of the suggestions would require several days' study and much hard work. The work is, indeed, almost too comprehensive, and without testing it by practical trial it hardly seems possible that any class of students could study all the subjects outlined in the book within the time allotted to elementary biology even in the best schools. One may also regret that no figures are in the book; for experience has taught that some directions in the way of diagrams are absolutely necessary for the beginner. It is also to be regretted that the author did not see fit to mention the publishers of the various works of reference, for such mention would very materially aid in making this list valuable. The author does not expect, however, that the book will be used without a competent instructor, and doubtless intends that the instructor should supply the lack of diagrams and give personal help where necessary. The purpose of this guide is to outline the work to be done and to stimulate the student not only to use the dissecting knife and microscope, but also his eyes and his brain together.

Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography. By HENRY WOOD. 8vo, pp. 163. Boston: Lee and Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The most interesting thing about this book is that it has a certain market. Ideal suggestion has put some persons into a receptive attitude for this mixture of truth, rhapsody, and nonsense. The "laws of mental healing" herein rhapsodically expounded mean in this instance the healing of the sick body by the healthy mind. The Scripture texts used are true, but they are misinterpreted. Other truth is stated, but misapplied. The author has persuaded himself that "disease primarily is only a mental specter;" but it is not a sane conclusion. If it were no child would die of diphtheria. Mr. Wood says, "He who fears that he will take cold is always taking cold." The real fact is that the man who is always taking cold fears it as a plain danger to which he is exposed. He did not begin to take cold by fearing it. Nor is it true, as the author teaches by misinterpreting Job, that whatever a man fears will come upon him. He also says, "The roots of illness have their rise [!] in conscious or unconscious fears." If that were true children would not die of croup or cholera infantum. So far as grown people are concerned, it is more true that wholesome fear leads them to escape illness by taking proper care of themselves. Fear of drowning does not lead a man to jump into the sea, but the contrary. It is a misfortune that pious meditations should be mixed up with the nonpious nonsense of this book.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Sacred City of the Ethiopians: Being a Record of Travel and Research in Abyssinia in 1893. By J. THEODORE BENT, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Author of *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, etc. With a Chapter by Professor H. D. MULLER, on the Inscriptions from Yeha and Aksum, and an Appendix on the Morphological Character of the Abyssinians, by J. G. GARSON, M.D., V.P.A.I. Crown 8vo, pp. 309. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, $5.

This book is not a conventional traveler's tale of seeings and doings during a flying visit to some faraway ancient cities. It is rather a scientific contribution to knowledge, made by an experienced traveler and a man of wide and deep geographical knowledge. It is charmingly written, and is quite as interesting as a popular tourist's story. We commend it to the reading of the traveler who is willing to see a bit through another's eyes; to the student of Church history who wants some fresh knowledge of the Abyssinian Christians; and to the orientalist, who will find in it new discoveries of immense importance bearing upon the history, the religion, and the languages of the Semitic peoples. The journey of Mr. Bent began at Massaua (often written Massowah), on the Red Sea, and his objective point was Aksum, the "sacred city of the Ethiopians," which lies inland above the low country near the sea. Massaua is the city which forms the base of operations for the Italian government in its efforts to colonize, civilize, and rule a portion of the great African continent, and the Italian officials showed much hospitality to Mr. Bent and

to his wife, who accompanied him on the entire journey. Aksum is away up among the mountains at a height of 7,226 feet, "at the top of that gigantic wall which had so effectually shut it off for all generations from intercourse with the outer world. Here, as Gibbon says, 'the Ethiopians had slept for near a thousand years, forgetful of the world by whom they were forgotten.'" The place from which he started has a living political interest; the place to which he was going was almost certain to be full of antiquarian interest. The journey was beset with great difficulties, and at one stage almost ended in a tragedy. The country is the prey of brigands, and is almost always torn with revolution or rebellion. The king is unable or unwilling to maintain order in his realm; and there is small wonder to learn from Mr. Bent that the people asked him frequently when the English would come to give them peace again, or to hear him add, "Personally, I cannot help thinking that the sooner some European nation undertakes the government of Abyssinia the better it will be for the country." But the real object of Mr. Bent's difficult and dangerous journey was not to observe the political and religious conditions of the country, however interesting they may be, but rather to seek archæological evidence for the origin of the people who first introduced civilization into the land. It has long been supposed that Abyssinian civilization was Semitic, and that it came from Arabia, the home of the purest Semitic race. There were numerous traditions pointing that way, and many scholars accepted this theory, but without definite proof. Mr. Bent has now settled this question by the most definite and detailed monumental evidence. He has brought back from Abyssinia, from the cities of Yeha, Adoua, and Aksum, photographs, copies, and squeezes of obelisks, temples, and inscriptions. The latter have all been deciphered by Dr. D. H. Müller (whose name is incorrectly printed H. D. Müller on the title page), and they prove to be written in the Sabæan language. The names of kings given upon them were previously known from early Arabian inscriptions. Old Semitic words like *melek*, king, abound in them. The oldest of them were found at Yeha, which was probably a capital of the Sabæan colony. These may be dated both palæographically and historically. By the former test they are shown to belong to the oldest Sabæan inscriptions; by the latter they can be shown to have been written before the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III fought with the Arabians about 732 B. C. This carries us back to a high antiquity, and gives a most welcome ray of light upon the period when the Sabæans sought gold and ivory in the heart of Africa. It is interesting to note that Mr. Bent is now engaged in a visit to Hadhramant, where he will probably find yet other evidences of the wealth and culture of Sheba, whose queen visited Solomon.

The Mummy. Chapters on Egyptian Funereal Archæology. With Eighty-eight Illustrations. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Litt.D., F.S.A. 8vo, pp. 404. Cambridge: At the University Press. Price, cloth, $3.25.

Dr. Budge is acting assistant keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. In the terminology of that

ancient and honorable institution assistant keeper in a certain department does not mean that the holder of the title is a subordinate. The assistant keeper in a department is the head of that department; he is assistant only in the sense that the chief librarian is nominally chief keeper of all the antiquities, though in reality he may know very little about many of them. Dr. Budge is, however, not yet an assistant keeper, but is only acting assistant keeper. The knowing ones are, however, well aware that the word "acting" will soon be stricken from his title and that he will have the title of the office, all the work of which he is now doing. His predecessor was the famous P. Le Page Renouf, now retired with a civil pension which he has earned by long and distinguished services. Dr. Budge began his connection with the museum many years ago, and has worked up from the bottom to a position of great dignity and influence. In his care are the Egyptian collections, which now rank second in importance and extent among the collections of the world, those of the Gizeh Museum alone being superior, and besides these the Assyrian collection, which is in every respect superior to any collection of the kind in existence. The collections in the British Museum give Dr. Budge a magnificent opportunity for work, such an opportunity as is hardly paralleled, on all its sides, in the world. He is making good use of his opportunities, for his books follow each other with surprising rapidity. It is, indeed, a question as to whether his productiveness is not excessive. So far the work is in every way worthy of his position and of his long Oxford and Cambridge training. The volume here under review may almost be called an accident. Dr. Budge was invited to prepare a catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. That museum now takes rank with the really great Egyptian collections of the world, not so much by its extent as by its representative character and by the great value of certain of its exhibits. As a museum where the average intelligent man may get a good general view of Egyptian antiquities it is superior to London, which is discouraging and overwhelming by the very reason of its size. In teaching power it is second only to Berlin; and in its labeling it is superior to that superbly arranged and beautifully set collection, the collections at Berlin being arranged in rooms specially decorated as temples, tombs, palaces, and dwellings, so that every object is put in a setting appropriate to its original use in ancient Egypt. Dr. Budge was not content to write the stereotyped style of catalogue, with its dreary numbers and dull descriptions. He wrote an elaborate introduction discussing the language, literature, history, art, and customs of the ancient Egyptians so that visitors to the Fitzwilliam Museum might have in their hands all needful information to the understanding of the antiquities displayed. This introduction has now been published in separate form as an independent book, and a very useful book it is. The title is, however, very misleading. There is nothing about the mummy or about funereal archæology until page 153 is reached, and even much that follows that page is only very indirectly connected with the ostensible subject of the book. But it would be very difficult to give the book any title that would

be properly descriptive, for it is almost encyclopedic in character. The author's own justification for the strange title seems to be thus stated in the preface: "The monuments and remains of ancient Egypt preserved in the great museums of Europe and Egypt are chiefly of a sepulchral character, and we owe them entirely to the belief of the Egyptians that the soul would at some period revivify the body, and to the care, consequent on this belief, with which they embalmed the bodies of their dead, so that they might resist the action of decay and be ready for the return of the soul. For the sake of the mummy's safety tombs were hewn, papyri were inscribed with compositions the knowledge of which would enable him to repel the attacks of demons, ceremonies were performed, and services were recited; for the sake of the comfort of the mummy and his *ka*, or genius, the tombs were decorated with scenes which would remind him of those with which he was familiar when upon earth, and they were also provided with many objects used by him in daily life, so that his tomb might resemble as much as possible his old home." It is a short step from this to Dr. Budge's *dictum* that "the mummy is the most important of all objects," and that it is therefore a very proper and convenient object to make the medium for the conveyance to the public of all sorts of information about Egypt. The book begins with very brief statements about the race, the language, and the land of Egypt. The first and second of these topics are weakly handled. It gives us no help, for example, to say that "the language of the Egyptian . . . belongs wholly neither to the Indo-European nor to the Semitic family of languages," and it is absurd to add that the "only known language which it resembles is Coptic," which is its direct descendant. The investigations of Stern, Sethe, and, greatest of all, Erman lead us to much more definite conclusions than these, even if they do not finally place Egyptian among the Semitic languages. Following these matters about sixty pages are devoted to an outline of the history of Egypt, which is admirably done. Pages 108–152 are perhaps the most valuable in the entire volume. They contain an exhaustive account of the decipherment of the Rosetta stone and of the consequent reading of Egyptian inscriptions. This story has never before been so well told in English. It adds to the just fame of Champollion, but it also does proper honor to Young, who is shown, by indubitable proof, to have anticipated the former in the fundamental discoveries which led to the reading of hieroglyphic writing. This is rather tardy justice to Young, after Englishmen have for so long given all the praise to Champollion. It is only fair to say that the Germans have nearly all of them, especially Brugsch, Wiedemann, and Erman, long given him his just credit as the first decipherer. To all who would know this thrilling story of a marvelous achievement we heartily commend these pages. Finally, after all these preliminaries, funereal archæology begins on page 153. The first chapter of it is entitled "An Egyptian Funeral," and is a vivid and interesting account of all the religious ceremonies and all the methods of embalmment and entombment employed by the ancient Egyptians. The sections that follow give the

detailed information upon which this account of an ideal funeral is based. There is very little that is new in them, but this information certainly was never so accessible before or so well arranged for ready reference. The book is profusely illustrated with pictures. It is well printed and bound. It has—and that is best of all—an admirable index, which makes the whole book still more valuable. To the increasing number of people who visit museums, and the much larger company who would know about Egypt, we recommend this popular but scientific book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Tongue of Fire; or, The True Power of Christianity. By WILLIAM ARTHUR, A.M., Author of *The Successful Merchant*, etc. With a New Preface by the Author and an Introduction by the Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

The baptism of the Holy Ghost was the power of the early Church, is the need of nineteenth century Christianity, and will be the key to the success of the future Church. Whoever has read Mr. Arthur's long-celebrated book has already consented to these propositions. Whoever has not read it should avail himself of this second edition of the *Tongue of Fire*. It is a great volume, by a great writer, on a great subject.

The Boy Jesus, and Other Sermons. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Pastor Emeritus of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. Crown 8vo, pp. 301. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

The Galilean Gospel. Fourth Edition. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 232. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The Prayer that Teaches to Pray. By the Rev. MARCUS DODS, M.A., D.D., Author of *Israel's Iron Age*, etc. 12mo, pp. 176. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The Lord's Prayer. Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster. 12mo, pp. 279. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These four volumes of sermons are a vigorous protest against the representation that the Christian pulpit is declining. One of the series of discourses was preached in America; three were given in England. All are alike catholic, evangelical, helpful. To declaim against the vigor and worth of the pulpit in the presence of such sermonic addresses is fanaticism gone mad.

The Sunday Newspaper. By Rev. ROBERT F. BISHOP, Author of *Camerton Slope, A Story of Mining Life.* 16mo, pamphlet, pp. 8. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, paper, 3 cents.

Our Western Book Concern instituted a competition by offering prizes for the best essay on "The Sunday Newspaper." The first prize was won by Rev. R. F. Bishop, now pastor at Chillicothe, O. The essay is published in paper-covered tract form, so that at small expense it may be widely scattered for the admonition of Christian people and others against

a serious and growing evil. Pastors may greatly increase and extend their influence and efficiency by distributing this tract in addition to preaching on the same theme.

The Invincible Gospel. By GEORGE F. PENTECOST, D.D., Author of *Bible Studies*, etc. Pamphlet, pp. 52. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, paper, 25 cents.

This is a vigorous address delivered before the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago. It sets forth the glory of Christianity as seen in its antiquity, its prophetic character, its divine Author, its ethical basis; also its doctrines of salvation, as follows: incarnation, atonement, new birth, immortality, and the terms of salvation.

Ships that Pass in the Night. By BEATRICE HARRADEN. 16mo, pp. 235. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1; paper, 50 cents.

An interesting story, which turns largely about a singular, reserved, and reticent character called "The Disagreeable Man." The first sentence of the book says: "We start life thinking that we shall build a great cathedral, a crowning glory of architecture, and we end by contriving a mud hut;" to which the Disagreeable Man adds: "We end by being content to dig a hole and get into it like the earth men." This reminds us of the saying of another: "We begin by wanting the earth to suck in our mouths, and we end by being thankful for a seat in the chimney-corner and the privilege of not being murdered." The book is divided into two parts and twenty-five short chapters. In the tenth chapter "The Disagreeable Man is Seen in a New Light;" in the twelfth "The Disagreeable Man Makes a Loan;" and at last, "The Disagreeable Man Gives Up his Freedom." Several of the principal characters are consumptives, and the book is somewhat depressing from the predominance of tuberculosis.

Beautiful Joe. An Autobiography. Illustrated. By MARSHALL SAUNDERS. 12mo, pp. 304. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

This is a wholesome and profitable book for boys, an interesting book for anybody. "Beautiful Joe" is a dog who follows the example of "Black Beauty," the horse, in writing the story of his own life. In it we see what a human being thinks dogs probably think of human beings. Its influence is salutary toward kinder treatment of the lower creatures which are our companions on this earth. Its best result will be in elevating the human creature by making him gentle and considerate to all living things, as was "the Compleat Angler," who, while impaling a frog upon his hook for bait, would treat him as though he loved him.

Facts and Fallacies of "Christian Science." By Rev. A. W. PATTEN, D.D., of the Rock River Conference. Pamphlet, pp. 30. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, paper, 15 cents.

The "Christian Scientists" have much to answer for. It is not too much to say that there is human blood upon their hands. Lives which might have been saved, or at least prolonged by the use of proper agencies, have been lost. Guileless and trustful souls have been misled by it into a fanatical cherishing of expectations impossible of realization.

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1894.

ART. I.—SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE "METHODIST REVIEW."

WHEN a periodical reaches an age so advanced as seventy-five, surpassing all others of its class in years as well as circulation, it is eminently fitting that some memorial of the achievement be recorded. Hence this review of the *Review*. It is nearly one hundred years since the establishment of such a periodical was favorably considered. In the General Conference Journal of 1796 occurs the following minute:

> *Question* 9. Will the Conference recommend and engage to promote the publication of a magazine entitled the *Methodist Magazine*, which shall consist of compilations from the British magazines and of original accounts of the experiences of pious persons, and shall be published in monthly numbers? *Answer*. The Conference will recommend such a magazine, and desire that it may be printed.

In spite of this encouraging action the magazine was not then issued, the times apparently not being favorable for the venture, and the youthful Church being too much occupied in making good its rights to a foothold on the soil of this great continent. In 1812 the General Conference ordered "the resumption," in monthly numbers, of Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*, afterward called the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the first volume of which had been reprinted by John Dickins in 1789, and the second in 1790; but the order was not obeyed. In 1816 the matter was brought up again, and this General Conference reiterated the instructions of its predecessor, committing the conduct of the venture to the "book steward and his assistant."

I. This book steward proved to be Joshua Soule, and his assistant Thomas Mason. After due deliberation, in January, 1818, they issued, as publishers and editors, the first number of the *Methodist Magazine*, "for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." In their introductory address to the members of the Church, they say:

> The care and labor inseparable from the agency of the Book Concern forbid our devoting as much time and application to the selection and arrangement of materials for publication in the magazine as its nature and importance demand. But notwithstanding these embarrassments exist we trust the work will be found both useful and entertaining to the real friends of Zion. The great design of this publication is to circulate religious knowledge, a design which embraces the highest interests of rational existence, as the sum of individual and social happiness increases on a scale of proportion with the increase of spiritual light and information.

Dr. Bangs, in his History, remarks that the periodical "was generally hailed with delight" as a harbinger of better days, though some sneered at the attempt to "diffuse useful knowledge and scriptural piety by means of the press." The contents of the new monthly, modeled largely after its English prototype, the *Arminian Magazine*, were distributed under nine general heads, namely, "Divinity," "Biography," "Scripture Illustrated," "The Attributes of God Displayed," "The Grace of God Manifested," "Miscellaneous," "Religious and Missionary Intelligence," "Obituary," "Poetry." Forty pages made a number, and twelve numbers a volume. Considering the times and the meager resources at hand, the magazine was no doubt very creditable to its managers, and its readers, it is to be hoped, found it interesting. But not many people of the present day would care to peruse its pages. There were but few original contributions. Sermons, memoirs, accounts of revivals, long extracts from books of theology, and copious selections from many sources were the materials chiefly relied upon to fill the numbers. It is worthy of note that in Volume III is incorporated the first annual report of "the Missionary and Bible Society of the M. E. Church in America."

II. At the General Conference of 1820 Nathan Bangs, then forty-two years of age, was elected book agent, and accordingly became editor of the magazine from the middle of the third volume, with Thomas Mason (1820–24) and John Emory (1824–28)

as assistants. In an address to his readers, January, 1823, he expresses gratitude for the increased prosperity of the magazine, together with an earnest purpose to render it more worthy of the extensive patronage it had obtained. With Volume VIII, at the beginning of 1825, the departments were reduced from nine to six, "Scripture Illustrated," "The Attributes of God Displayed," and "The Grace of God Manifested" being dropped from the list. A slight change was also made in the title-page. It now read, "*The Methodist Magazine*, Designed as a Compend of Useful Knowledge and of Religious and Missionary Intelligence."

In 1827 a very peculiar arrangement went into operation, which is of interest as illustrating the somewhat impoverished condition of both Church and country and the primitive nature of the postal service. The volume this year was completed in ten numbers instead of twelve, though four hundred and eighty pages were furnished, as before. One reason, as stated by the editors, was, to save a part of the expense of postage to the subscribers. Forty pages meant two and a half sheets, and forty-eight pages meant three sheets, and the postage was the same for the former as for the latter. Hence by giving forty-eight pages for ten months instead of forty pages for twelve months something could be saved. But there was still another reason, stated thus:

> As many of our patrons take the magazine in bound volumes it will be a great convenience to them as well as to ourselves to have the volume completed so as to send it off before the navigation closes. This cannot be done while the volume is not bound until the last of December, and hence our Northern and Eastern subscribers cannot, without great inconvenience and expense, obtain their bound volumes until the last of March or beginning of April. This evil will be remedied by the present arrangement.

Evidently, however, this economical scheme was attended with overbalancing disadvantages, for the eleventh volume, 1828, consisted of twelve numbers with forty pages each.

These eleven volumes, reaching from 1818 to 1828, constituted the first series. Portraits, fairly executed, were furnished of Methodist celebrities—among others, of Francis Asbury, William McKendree, Freeborn Garrettson (aged sixty-eight, and again, aged seventy-three), Ezekiel Cooper, Joshua Soule,

William Phœbus, Thomas Coke, Richard Reece, John Hannah, Charles Wesley, George Lane, B. Hibbard, Elijah Hedding, James B. Finley, Laban Clark, and Stephen Olin.

III. Although the magazine had done a good work and had probably met the expectations of its projectors, it had now become plain that a new departure was required to adapt it to altered times. The introduction of weekly religious newspapers—the *Christian Advocate* and *Zion's Herald* having been started at nearly the same time and having speedily attained a large circulation—together with the publication by the Book Concern of the *Child's Magazine* and the *Youth's Instructor*, necessitated a change. Many of the topics which previously gave value to the monthly magazine now found their proper place in the weekly paper; and it was speedily seen that a quarterly, embodying subjects of more permanent interest and requiring more extended discussion, was the demand of the hour. There was some delay, however, in consummating the new arrangement, and hence there is no volume for 1829. Volume I of the New Series, being Volume XII from the beginning, is dated January, 1830, though issued a short time before. The title is now the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, four numbers, 120 pages each, being issued each year. John Emory and Beverly Waugh were editors and publishers. In their prospectus they say, "We have taken measures to engage the regular assistance of able writers, of whom our improving ministry and our growing academies and colleges, we trust, will contribute to furnish an increasing number." Reviews of new works are promised; also the best articles from domestic and foreign periodicals, "either entire, or in part, or in the form of abridgments, compilations, or abstracts." And it is declared that "the general interests of humanity, morality, literature, and science shall not be overlooked." A very important part of the purpose and mission of the *Review*, as well as a significant note of the times, is indicated in the following words:

> The body of our fellow-citizens and of other denominations have had pressed upon them the most fearful caricatures of our system, calculated to render us utterly odious, while with a patience of endurance scarcely paralleled we have submitted almost in silence, though with the means in our power of the most perfect refutation of such deliberate scandals. The time, we believe, has come to afford both to the civil and

religious community of our country an opportunity to become better acquainted with the true principles of our polity and discipline, as well as with our doctrine, and to rebuke the incessant obloquy of those who heap upon us such perpetual and unfailing aspersions.

In harmony with this announcement the first number of the new periodical devotes forty pages to a review of a pamphlet by Asa Shinn which advocated lay delegation, thirty pages to the controversy with Alexander McCaine on "Church Polity," and twenty pages to answering the strictures of *The Christian Spectator* on Methodism. The succeeding numbers are also largely controversial and defensive. In this quadrennium began to appear the names of some of the writers of the articles.

IV. At the General Conference of 1832 it was clearly seen that the previous crude arrangement by which the editing was done by the publishers would no longer answer for the expanding business and growing needs of the Church. Accordingly, while Beverly Waugh and Thomas Mason were made book agents the editorial work was committed to other minds. Dr. Nathan Bangs was elected "editor of the *Quarterly Review* and of our books generally." It was commonly understood that much of the editorial work had been done by him during 1830 and 1831, and as he was undoubtedly the chief originator of the *Quarterly* it was fitting that, among the many distinctions which crown his head, he should have the honor of being its first regularly elected editor. He put much hard work upon it under very embarrassing circumstances, since he was not at liberty to offer any remuneration to contributors. He had to forage everywhere for the straw wherewith to make his brick. If the reader fails to find that breadth of scholarship, variety of knowledge, and elegance of style which have characterized the *Review* in later years, he will at least discover many articles still worth reading and abundant evidence of faithful labor. From 1820 to 1836, with scarcely a break, Dr. Bangs was the guiding genius of the magazine.

In the latter year a sudden calamity jostled the *Review* out of its beaten track, but, thanks to the ardor of its many friends, no permanent injury resulted. In February of this year the Book Concern, which less than three years before had moved to its new quarters in Mulberry Street, was entirely destroyed by fire at night, suffering a loss of not far from $250,000.

The number for April, which was already printed, was totally consumed, together with the copy from which it was made up. The agents waited to consult the General Conference, which bade them go on with the publication. Accordingly a new April number, with entirely different materials, was sent out, and so there was no real break in the volume.

V. In 1836 a new disposition was made of matters at the Book Concern. It being thought best to concentrate responsibility, provision was made for a principal editor and an assistant. To the former post Samuel Luckey was chosen, to the latter John A. Collins. With the advice of the Book Committee the editors were given authority "to employ suitable persons at a fair compensation for the purpose of supplying proper materials." Dr. Luckey thus became chief editor not only of the *Christian Advocate* but of the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, being at this time forty-five years old. He was a self-educated man, of no ordinary powers of intellect, who had filled with high credit many honorable positions in the Church. With him was associated, as assistant editor of the *Review*, the Rev. George Coles, Mr. Collins having soon resigned as assistant editor. In July, 1837, the magazine bears for the first time, printed near its heading, the names of its editors. "Edited by S. Luckey and G. Coles" is the announcement which then, and for the three years following, met the eyes of its readers.

Here first begins, under the head of "Miscellaneous Notices," short reviews of books as a regular department, at the close of each number. The editors make the following introductory observations about it:

> In regard to admitting these miscellaneous notices . . . we shall strictly adhere to the following regulations. They must come to us accompanied with the signature of a person in whom from our knowledge of his reputation we can repose confidence. We shall admit none commending works which in our opinion ought not to be recommended to public favor. But as we cannot know in all cases the character of the books thus noticed, the writers of the notices must be held responsible for what they shall say of their contents and not we.

An appeal is also made to correspondents to furnish notices of new and rare books.

The second series, like the first, was composed of eleven volumes, reaching from 1830 to 1840. The portraits of this period

show the faces, among others, of Elijah Woolsey, William Capers, Nathan Bangs, Wilbur Fisk, John Dempster, R. R. Roberts, George Peck, Samuel Luckey, J. O. Andrew, Daniel Ostrander, and Joseph Benson.

VI. The General Conference of 1840, rightly judging that more labor must be expended on the *Review* if it was to meet the ever-advancing standard of literary taste, decided to provide for it again a separate editor. It elected to this responsible position the Rev. George Peck, D.D., then nearly forty-three years of age. He had been pursuing the work of a Methodist preacher since he was nineteen. Though without special education other than that gained by private study, so strong an impression had his abilities as a leader made upon his brethren that in 1824, when not yet twenty-seven years old, he was chosen a delegate to the General Conference, and from that time on he received twelve other similar elections without a break. He served successfully as principal of Cazenovia Seminary from 1835 to 1838. In reference to the editorship he says in his autobiography that he came to the Conference with no aspirations in that direction, and that he accepted the election, tendered him chiefly by the Northern delegates because of his antislavery principles, with reluctance. The one paragraph in the story of his life throwing light on the question how he enjoyed the post, is the following:—

> I found the work of editing the *Quarterly Review* more easy and pleasant during my second term than it had been the first. The corps of writers which I had gathered was constantly increasing both in numbers and ability, and there was also a steady increase of the subscription list. The *Review* had gained some reputation abroad. We had sent a few copies to a house in London; these were bought up and read; and during my stay in England I found that many had become acquainted with the publication. I was not a little pleased by being told that it was considered one of the best in the English language. It was gratifying to know that the first *Quarterly Review* established under Methodist auspices had proved successful. I may add that during the second term of my editorship the *Review* became self-supporting.

With the number for January, 1841, or Volume XXIII, began the third series of the publication, and this series extended during the years of Dr. Peck's incumbency. The name *Methodist Magazine* now disappears forever from the title. The periodical is to be known simply as the *Methodist Quarterly*

Review, and is to take on more fully the character of a review. Nearly all the long articles are preceded by the titles of one or more volumes with which the writers (unknown, during this series, until 1848) deal as suits their fancy. At the close of these articles, under the head of "Critical Notices," a few brief, unpretentious descriptions of other books are given, this department sometimes occupying only two or three pages. A large part of the space is taken up with schoolbook notices. Among other things *A Practical Treatise on Dyeing and Calico Printing* and a work on *French Domestic Cookery* have attention. Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy* is extolled as an English classic. On the whole, though the volumes show improvement in mechanical appearance, one is impressed that it is still the day of small things in a literary point of view with the chief periodical of the Methodist Church. Yet as he turns the pages of these old volumes he lights upon some good articles that well repay perusal. Among those of more scholarly and permanent value may be mentioned, "Kant and Kantism," "Philosophy of Christian Morals," "Theory of the Atonement," "Missions and Methodism," "Methodist Hymnology," "Theory of Temptation," "Literature of the Bible," and "Cousin's Philosophy." Of more popular interest are "Fourierism," "Franklin's Discoveries in Electricity," "Miss Barrett's Poems," "Le Verrier's Planet," "Webster's Octavo Dictionary," "Phrenology and Fact." Among the thirty-two portraits are those of Robert Newton, John P. Durbin, Richard Watson, W. M. Wightman, Adam Clarke, Ezekiel Cooper, Bishop Morris, Thomas E. Bond, Phineas Rice, William Winans, Bishop Waugh, Lovick Pierce, Charles Elliott, Joseph M. Trimble, P. P. Sandford, Bishop Hamline, and Tobias Spicer.

VII. The General Conference of 1848, finding available a man of such superior mold as John McClintock, honored itself by electing him editor of the *Review*, though he was not a member of that body; and again in 1852 this choice was repeated. The new incumbent, only thirty-three years of age at his election, had graduated with distinction at the University of Pennsylvania in 1835, and had been professor in Dickinson College from 1836 to 1848. From boyhood he was a scholar, and down to the day of his death he reveled in books. He stands easily in the front rank of the accomplished men pro-

duced in the Methodist Episcopal Church of the past generation. Quick in perception, clear in statement, broad in generalization, an independent thinker, and a trained critic, with a fine taste and keen interest in all departments of knowledge, greatly beloved by a wide circle, and already distinguished as a champion of the slave, he was so eminently fitted for the post of editor that it is not surprising to find, as the General Conference of 1848 approached, in spite of his youth, many eyes were turned to him. The new position, when it came, was in every way agreeable, and he entered upon it with keen relish. Writing to Dr. Olin of his hopes and plans in the new work, he says:

> I mean and hope to be a conservative of the forward kind; not falling into any extravagance or ism, if I can keep out by the grace of God, but striving to get the Church at its work of growth within and without.

The General Conference of 1848, though very properly laying on the table a resolution reported to it by the Committee on the Book Concern, directing the editor of the *Review* to lessen the expenditure by inserting fewer paid articles, had passed a resolution declaring its firm conviction that were the *Review* made more practical "it would be more popular and useful." The new editor was confronted at once with the question, How can this be done? He refused to believe that any lowering of its tone in point of literature and scholarship could have been meant. And the Book Committee being applied to for counsel advised him to "improve, as far as practicable, the literary character of the work." Thus left largely to his own judgment in the matter, he announced, in his introductory editorial, that he would give each quarter one article on biblical or philological criticism, would devote more attention to biblical exegesis than had been before accorded it, would defend the doctrines and usages of the Church, though admitting free discussion on all points, and would take up the leading questions of social and moral reform. It was stated that the titles of books need no longer be placed at the head of the articles sent in; that the critical notices would be more extended and independent; and that two new departments would be added—one for religious and one for literary intelligence.

These promises were thoroughly fulfilled, although not without difficulty. Even Dr. Olin fell in with the idea, prevalent

in many quarters, that the *Review* was entirely beyond the needs and appreciation of the body of ministers for whom it was designed. He wrote:

> The *Quarterly* is about as well adapted to our literature as the archiepiscopal palace of his grace of Canterbury to one of our bishops. The idea of keeping up a dignified periodical for the credit of the Church is preposterous; there is no true dignity where there is no adaptation.

In 1854 the Book Committee advised the editor that the *Review*, as conducted, was "not sufficiently adapted to the practical and utilitarian tastes of the people," and requested him to change its character accordingly. But he replied that he "was not appointed to edit a magazine or a newspaper, . . . and that the *Quarterly* had a distinct work before it as an educator, especially of the rising ministry." In a circular sent to the Conferences of 1855 he said to the preachers:

> Were my judgment convinced I should at once alter the plan on which I have heretofore conducted the *Review*, cut out its foreign literary intelligence, refuse all profound discussions of metaphysical and other learned subjects, and fill it with biographical articles and papers on fugitive topics. Such a course would save me much expenditure of thought, time, and labor; but I cannot do this with a good conscience.

He followed his conscience. He kept the *Review* fully abreast of the age, if not, indeed, somewhat in the advance, making it a stimulant and guide to the literary activity of the Church; investigation was encouraged, and the demands of truth respected. He enlisted in the service of the *Quarterly* the best writers of the time, both without and within the ranks of American Methodism. Among articles of a religious or philosophical nature during his editorship were the following: "Faith and Science—Comte's Positive Philosophy," "The Origin of Evil and the Fall," "The Philosophy of Induction," "The Geology of Words," "The Genealogies of Christ," "The Duty of Fasting," "Public Prayer," and "Divine Providence." Subjects of a more popular nature were not neglected, as may be seen from this partial list: "The New Hymn Book," "Progress of Liberal Principles," "The Eastern War," "The Tract Movement," "The Signs of the Times," "Hungary and Kossuth," "Revival of the Black Arts," "The Prohibitory Liquor Law," "California," "Oregon," "Daniel Boone," "Hannah More," and "John Randolph."

Portraits, because of their large expense (their cost being as great as that of the literary matter), and because they seemed scarcely in keeping with the character which it was designed now to give the *Review*, were discontinued at the beginning of the new series in 1849. Dr. McClintock extended the practice of giving the names of the writers of the articles. The department which was now called "Short Reviews and Notices of Books" took on a far greater prominence than under any previous hand, and speedily showed signs that a master held the pen. The editor's personality stands out in these notices with great distinctness; he is not afraid on fit occasion to condemn with vigor; he wields a trenchant blade flashing this way and that to guard the path to the tree of knowledge. One book he calls "a feeble, ill-contrived, ill-written treatise;" of another he says, its "style is ambitious, inelegant, a bad imitation of a bad model." Of Lydia Maria Child's *Progress of Religious Ideas* he quietly remarks, "The whole work on which the writer has been laboring more or less for eight years is one of the most marvelous instances of toil misspent and talent misapplied that the history of literature affords." Of Parsons Cooke's tirade against Methodism he simply says, "A Congregational minister in New England in the year of grace 1855 might find better business, one would think, than abusing his fellow-Christians." George Gilfillan he calls "a literary quack," but thinks "he has mended somewhat" of late, being "now only in part a charlatan." Of Dr. Nehemiah Adams, author of *A South Side View of Slavery*, he writes, "He accomplishes nothing except making a display of his own amiable weakness." Concerning the autobiography of Leigh Hunt he says, "The tendency of the book, taken as a whole, is evil." That he knew how judiciously to praise as well as blame is manifest from such words as these: "Dr. Olin is, in our judgment, the ablest writer that American Methodism has ever possessed;" Abel Stevens "wields the most versatile and graceful pen known in our Church;" "Take him for all in all, he [Chalmers] was, perhaps, the highest style of Christian minister that this century has produced." The editorship of Dr. McClintock is characterized by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Milburn in the statement that "he brought the *Review* to the front rank of such periodicals," and "gave it a high reputation abroad as well as at home."

VIII. We come now to the man who more than any other has given the *Review* its standing and character, and who for no less a period than twenty-eight years presided triumphantly over its destinies. As the General Conference of 1856 approached several things combined to bring forward Dr. Daniel D. Whedon as a candidate for the editorship of the *Quarterly*. His power as a writer had become thoroughly established, and his great abilities in theology, exegesis, and literature were by this time widely known in the East and the West through his various contributions to the journals of the day and many public addresses. His successful professorship of ten years at Middletown and of seven years at the University of Michigan had raised him up a host of friends. His increasing deafness, together with his strong scholastic bent, largely unfitted him for the pastorate. Moreover, his devotion to the slave, through which he had lost his position at Ann Arbor, emphasized his fitness for high honor in the eyes of the more radical antislavery delegates in the General Conference. He was accordingly chosen, even against so able and popular an incumbent as Dr. McClintock, by a vote of 108 to 99, though he was not a delegate to the Conference. Nor was he a member of any of the six following General Conferences that successively re-elected him. In 1860 and 1864 he was elected by acclamation, there being no other nominee. In 1868 a ballot was taken, but out of 227 votes he had 155. In 1872 he had 225 votes out of 366. In 1876 he was elected by acclamation. In 1880 he received 307 votes out of 373. So long as he was physically capable of the strain of the editorship no other man was seriously thought of for this high post. He took hold of the work at once with great vigor, making some excellent changes. He enlarged "Religious and Literary Intelligence," first dividing it into "Religious Intelligence" and "Literary Items," and finally substituted two departments entitled, respectively, "Foreign Religious Intelligence" and "Foreign Literary Intelligence." He introduced a new department called "Synopsis of the Quarterlies," which presented a very valuable *résumé* and criticism of the leading articles in these periodicals. He also gave some space, for a while, at the close of each number to brief editorial remarks. New writers who have since achieved wide fame very speedily appeared. A goodly number of laymen furnished

acceptable articles. Several missionaries discussed subjects relating to their respective fields. Three ladies also appeared among the contributors.

To give anything like an adequate survey of the topics treated during this long period of twenty-eight years would require, of course, too great a space; but some idea of the treat furnished the readers may be gathered from the following partial list. Among the lighter subjects were these: "The Early Camp Meeting Song Writers," "A Plea for the Preacher's Wife," "Is the Modern Camp Meeting a Failure?" "The Hearing Ear," "The Pacific Railroad," "The Modern Novel," "Religious Catalepsy," "Ministerial Transfers," "Toinette," "Plagiarism and the Law of Quotation," "The Wandering Jew and his Congeners," "Florida—Its People and its Productions," "The Territory of Alaska," "The Republic of Liberia—Its Status and its Field," "Utah and the Mormon Problem," "The Medical Profession," "The Temperance Reform," "Silence of Women in the Churches," "Should Presiding Elders be Elected?" "Remarkable Problems of our Population," "Our Sunday School Literature." From all which it will be seen that the demand, perpetually springing up in one quarter or another—shown especially in a resolution favorably reported to the General Conference of 1868 proposing to modify and popularize the *Review* so as to adapt it to a larger class of readers, which resolution, however, was promptly laid on the table—that popular themes be treated so that the average minister might take more interest in the magazine, was heeded to as large a degree as could well be done without sacrificing the true character of the *Quarterly* and lowering it from its proper position at the head of our periodical literature. Of essays having more permanent value, of deeper, more thoughtful disquisitions and discussions touching more scholarly topics, which have ever been and must ever be regarded as the special field of the *Quarterly*, the following titles, a few out of very many, are furnished as specimens: "The Cosmic Philosophy," "German Materialism—the Naturalistic School," "The Modern Theology of Holland," "On the Power of Mind Over Nature," "Illyrian Literature," "The Antiquity of Man," "Methodist Doctrinal Standards," "Persian Poetry," "Egyptian Chronology," "Hindoo Eclecticism," "The Sanskrit Language," "The Religion of the

Athenians," "The Religious Nature of Savages," "Vicarious Atonement," "The Neo-Christianity and its Lessons," "The Nibelungen Lied."

But few portraits were given during these seven quadrenniums, the policy adopted in 1849 continuing. We find, scattered through the volumes as circumstances rendered appropriate, likenesses among others of Dr. McClintock, H. B. Bascom, Egerton Ryerson, R. L. Dashiell, Oliver Hoyt, George I. Seney, William B. Pope, Wilbur Fisk, John Fletcher, Eliphalet Clark, M.D., Bishop Janes, and Dr. Whedon.

The most marked feature of Dr. Whedon's editorship is yet to be mentioned—we mean the book notices. He classified them carefully, a thing which had not been before attempted, and which of itself indicated a purpose to take hold of the work with thoroughness. Besides a section for foreign theological publications, there were such divisions as the following: "Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature;" "Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science;" "History, Biography, and Topography;" "Politics, Law, and General Morals;" "Educational;" "Belles Lettres;" "Pamphlets;" "Miscellaneous." It was frequently the case that as many as fifty books were noticed under these various heads, from twenty-five to forty-five pages being devoted to them. It was the portion of the *Review* first turned to by most of the readers. They were certain to find there masterly delineations, suggestive sentences, pungent paragraphs, and keenest criticisms. Every page gave evidence that the books had been closely scrutinized. An immense amount of pertinent and instructive observation was thrown in at all points. While McClintock was not surpassed in purely literary characterizations and judgment, the new editor promptly showed that in exegesis and theology a king had come to the throne. He was called by *The Independent*, as well as by other great judges, "the best review editor in the country;" and this verdict, we think, will stand.

To fully appreciate this all the volumes must be perused. But a few specimens may serve to indicate the character of the work done. In a notice of Macaulay's *Essays* he writes:

> The greatest master over the power of our English language to express practical human thought that ever wrought its syllables has gone to Westminster Abbey. In clearness, brilliancy, and perfectness of expres-

sion no writer ever surpassed Macaulay. No writer was ever more purely secular. Ignoring the depths below and the heights above, his mind had a rare, clear sight in the horizontal direction. These great essays stand alone in English literature, and will maintain their position during a human "forever."

Referring, in 1871, to a revised edition of Dr. Wakefield's *Complete System of Christian Theology*, he says:

So rapid, during even the last ten years, has been the progress of thought upon the very fundamentals of theology, such the developments of science and the new forms of skeptical and heterodox attack, that our whole body of divinity needs reconstruction by some master hand.

Commenting on an essay which takes up the first chapter of Genesis, he writes:

The rhythmical character of that passage, its stately style, its parallelisms, its refrains, its unity within itself, all combine to show that it is a poem. . . . It is, therefore, a grand symbolic hymn of the creation. . . . We no more believe that it is a detail of the process of creation as furnished by modern science than that the description of the New Jerusalem is a true physical picture of the heavenly state. The Bible opens with a primordial apocalypse and closes with a terminal apocalypse.

Here are some remarks which show claws and teeth, yet they are by no means as savage as others which might be quoted:

What cause demanded the dishonoring innocent white paper with the publication of this worse than worthless trash we are unable to say. It is gospel according to cotton, a prostitution of the pulpit to a crafty defense of national unrighteousness.

We would not give one ounce of Paley's solid evidential sense for an entire volume of transcendental gas, that exhilarates the brains of these glowing intuitionalists who would kick the massy platform of fact from beneath their feet to show how buoyantly they can dance on nothing.

There is one thing very consistent in this production, namely, that genuine nonsense should be expressed in bad English.

When any Methodist minister, in any phase of mind, attacks the system of which he is a part we respectfully desire him to do it well; otherwise he may disparage the Church less by the sharpness of the picture than by the poorness of the performance.

It was, however, against Calvinism that he whetted his blade with greatest delight. We cannot read his burning words showing up with such cogency and conclusiveness the evils of this "absurd and abominable doctrine," as he calls it,

without concurring most heartily with the judgment of another, who has said that no man since John Fletcher has done so much as Whedon to drive Calvinism from pulpit and press and to "bring into prominence in its place the doctrines of a free, a full, and a complete salvation."

We must give two or three of Whedon's sentences on this theme:

God may as well secure my damnation without anything voluntary as secure it by securing the voluntary. Securing my volition in order that he may secure my voluntary sin and consequent damnation is about the purest piece of sneaking despotism that one could attribute to an omnipotent devil.

The pleasure taken by a man in this doctrine [of election] on the ground that his own dear *ego* is one of the elect is about the most intense form of theoretical selfishness that the human mind can frame.

Such a theology is contradicted by the highest and purest spiritual intuitions written by God's own finger on the tablets of the human soul. God and man therefore pronounce it untruth. It is an insult to man and a libel upon God. It fails to be blasphemy only because the intention of blasphemy is absent. . . . We should fear as a mortal sin to worship the awful phantasm his [Dr. Hodge's] theology pictures. That phantasm we are ethically bound to hate and abhor with all our heart, might, mind, and strength. Should we ethically love that phantasm and thereby become transformed to its ethical likeness we should unquestionably become a devil.

When we see our Calvinistic brother for long years practicing so palpable a contradiction without being able to perceive it we are inclined to ask with the disciples, "Lord, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he is born blind?"

It has been calculated that Dr. Whedon gave to the Church in the pages of the *Quarterly* from his own pen thirty duodecimo volumes of three hundred pages each. The resolutions unanimously passed by the General Conference of 1884 unquestionably voice the universal acclaim. They said:

The service he has rendered the Church, by the devotion of his ripe scholarship, his extraordinary mental acumen, and his trenchant thoughts, to the work of enriching our literature and supplying intellectual food for both ministry and laity, is worthy of grateful mention and permanent record.

IX. The General Conference of 1884, noting the age and unmistakable signs of physical weakness which had overtaken

the venerable editor of the *Review*, elected Dr. Daniel Curry in his place, by a vote of 193 out of 353. The Conference also voted, on the recommendation of the Committee on the Book Concern, that it would be well to issue the *Review* at lesser intervals and, so far as possible without lowering at all its high standard or jeopardizing its place among scholars of all denominations, to give such additional matter as would commend it to a wider audience among the people. Accordingly a fifth series was begun with January, 1885. It was changed from a quarterly to a bimonthly, six numbers, each of one hundred and sixty pages, being issued during the year, the periodical from this time being known as the *Methodist Review*. The portraits, also, were revived, one adorning each of the first six issues, the faces being those of Bishop Simpson, Bishop Thomson, J. S. Inskip, William Butler, Henry Bannister, and W. Otterbein. In 1886 there were presented likenesses of Bishop Wiley, J. E. Latimer, R. S. Rust, Bishop Scott, Mrs. H. B. Skidmore, and S. D. Rice; in 1887, of Joseph Longking, J. M. Thoburn, J. P. Durbin, and Mrs. Lucy W. Hayes; in 1888, of Bishop Harris and John B. Cornell.

The post was emphatically congenial to the new editor, who had already spent twelve years in the chair of *The Christian Advocate* and four more in that of the *National Repository*. He contributed no less than seven articles over his own name. Some changes were made in the editorial departments, so that this class of matter was now distributed under six heads, namely: "Current Topics;" "Foreign, Religious and Literary;" "Domestic Religious Intelligence" (though this was soon discontinued), "Missionary Intelligence," "The Magazines and Reviews," and "Book Notices." In "Current Topics" he discussed with great vigor such themes as "Unification of Methodism," "The Higher Criticism in Sunday Schools," "Evangelists and Revivals," "About Evolution," "Bishop William Taylor," "The Irish Land Question," "The Second Advent and the Millennium," "Methodistic Views Respecting Infant Baptism," "The Labor Problem in America," "The Mission of Methodism and Methodist Missions," "The Prohibition Movement," and "City Evangelization." Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the book notices—coming as they were supposed to do from the pen of the great debater who rarely had mercy on an opponent—is

the very kindly spirit which they uniformly show. Could these reviews have been written by Daniel Curry, the fierce fighter on many floors? Internal evidence is all the other way. Even in a notice of Hodge on the Romans, which would have called forth from Whedon the most crushing exposure of the manifest absurdities of Calvinism, Dr. Curry is extremely complimentary and indicates but the mildest sort of dissent. In his brief tenure of the office he introduced but few new writers to the public. Nearly all of his contributors had previously enriched the pages of the magazine. A general idea of the themes taken up may be gathered from the following titles: "The Logic of Introspection," "The Cradle of the Aryans," "Migration of Language," "Making the Appointments," "Railroads and Civilization," "The Franco-Chinese Imbroglio," "Madagascar," "Charles Lamb's Essays," "Some Observations on the Greek Article in the New Testament," "Constitutional Law in the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Dr. Curry died August 17, 1887, and Dr. Daniel Wise—Dr. Crooks having refused the election tendered him by the Book Committee—took charge of the five numbers which intervened between that time and the ensuing General Conference, giving great satisfaction to the patrons of the *Review*.

X. In May, 1888, the Rev. J. W. Mendenhall, D.D., already known as a successful author, was chosen editor on the second ballot, having received 291 votes out of a total of 362. In his introductory address he refers to the general demand for some modification of the *Review* whereby it might be more thoroughly adjusted to the age. He says:

> It must assert itself as a potent instrument in the current strifes of the Church with the doctrinal errors of modern thinkers and teachers. It is not a relic of departed giants, but a scabbardless scimeter to be used in everyday encounter with agnosticism, Old Testament criticism, and all the cognate upheavals in the path of Christian culture and progress. . . . Its place is not the quiet hammock in the summer or the cell of the student in the winter, but always the arena of combat where intellectual charlatanry prevails, where the diplomacy of evil is in exercise, where the biblicist is threatened with a cannon ball, where truth is gashed by the archfiend of hell.

With January, 1889, a few changes were made, chief among them being the creation of the "Arena," a department for brief

discussions and criticisms by contributors. Subsequently was added "The Itinerants' Club," at first under the charge of Bishop Vincent and designed for the special instruction of younger ministers. The *facsimile* signature of writers was also introduced. Another feature made prominent was the symposium, grouping under one general head short articles by different authors on closely related aspects of the same topic. The subjects thus treated during the few following years were "Character," "Theology," "The Heathen," "The New Education," "Language Culture," "The American Republic," "The Historic Episcopate," "The Temperance Movement," "The Christian Sabbath," "Life," "Immigration," and "Divorce."

The main feature, however, of Dr. Mendenhall's administration, and that by which it must chiefly be judged, was a spirited onslaught on rationalism, which was almost immediately inaugurated and was maintained with immense vigor to the end. The editor gave himself up with entire abandon and enthusiasm to this crusade against Old Testament criticism. The editorials in which he denounced those who had strayed from the safe paths of orthodoxy, and whom he regarded as wicked disturbers of the peace, amaze one by their length and number. The following titles show something of the nature of the material so voluminously produced: "Wounded Rationalists," "Rationalism in Pantomime," "Revelation or Reason," "The Limitations of Biblical Criticism," "The Predictive Element in Prophecy," "Christian Scholarship and its Obligations," "A *Résumé* of the Controversy," "The Ethics of the Old Testament," "The Human Quantity in the Holy Scriptures," "The Mechanism of Inspiration," "The Relation of the Old Testament to Christian Faith," "The Crime of the Higher Criticism," "Is the New Testament Safe?" "The Theology of the New Testament," "Critical Study of the New Testament," "The Progress of Criticism," "The True Biblical Criticism," "Heresy and Error." No one can question the belief of the author of these articles that he was divinely called to champion the true faith against a most dangerous foe. Nor will it be questioned that he did magnificent service in marshaling the conservative forces and putting his readers on their guard against such assaults upon Scripture as would destroy its supernatural character. There can be no doubt as to the general approval which

the editor's course elicited from the Church at large. This was especially indicated by the greatly increased subscription list which made the *Review* self-supporting for the first time in a long period; but the most emphatic indorsement of his work is found in the decided vote by which the General Conference of 1892 reelected him—399 out of a total of 453 ballots.

He took an active part in the chief church questions of the day, advocating the introduction of women into the General Conference but not into the ministry, favoring a form of diocesan episcopacy but opposing the election of bishops merely for a limited term, and sternly arraigning "the diabolical alliance with the rum traffic on the part of the Christian community." He secured the writing of a valuable series of articles from strictly conservative scholars on various books of the Bible, such as Isaiah, Job, Daniel, Joshua, Amos, Romans, John, and Mark. The general character of the other contributions solicited or selected may be somewhat judged from the following brief list: "Inspiration and Infallibility," "Progress in Assyrian Research," "Philosophical Idealism," "Industrial Reconstruction," "The Southern Problem," "The Semitic Question," "Recent Explorations in Egypt," "Tendencies in American Economics," "Methodist Laymen," "Jacob Sleeper —A Founder of Boston University," "Major-General Clinton B. Fisk," "John Milton Phillips," "James Porter," "George Bancroft," "Robert Browning," "John Ruskin," "Hospitals, Ancient and Modern," "The Character of Hamlet," "Hell."

Many of the leading writers of the Church contributed to the *Review*. The proportion of college presidents and professors is very striking. Nearly fifty of this class appear in the twenty-four numbers issued by Dr. Mendenhall. Seven bishops are found in the list, and ten editors. Three ladies also appear as contributors. The book notices of the quadrennium give evidence on every page of conscientious labor and critical scholarship. Some two hundred volumes were annually reviewed. Had Dr. Mendenhall been spared to carry out his plans for a second quadrennium his great success would undoubtedly have continued; but fatal disease had seized upon him, and he went from the General Conference, which had given him earthly laurels, to receive a heavenly crown, passing away at Chicago June 18, 1892, just one month after his re-election.

XI. The Book Committee at a special meeting in September chose for the vacant chair the Rev. Henry A. Buttz, D.D., President of the Drew Theological Seminary, who after a full consideration felt constrained to remain at Madison. The Rev. A. B. Sanford, D.D., assistant editor, meanwhile carried on the magazine with admirable skill and entire acceptance. In February, 1893, the Book Committee elected as editor the Rev. William V. Kelley, D.D., a graduate of the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Conn., in the class of 1865.

The list of those who have guided the destinies of the *Review* during these seventy-five years is not a long one, but it is certainly illustrious. A careful examination of the seventy-five volumes thus far issued profoundly impresses us with the wealth of material presented and preserved. A tempting feast is spread which every lover of wholesome intellectual food cannot fail to enjoy. Topics are provided in all their varied subdivisions—biblical, theological, ecclesiastical, biographical, and philosophical. He who sits down to this banquet hungry will rise up full. We may say of the *Review* in the words of Dr. Elijah H. Pilcher, who prepared with immense labor a complete index to the volumes from 1818 to 1881:

> To the prophetic wisdom of its founders, a fulfillment; to its brilliant succession of conductors, a credit; and to the Church which it so ably represents, an honor—it promises to continue its beneficial career while spiritual life shall animate the denomination which it represents and a love for learning exist in the minds of her servants.

James Mudge

Art. II.—THE EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA.

The mysteries and miracle plays of the Middle Ages present a rich mine of poetical material for the modern explorer. His labor will be rewarded by not a few nuggets of virgin gold, although he may have to sift a large quantity of worthless ore to find them. The gems of thought he may discover are in the rough, it is true, unpolished and unwrought, yet they are often precious gems notwithstanding. These plays are interesting as giving vivid illustrations of the manners of our forefathers and of the condition of mediæval society. They exhibit the conceptions of religious truth then entertained, and the mode of its communication to the people. They contain also the germ of that noble dramatic literature which so wonderfully blossomed forth during the Elizabethan era in the writings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Their origin is somewhat obscure. According to Voltaire they first came from Constantinople, where the Greek drama was Christianized in the fourth century. They were probably brought thence by returning palmers and pilgrims during the Crusades. In France, indeed, there was an order of pilgrims called the Confraternity of the Passion, from their representation of that subject. In England these religious plays seem to have been first exhibited at the universities, and were written in Latin. The monkish influence is very strongly marked on every page. They were afterward written in the common tongue, both in France and England, and are among the earliest relics of the vernacular literature of those countries.

This early drama is of three sorts: the mysteries, the miracle plays, and the moralities. The first represented the principal subjects of the Christian faith, as the fall of man and the nativity, passion, and resurrection of Christ. The second exhibited the miracles of the saints and their astounding adventures. The third were, properly speaking, purely allegorical representations of vices and virtues. They sometimes set forth the parables of the New Testament and the historical parts of the Old; then, however, they became indistinguishable from the mysteries. The voluminous religious plays of Calderon and Lope de Vega partake largely of the allegorical character of the moralities.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these plays were performed in the churches for the instruction of the people; but the monks, finding that the exhibitions of the jugglers at the Easter revels drew the populace away from the churches, gave their plays a more attractive character and performed them in the open air. Reading was an art confined, of course, entirely to the clergy, and the ignorant masses could only vaguely comprehend the dull homilies they heard; but the public representation of the nativity, the passion, or the resurrection, at the appropriate season of Christmas, Good Friday, or Easter, was easily understood and vividly remembered.* But these sacred representations soon became subject to abuse. Droll characters, comic scenes, and ridiculous speeches were introduced in order to excite mirth; and a flippant and irreverent treatment of the most sublime themes became a prevailing vice. Many of the clerical performers degraded themselves to the level of buffoons, and the miracle plays, originally intended to communicate religious instruction, frequently degenerated into broad and indecent farce. The lower clergy adopted this vehicle for the abuse of their superiors, and the rude populace found in them both subjects for burlesque and caricature. Thus the most sacred associations of religion became degraded into objects of vulgar mirth. The language of even the female characters—generally represented by boys, however—was frequently exceedingly coarse, and gives us a low opinion of the manners of the age. The devils, or "tormentours," as they were called, were the clowns of the play, and caused infinite merriment by their rude jokes and buffoonery.

The stage was divided into three parts, to represent heaven, earth, and hell; and very intricate and ingenious machinery was often employed to produce theatrical effect. These stages were frequently on wheels, so that they might be drawn about. The gross ideas of the age concerning the material torments of the damned were faithfully delineated. The monks, doubtless,

* A passion play is still represented every ten years at Oberammergau, in Bavaria, in fulfillment of a vow made on the cessation of a pestilence in A. D. 1633. As many as five hundred peasant performers take part, and the spectacle is witnessed by thousands of visitors from all parts of Bavaria and Tyrol and from more distant places. The rehearsal lasts several days and, like the Greek drama, is performed in the open air. It partakes of a highly religious character, and the representatives of sacred persons are selected for their piety of life and are set apart by prayer. Similar plays, but of inferior merit, are also performed in the villages around Innspruck.

thought a very salutary lesson was inculcated when a man who refused to pay his tithes or a woman who adulterated her ale or sold too scanty measure was dragged off forcibly to hell-mouth, from which belched fire and smoke. The devils wore flame-colored and grotesque clothing and carried clubs of buck-ram stuffed with sawdust, with which they vigorously belabored each other and the crowd. In one play Satan and a "nigromancer" dance, when the latter is suddenly tripped up and carried off bodily. Yet the sign of the cross or the invocation of the Virgin or the saints immediately discomfits them; and of holy water they have a mortal terror. In the "Nativity Play" they roar horribly when Christ is born and make a great noise under the stage. The various parts, originally performed by monks, came, in course of time, to be enacted by companies of citizens. Different crafts and guilds vied with each other in the representation of the plays allotted them. The rivalry between the worshipful tanners, chandlers, vintners, mercers, bowyers, skinners, and weavers was keen and exciting.*

When we consider how humble were the talents employed, the majestic sweep and sublime compass of these plays astonish us. They comprehend the entire drama of time, from the creation of the world to the day of doom. Nay, the daring imagination of the monkish writers went back beyond the dawn of time to the counsels of eternity and, scaling the battlements of heaven, laid bare the secrets of the skies. They shrank not from exploring with unfaltering step the regions of the damned, and depicted with Dantean vigor and minuteness the tortures of the lost. They pierced the mysteries of the future and revealed the awful scenes of the last judgment and the final consummation of all things. In recording in his lofty numbers the story of the fall of man and loss of paradise, how far soever he may have surpassed his predecessors, the sightless bard of English poesy, whose inner vision seemed more clear for that the outer ray was quenched forever, could hardly be said to have pursued

> Things unattempted yet, in prose or rhyme.

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* In the book of accounts of these plays some strange charges are recorded; for example, "Item payed for mending hell-mouth, ij d.; for keeping fire at ditto, iiij d; for settying the world on fire, j d.; ij worms of conscience, iij s.; whyte or saved sowles, and ij blake or dampnyed sowles, v s.; baryll for ye earthquakes, ijs.;" etc.

For not only in the miracle plays and mysteries, but also in the still older legendary poem of Cædmon, the Saxon monk, is the same story related with wondrous vigor and sublimity.

The literary execution of these plays, as might be expected, is very imperfect. The most absurd anachronisms and solecisms perpetually occur. The Old Testament characters repeatedly swear—a habit to which they are generally addicted—by "Sanct Peter and Sanct Poule," by "Mahoun and the Sybill." Titles are strangely modernized. The "knights" who crucify our Lord speak of "Sir Pylate" and "Bishop Caiaphas." The devils talk of "Sir Satan" and "Lord Lucifer." The interlocutors in the play quote from "Gregory," "Austyne," and "Sir Goldenmouth." The geography is inextricably confused. The local topography of England is transferred to the fields of Palestine; and London and Paris are familiarly referred to by the shepherds of Bethlehem. The awful scenes of the passion are most painfully realized, and are delineated with all the force and breadth of Rubens's sublime painting. The ribaldry and scurrile jests of the rude soldiery throw into stronger contrast the dread terrors of the scene. The monkish authors do not scruple to heighten the dramatic interest by the introduction of legendary stories, often absurdly, sometimes with wonderfully picturesque effect. English and Latin are strangely intermingled, according to the necessities of the rhyme or rhythm. The writers manifest a sublime disdain of the servile rules of syntax and prosody, and each spells as seems right in his own eyes. The same word will occur in two or three different forms on the same page. The rhymes are frequently so execrable that in some manuscripts and printed copies brackets are used to indicate the rhyming couplets. This was, of course, the very childhood of dramatic art, and it was therefore extremely infantile in its expression; it nevertheless gave token, like the infant Hercules, of a power of grappling with difficulties which was an augury of the glorious strength it was afterward to manifest.

With majestic sweep of thought the drama of the ages is enacted in these plays. All the converging lines of providence and prophecy center in the cross of Christ; and from it streams the light that irradiates the endless vista of the future. Heaven itself seems open, and the vision of the great white throne and

the procession of the palm-crowned, white-robed multitudes pass before us. We hear the "sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies," the choiring of the cherubim and seraphim, and the song of the redeemed in the presence of God. Anon the scene is darkened by the shades of endless gloom, is lurid with the glare of quenchless fire, and awful with the ceaseless wailing of the lost. Compared with these lofty themes the sublimest tragedies of Greece or Rome and their noblest epics pale into "faded splendor wan." What parallel can be drawn between the petty conflict around the walls of Troy, or the wanderings of Ulysses, or the building of a Latin town and the fall of man, the redemption of the world, and the Judgment Day? What terror of Æschylus or Sophocles can shake the soul like the record of the drowning of the world by water or the vision of its destruction by fire? What pathos of Euripides can melt the heart like the tender story of the nativity or the awful tragedy of the cross? The ignorant populace of a petty burgh and the boorish inhabitants of the surrounding country, in that ultimate dim Thule of the West, where such plays were enacted, had brought before their minds, and doubtless often deeply impressed upon their hearts, holier lessons and sublimer truths than Plato wrote or Pindar sung, or than were ever taught by sage or seer in Stoa of the temples or grove of the Academy. And these were no mere poet's fancies. They were solemn realities and eternal verities to their unlettered hearers. The Judgment Day, whose terrors they beheld portrayed, they believed to be at hand—at the very door. Through the purifying flames they felt that they themselves must pass, till the foul crimes done in their "days of nature," were "burned and purged away." Though there may have been little in this homely drama to refine the manners or to cultivate the taste, there was much to elevate and strengthen the character and to project the acts of every day upon the solemn background of eternity. To such Christian teachings as these do we owe the grave and God-fearing Anglo-Saxon manhood of the heroic past. The outcome of such sacred influences may be seen in every great work of our literature, in every noble act of our history—in "Hamlet," "Lear," "Macbeth;" in Milton, Bunyan, Burns; in Cromwell and Hampden, in Sidney and Vane; in the deeds of

Marston Moor and the memories of Plymouth Rock. Wherever the eternal principles of right and justice have met with injustice, oppression, and wrong, whether in battle shock or in council hall, on bloody scaffold or in silent prison, there has been felt and seen the influence of the Christian teachings of the dead and buried ages on the human mind.

A better idea of the general character of the mediæval drama will be obtained from a brief outline and a few extracts than from a lengthened description. The subject is best known to most readers from the short yet characteristic miracle play in Longfellow's poem, "The Golden Legend." The admirers of that noble poem will, doubtless, like to know more of the sources from which it is, in part, derived. From the entire dramatic series, which was generally enacted at Whitsuntide, and sometimes extended into forty different plays,* a tolerably correct idea of the Scripture narrative might be gathered—tinged, of course, with the superstitions and errors of the times. There is frequently among the characters an "expositor" or "doctor," who comments upon the passing events and inculcates the moral to be derived therefrom, somewhat after the manner of the Greek chorus, or rather the corypheus. In the following brief and fragmentary extracts we shall modernize as far as possible the uncouth spelling.

In the opening of the first play, the "Fall of Lucifer," the divine Being thus speaks:

> I am Alpha and O;
> I am the first and last also.
> It is, it was, it shall be thus.
> I am the great God, gracious,
> Which never had beginning.

Here follows the creation of the nine orders of angels. The pride and ambition of Lucifer are strikingly exhibited. He exclaims:

> Above great God I will be guide,
> And set myself here as I ween.
> I am peerless and prince of pride,
> For God himself shines not so sheen.

The revolt and punishment of the archangel and the mutual recriminations of the fallen fiends are quite Miltonic.

*See collections of Coventry, Chester, and Townley mysteries, published by the Shakespeare and Surtees Societies. From these the following extracts are taken.

Next follows the play of "the Creation and the Fall of Man." Adam's prophetic vision, as he looks down the vista of the future and beholds the heritage of woe he has bequeathed to his posterity, is exceedingly impressive. This scene is also the basis of one of the finest episodes in Milton. Eve's yearning affection for her "sweete children, darlings deare," and her agonized grief on the death of Abel are expressed with strong human sympathy. The earth refuses to cover the body of the first victim of murder and rejects it from the grave. Upon the death of Adam, Seth returns to paradise for a branch of the tree of life to plant on his father's grave. From this, in the course of time, was derived the wood of the cross. According to another legend this was the aspen tree which ever since has shuddered with horror at the woeful deed of which it was the instrument. A good deal of humor is introduced into the account of the flood by the contumacy of Noah's wife, a veritable virago who scolds like a shrew and refuses to obey her liege lord's commands:

Noah. Wife, come in; why standest thou there?
Thou art ever froward, I dare well swear.
Come in, come in, full time it were,
For fear that lest we drown.
Wife. Yea, sir, set up your sail,
And row forth with evil hail.
For withouten fail
I will not out of this town,
But I have my gossips every one;
One foot further I will not gone.
They shall not drown, by Saint John!
An I may save their life.
But thou let them into thy chest,
Else row thou where thou wist,
And get thee a new wife.

The story of the offering up of Isaac is skillfullly told. Isaac piteously entreats:

If I have trespassed in any degree,
With a rod you may beat me;
Put up your sword if you will be,
For I am but a child.
Abraham. Ho! my heart will break in three.
To hear thy words I have pitie.
As thou wilt, Lord, it must be,
To thy will I must yield.

Isaac. Would my mother were here with me!
She would kneel down upon her knee,
Praying you, father, if it may be,
For to save my life.

Isaac meekly asks, "Is it God's will I should be slain?" and then quietly submits. He begs pardon for all his faults, craves his father's blessing, sends his love to his mother, and asks to be slain with as few strokes as possible. Abraham kisses him, binds his eyes, and is about to slay him, when the angel arrests his hands. The sacrifice of Iphigenia cannot be compared for pathos with this. The "doctor" expounds the scene as having reference to the perfect obedience, even unto death, of Jesus Christ. A messenger interrupts his lengthy exposition by exclaiming,

Make room, lordings, and give us way,
And let Balek come in and play.

Balaam and his speaking ass are a source of great merriment. Balak, desiring to be avenged on those "false losel Jews," swears horribly at the prophet when they are thrice blessed.

There are also plays about Joseph, Moses, David, and the other leading characters of the Old Testament; but the chief interest of the drama gathers about the life of Christ. The gospel narrative is largely supplemented by legendary lore or embellished by the fancy of the poet, frequently with intense humanness; but sometimes its beauty is marred by coarseness or frivolity. The "Emperoure Octavian" and the Sibyl both prophesy of Christ's advent; and on his birth the gods of Rome fall down, as also do those of Egypt, when he goes thither. Joseph complains that he is only a poor carpenter, who has his meat by his hammer and plane, and so can ill afford to pay the newly levied tax. He and the Virgin Mary arrive, weary and wayworn, at Bethlehem, at the approach of night, and take refuge in a cave used as a stable; and there, between an ox and an ass, that night the Holy Child is born. Joseph is very tender in his bearing toward the virgin mother, addressing her with such fond, caressing words as "Loe! Marye sweete, my darling deare," "my deare hearte root," and other loving phrases. A signal judgment punishes those who dare to doubt her maiden purity. The humanizing influence of these affecting scenes and of this worship of holiness and meekness, of the divine

Child and stainless mother, upon our uncouth ancestry must have been of incalculable benefit. It did much in a rude and stormy age to invest with a tender reverence all womankind, and inspired the iron chivalry of the time with a religious enthusiasm for the succor of human weakness and sorrow.

The play of the "Shepherds" abounds in a good deal of coarse humor and rude mirth. It gives a minute picture of mediæval country life. In some versions a wrestling bout occurs, in others a sheep-stealing plot is discovered. On the whole the shepherds are rather a disreputable set, although one of them self-assertingly boasts that there is

> A better shepherd on no side,
> From comely Conway unto Clyde.

They lunch on Lancaster jack-cakes and Hatton ale. Their names, too—Harvey, Tudde, Tibbs, and Trowle—have a remarkably English sound. They wrestle and engage in rude horseplay till the voices of the heavenly choir are heard singing, "Gloria in Excelsis Deo." The shepherds were evidently unacquainted with Latin, and offer some very absurd interpretations of the unknown words. When the star appears they sing a doggerel chorus and proceed to offer their rustic gifts to the infant Christ. One gives him a bell, another a spoon to sup his pottage, another a cape, "for he [the giver] has nothing elles." In the meantime the three Gypsy kings have seen the star in the East and bring more seasonable offerings. They arrive at Herod's palace inquiring,

> Can you ought say what place or where
> A child is born that crown shall bear
> And be of Jews the king?
> *Servant.* Hold your peace, sirs, I you pray.
> For if King Herod heard you so say,
> He would go mad, by my fay,
> And fly out of his skin.

Herod is at any rate very angry when he hears of the inquiry, and exclaims:

> I am the greatest above degree,
> That is, and was, and ever shall be;
> The sun he dare not shine on me,
> If I bid him go down.
>
> . . . . . .

A boy, a groom of low degree
To rise against my royalty!
Sir doctor, that are chiefest of clergy,
Look up at thy books of prophecy,
And what thou seest tell thou me.

The "doctor" quotes Jacob's prophecy concerning the Shiloh, when Herod bursts out:

That's false, by Mahound, full of might!
That old vylarde Jacob doted for age.
What presumption should move that peevish page
Or any elfish godling to take my crown?

He rages horribly, and orders the slaughter of the children.

Have done and fill the wine high,
Fill fast and let the cups fly,
I die, but I have drink.

In the meantime the kings present their gifts to the baby Sovereign of the world. The first gives gold:

For it seemeth by this place
That little treasure his mother has.

The next offered incense, and the third thirty pieces of money—"gilt pennies" they are called. These "pennies," according to the veracious legend, were the identical coins with which Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah, for which Joseph was sold by his brethren, and for which Judas afterward betrayed his Master. Of few things else, save the Holy Grail and the stone on which the English sovereigns are crowned—which last, it is well known, was the very stone that Jacob used as a pillow—can the history be so marvelously traced. "Our Ladye Marie" left most of the presents, with the child's swaddling clothes, in the cave when she fled into Egypt; and there they remained till discovered by the pious Empress Helena! During the flight into Egypt the holy family are attacked by robbers. One of these relents, beholding their poverty; but the other is exceedingly fierce. The infant Christ foretells that they shall both be crucified with him; but that he who had mercy shall find pardon in his hour of doom.

It is in the play of the "Slaughter of the Innocents" that the king of Jewry fairly out-herods Herod in his cruelty. He summons all his barons, burgesses, and baronets—Sir Lancler, Sir Grimbald, and the rest—to destroy the children. There

are some rather coarse passages of wit between the soldiers and the women, and one cowardly officer is driven off. But the slaughter is completed, and the soldiers toss the dead babies upon their spear-points through the town. Then is heard the voice of lamentation:

> Out and out! and wellaway!
> That ever I did see this day;
> Out and out! and woe is me!
> Thief, thou shalt hangèd be!

In the confusion Herod's own son is slain, and the wretched father, smitten with despair, cries out,

> Alas! my days now are done;
> I wot I must die soon.
> Bootless it is to make moan,
> For damnèd I must be.

He falls down, writhing with pain and eaten with worms; hell opens, and devils drag him within its horrid jaws. No more tragic and awful poetic justice is there in any drama of ancient or modern times.

There is a striking incident in the play of the "Presentation at the Temple." Old Simeon had been reading the prophecy that Christ should be born of a virgin, which seemed so incredible that he obliterated the expression, but found that it reappeared in red letters; and, having again obliterated it, he was convinced of its divine inspiration by its appearing once more in letters of gold. In Christ's twelfth year, the doctors in the temple observing his attention, one of them remarked:

> Methinks this child would learn our law,
> He taketh great heed to our talking;

to whom our Lord replies,

> You clerks that be of great cunning,
> Unto *my* talking take good heed.

Great dramatic vivacity is thrown into the account of the raising of Lazarus. The "prelates," however, think "that lurden Lazarre should be slayne." The merchants whom our Lord drove out of the temple complain to "Bishop" Caiaphas, who with the priests seeks to arrest Christ; but, fearing to do so, they offer money to him who will betray him. Judas accepts the unholy bribe and arranges the time and place of his betrayal of his Master.

The awful scenes of the passion are delineated with a coarse and rugged strength and with a painfully realistic power, which must often have stricken terror to the soul. But amid the rudeness of the ruffian soldiery and the ribaldry of the mocking multitude is heard the gentle falling of woman's tears:

> Alas! alas! and woe is me!
> A doleful sight is this to see.
> So many sick savèd has he,
> And goeth now this way.

The soldiers disrobe the divine Sufferer with many a wanton gibe and jeer:

> "Be thou wroth or be thou fain,
> I will be thy chamberlain.
> This coat shall be mine
> For it is good and fine."
> "Nay, fellow, by this day,
> At the dice we will play;
> This coat withouten scam
> To break it were a shame."

The anguish of the virgin mother is described in a manner exceedingly pathetic:

> Alas! my love, my life, my dear,
> Alas! now mourning, woe is me!
> Alas! thieves, why do ye so?
> Slay ye me, let my Son go.

The "Harrowing of Hell" is a very popular mediæval legend, according to which Christ descends into the regions of the dead, vanquishes Satan, and delivers the patriarchs, prophets, and the ancient worthies who have been waiting for his coming. They greet him with rapture, and he leads them in triumph; while in lofty strophe and antistrophe the angels chant a psalm of victory. Our Lord's greeting to his disciples after the resurrection is very tender and gracious:

> Peace be among you, brethren fair,
> My sweet brethren lief and dear.

Their surprise, fear, doubt, and joyful recognition of the Saviour are admirably described. The ascension, also, is finely conceived. After giving them their commission our Lord parts from his disciples with the words, "I go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God;" and, as he ascends in mid air, in sublime antiphonies the angels sing his triumphs

over death and hell, the opening of the everlasting gates, and his eternal exaltation at the right hand of God. The Twelve, while awaiting the descent of the Holy Ghost, compose the Apostles' Creed, each one contributing a clause to that first formulated confession of faith. Then follow the unfolding of the prophecies of the Apocalypse, the downfall of antichrist, and the day of final doom. The terrors of the last judgment are strongly limned and must have produced a deep impression on the unsophisticated spectators. The finally saved chant lofty strains of laud and honor to Almighty God, for that their sins have all been burned away in the purifying fires of purgatory; while the condemned lift up their voices in everlasting wailing and despair. Popes, emperors, kings, queens, justices, and merchants in turn confess their guilt and the justness of the eternal bale which is their doom. A condemned pope thus exclaims:

> Now bootless it is to ask mercie,
> For, living, highest in earth was I;
> Also silver and simony
> Made me a pope unworthy.

A wicked queen piteously cries out:

> Where is my beauty that was so bright?
> Where is the baron, where is the knight,
> Where in the world is any wight,
> That for my fairness now will fight?

The kings of the earth and the great men and the rich men and the chief captains and the mighty men all wail because of the coming of the Judge; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand? Christ, sitting on a cloud with the instruments of his passion—the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, the spear—exhibits his body more marred and wounded by the sins of men than by the tortures of his Jewish murderers, and pronounces sentence of final doom. To the saved he sweetly says:

> Comè hither to me, my darlings deare;
> While I was on the earth here
> Ye gave me meat in good manere.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Yes, forsooth, my friendès dear,
> Such as poor and naked were
> Ye clad and fed them both in fear,
> And harboured them alsoe.

Turning to the wicked he severely says:

> Nay, when ye saw the least of mine
> That on earth sufferèd pine,
> To help them ye did naught incline;
> Therefore go to the fire.
> And though my sweet mother deare,
> And all the saints that ever were,
> Prayed for you right now here,
> Alas! it were too late!

Thus ends this remarkable series of religious dramas. Their language may often be uncouth, and their treatment of these lofty themes inadequate and unworthy, sometimes coarse and repulsive, shocking our feelings of reverence and our sense of propriety; but assuredly the drama of no age ever addressed itself to a nobler task, and we doubt if, on the whole, any drama ever better accomplished its purpose. Its object was not merely to amuse, but to instruct—to instruct in the most important of all knowledge, the great truths of religion. Its exhibition of these truths may have been imperfect and mixed with much of error; but its influence, in the absence of purer teaching, must have been most salutary. No man, no woman, no matter how unlettered and rude, could but be awed and solemnized by the contemplation of the sublime subjects which it presented; and doubtless many may have been led thereby to apprehend the saving truths of the Gospel, to forsake sin, and to live godly lives. If this hasty incursion into one of the more obscure regions of English literature should stimulate curiosity to a further exploration of its hidden treasures it shall have accomplished its purpose.

W. H. Withrow.

Art. III.—OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM.

The question of a more clearly defined constitution for the General Conference, now before the Church, practically had its origin in the Episcopal Address of 1888, though for two or three quadrenniums it had occupied the attention of some of the most thoughtful men in the Church. The occasion of its culmination in 1888 was in part found in the rapid increase of the membership of the General Conference. It was a question of seriousness, because it was no other than a question of whether the same little boat would, with its increasing load, still safely reach the other shore. The question as to whether there existed a suitable basis for effective legislation in so large and diversified a body also had its weight. And, in addition, the questions of the proper relationship of the laity to the body and the advisability of the admission of women were determining factors in originating the problem.

The problem, then, was fairly launched by the Episcopal Address. What constitutes the organic law of the General Conference, the Address says, is a matter of paramount importance. "Have we any such thing as a constitution?" the bishops ask. They further say:

> It is scarcely possible to think of this as an open question; yet it does exist, and because it exists we deem it wise to anticipate the possible contingencies of the future by seeking such a settlement of the question as will preclude doubt hereafter in a matter of such vital interest to the Church.

The committee to whom this new problem was referred said in reporting the measure back to the General Conference:

> They are convinced that the organic law of the Church, and especially the constitution of the General Conference, need to be accurately defined and determined; that the method to be pursued in the organization of the General Conference should be precisely and explicitly stated; that the relations of lay to ministerial representations should be more satisfactorily adjusted. They are also convinced that these questions require most thorough and careful investigation.

A commission was appointed to formulate a constitution and present it to the General Conference of 1892. The Constitutional Commission met several times before May, 1892. The question in a high degree engaged their individual and united

studies, and they were enabled to present as complete a report to the General Conference as the time allowed enabled them to formulate. At the bar of the General Conference of 1892 this constitution was partially considered and also partially adopted. But insuperable difficulties seemed to arise as the Conference advanced in its consideration, and at length, by an almost spontaneous feeling, it was referred for completion to the General Conference of 1896.*

The fact seems to be that the bishops, the committee who had the matter in hand in the General Conference of 1888, the Constitutional Commissioners, and, lastly, the General Conference of 1892, were under a pillar of cloud, rather than of light, as they contemplated the problem. The same feeling that was in the minds of the committee which considered the matter in the General Conference of 1888, that "these questions require most thorough and careful investigation," seems to have spread itself even down to the deliberations of the General Conference of 1892. We think that this is more than ever the feeling to-day in the Church, and it may be seriously doubted whether the problem will be settled by the General Conference of 1896.

In 1784 a new condition of things appeared in America, which was to affect all future civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Mr. Wesley speaks of it as "an uncommon train of providences." The country was about to be erected into an independent empire. The time had come, also, when a new Church, corresponding to the new civic order of things, must also be erected; and so for the first time in the history of the kingdom of God the Methodist Episcopal Church appeared upon the stage of history. What we wish to note here is that it was formed by the Methodist preachers who had remained in America under Mr. Asbury. We note, but cannot here elaborate. In the Address of the bishops to the General Conference in 1888 they say:

> When the General Conference was simply a general convention, consisting of all the elders who might attend, it possessed plenary power and needed no formal or written constitution. It had power to make rules

* The whole matter, by motion of J. M. Buckley, was indefinitely postponed, with instruction to have the report published in the papers of the Church and presented to the next General Conference. This course was taken by a vote of 233 to 190. John Field had previously moved, "*Whereas*, The report of the Constitutional Committee is too vitally important, involving in many respects our entire economy, to be adopted without the Church

and regulations for the Church; to fix terms of membership; to make and unmake the episcopacy; to ordain, modify, or annul the General Rules, the itinerancy, or the Book Concern; to prescribe doctrines and standards of doctrine; and to meet as often as it chose and to do what it would. It was supreme, and its members represented only themselves. But when the Church grew to such magnitude that it became impracticable for the whole body of the eldership to meet in convention a delegated body was declared a necessity, and then a written constitution, defining the composition and power of such a General Conference, became as indispensable as was the representative principle in the body itself. Such a constitution was ordained in 1808.

The year 1808 was a distinct advance upon 1784, and yet there had passed a period of only twenty-four years. The body was not under "rules and regulations" except those of its own devising.

Thus far it may be noted that the General Conference was altogether and peculiarly a preachers' institution. Only preachers composed it. Only preachers were concerned in selecting the men who constituted it. We have indisputable ground, then, for the statement that in the first instance the Methodist Episcopal Church was created by the preachers themselves, and created solely for the furthering of the religious work that was upon their hands. We note the fact in no invidious sense, but with a feeling of highest admiration. In a very high sense they acted on the broad domain of natural right. That which was their own they had a right to govern. Mr. Wesley acted on this principle. We emphasize this. Any number of preachers may now go apart and organize a Church according to their own peculiar and, perhaps, just notions. This is what the Methodist preachers did; and thus was started one of the mightiest evangelical movements known to Christendom. And so "all things were theirs"—the Conferences, the Book Concern, and the economy of the Church. In 1784, in 1808, in 1812, and down to 1872, there was not a layman to dispute their primacy in anything. The constitution of 1812, the first under which Methodist *Episcopal* affairs were operated, was a preachers' institution, and was operated by the "elders;" but

generally having an opportunity of expressing its views; therefore, *Resolved*, That the further consideration of it be postponed until the meeting of the next ensuing General Conference." (See *General Conference Journal*, 1892, pp. 192, 193.) The proceedings all indicate the reluctance to go forward, and perhaps the Church is greatly indebted to that hesitancy.

the constitution of 1872 was one under which ministers and laymen sat together in council, and 1872 will forever stand an epoch in American Methodist history. The writer himself saw the day and helped to bring it in when the laymen of the Church first appeared in her counsels, and he participated in the joy of all the preachers in hailing so auspicious an event. The General Conference before 1872 was the throne of the Methodist preacher; since then it is a forum and arena of the preacher and layman alike. Formerly the preacher was the first and ultimate power in the Church. This preachers' self-made court made law, administered it, and preachers were its supreme judges. Simple evangelists at first engaged in self-chosen ways of preaching the Gospel and organizing believers into societies, and, wholly unambitious, these humble men truly "builded better than they knew." The course their work took was a natural one in an inchoate state of things. We do not see how they could have done other or better than they did.

We pass on to remark that Methodism has been a tentative procedure from the beginning. From the beginning it has only aimed to do the best thing for the time being and to accomplish the work that was stirring her soul. The result to date is a representative, delegated, General Conference of ministers and laymen, a body where the Methodist people are more completely represented than ever before. The state of things that confronts the Church at the present time is not an inchoate state of things. It is rather the most complicated and extraordinary state of things that has ever presented itself to a well-organized people for solution. We should not be discouraged if 1896 does not solve the problem.

Without further preliminaries we proceed at once to remark that the coming constitution should be a constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and not a constitution of the General Conference.* In the same sense in which the bishops, in their 1888 Address, asked if the General Conference had a constitution, we ask, Has the Methodist Episcopal Church a constitution? This, we take it, is the largest concern. Practically, the Church has no formulated constitution; what she has is in

*The report of the Commission seems to see this but vaguely, and as a result of this two things seem jumbled—an "organic" law of the Church and a Constitution of the General Conference, and in the minds of the Commission the General Conference *seems* to be altogether the larger thing of the two.

a nebulous condition. But the General Conference has a constitution, one that is larger and almost as specific as the decalogue given to Moses. In these two facts lies largely the problem before the Church. The existence of a Church without a constitution and a body in that Church with a constitution creates an anomaly. It would be paralleled if the United States had no constitution and Congress possessed one; that is, if the Congress of the United States governing the United States, and not the United States governing Congress. As plainly, it seems to us, is the General Conference governing the Church, instead of the Church governing the Conference. What is needed to solve the problem is a constitution that shall reverse these conditions.

We have seen that in the beginning the ministry was the greatest power; indeed, was so much the only power that the Church would never have appeared without them. But now, as a result of the shiftings of the very things these preachers created, another all-important factor, the Church, appears. Once the preachers were greater than the Church; now the Church is greater than the preachers. Now is it not the greater rather than the lesser thing that needs a constitution? Not the county, but the State, not the State alone, but the nation of which the State is a part, must have a constitution. Not Conferences of any kind—quarterly, annual, or general—need constitutions so much as the Church, of which all these are parts and instruments. If the Church has such a constitution as her greatness and her work absolutely demands, "Cushing's *Manual* will be enough for the General Conference, especially if it is well enforced." Let it be noted that it is not the General Conference that needs more power—many fear it would be perilous to give it more; but additional power should be given to the Church, so that in her accumulated and rapidly increasing possibilities she may be able to execute her plans in whatever part of the world she may be called to operate. This can be found only in a well-conceived and much-demanded constitution.

But how shall such a constitution be obtained? First, it should spring from the very genius and accumulated wisdom of Methodism. The little *stadia* of our Methodism are as distinctly marked to the Methodist student as the marches of Xenophon to the classical. Whenever in the past an exigency

has been reached in her growth and expansion her wisdom has provided for the occasion. This is a marked feature in the beginnings of her circuits and Conferences. And in all the Conferences down to 1777 she possessed the denominational ken. So in the Conferences from 1778 to 1781. In 1784 her genius of management rose to the highest watermark. The experiment and failure of the "council," the idol of Asbury for a moment, illustrates the larger wisdom that was abroad among the preachers and people. Is it too much to believe that Methodist good sense is greater and broader to-day than at any time in the past? And is not that wisdom more intensive and ambitious to accomplish the great purposes of Providence, which are clearer to-day than ever before? In accordance with the spirit of the country—the new world—in which she has found her marvelous growth, and whose very spirit she loves and breathes, the General Conference of the Church in 1896 should set on foot all plans preliminary and necessary for the securing of a constitution for the Church.* This will be far better than wrangling over a constitution for the General Conference itself, and will be rising to the dignity of the occasion.

In so grave a matter it would be venturesome to enter on a suggestion of details. Yet much detail ought to be considered. There should be, for instance, an equal number of ministers and laymen from each Annual Conference; and the laymen elected to the Quadrennial Conference should, in all cases, be elected by the Church and not by the Quarterly Conferences. Power should at some point arise directly from the people. We would also have it specified that one half of the lay representation should be women. The missionary and domestic work now in the hands of the women of the Church is very great and is daily increasing; and her admission to the counsels where things receive their first shaping would be a manifestation of business sense of a high order. Then a policy should be inaugurated looking to a parity of the Annual Conferences as to ministerial members. Allowing only four representatives from a Conference—two ministers, one layman, and

*Colonel John W. Ray, in his very pertinent and wise minority report of the Commission, says: "We are living in a nation where the people are familiar with the usual forms of civil government. A Church that must of necessity have to deal with the same people should make its forms of government, as far as possible, conform to the civil" (*General Conference Journal*, p. 400).

one woman—one hundred Conferences would give a membership to the General Conference of four hundred, a body, under these conditions, almost too large for business.

Secondly, a larger commission than ever should be appointed by the General Conference of 1896 to formulate the constitution for presentation to the General Conference of May, 1900. It should be composed of equal numbers of laymen and ministers, and should have permission to sit at pleasure.

Thirdly, the theological creed of the Church should be left untouched. If touched at all it should be diminished rather than increased. We see to-day how Churches of large creeds are being rent and torn. The tendency of the times is toward the Bible without note or comment. Intelligence is universal, and each man is able to form his own creed. At any rate, there should be nothing more than a revision of the phraseology of our Articles and the cleansing off of the excrescences and barnacles which, in a hundred years, have gathered on the bark of our Zion.

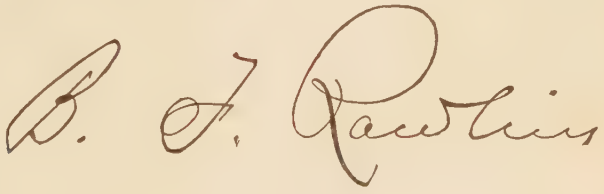
Fourthly, the powers of the episcopacy should be so defined and settled that we can go forward another hundred years with a stronger faith in this sheet anchor than ever before.

Fifthly, there should be a supreme court provided for, as a check to all hasty and unwise legislation. It, too, should be composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers. Office in this should be for life, and the court should always be in session at the sittings of the General Conference. This would allow all the delegates to sit and deliberate and vote together on the common interests.

However great and intricate the problem may appear, we believe there is wisdom in the Church sufficient for its solution. That the plan submitted to the last General Conference and now before the Church is inadequate we believe to be the general feeling. The solution of the problem should be earnestly sought. The rate of increase in our Church is unparalleled in the whole history of the Christian religion. The first Methodist preaching in America was not earlier than 1766. The first Methodist church was built in 1768. There were only four Methodist preachers on the continent in 1770. Asbury and Richard Wright did not land on our shores until 1771. In 1773 there were 1,160 members and 10 preachers. In 1784 there

were 14,988 members and 83 preachers. In 1792 there were 266 preachers and 65,980 members. In 1808 there were 540 preachers and 151,995 members. We cannot continue the enumeration. Look at the case as it now stands. By our latest returns there are 16,454 preachers alone, while the membership stands at 2,524,053. With these data before us the thought is irresistible that something more than a constitution of the General Conference is needed, even a constitution of the Church itself, in which the General Conference may be defined in its place as the chief instrument of her power.

We close our reflections by referring to one thing more, but only in a suggestive way. If the time has come when our Methodism, by the very volume of her power, must seek for additional constitutional safeguards, is it not pertinent that all American Methodism be brought into counsel? May not the evils that have come from a century of probation and conflict be thus eliminated, and a more vigorous and impetuous Methodism than has yet been known file out into the fields of the new century?



Art. IV.—THE METHODIST DOCTRINE OF FREE WILL.

Of all the great denominations of Christendom Methodists alone decidedly and unanimously teach the doctrine of free will. Why we stand alone in this respect it is difficult to see. What connection can there be between foreordination and immersion? Why should Low Church Episcopalians incline toward predestination and those of the High Church lean toward free will? The Congregationalists have saturated New England with Calvinism; but as each local church formulates its own creed the new societies, feeling the spirit of the age, experience a relapse and reaction from the teachings of the Puritan fathers. Luther and Melanchthon, though believers in predestination, sensibly concluded not to make any dogmatic statement of it for their followers; yet the broad, creedless State Church of Germany is Calvinistic. Even Arminius did not succeed in planting Arminianism in his native land. The Council of Dort condemned his doctrines after he was dead. But Wesley and Fletcher embodied them in the very heart of Methodist theology; while the fathers and founders of American Methodism made free will the keynote in their cheery and trustful song of love divine—

> A lay
> Whose melody shall haunt the world for aye,
> Charming it ever on its golden way.

So Methodism has been unswerving in its teachings on this subject from the days when Susannah Wesley wrote her admirable letters to her son, through all its after history, making old England and young America ring with the proclamation of free will, free grace, and universal redemption.

It was Augustine, in the year 412, that first formulated those dreadful doctrines which are embodied in the Augustinian theology, in opposition to poor Pelagius, held up as an Antinomian and a heretic, while this hot-headed and doughty defender of divine sovereignty was canonized as a saint.

John Calvin, in the sixteenth century, a man of rich genius and powerful personality, systematized the teachings of Augustine in the famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* From his throne of power at Geneva he almost ruled both Church

and State. He laid such stress on the dogma of divine decrees that the whole system which embodies that dogma bears his name. From this standpoint he could see no contingency; all was doomed, decreed, eternally fixed, as though God cared more for the glory of his omnipotence than for the glory of his redeeming grace.

Thomas Carlyle imagines a monument over a dead lion, setting forth how many sheep he had slaughtered and how many kids and hares he had consumed. Calvin seems to have erected a similar monument to the Most High. He would have glorified Vesuvius, belching flame and stones, rather than Hermon and Tabor, with sunny slopes and glowing summits luring men's thoughts from earth to heaven. A great part of mankind doomed to glorify God's punitive justice! Justice, indeed! The other part of mankind picked out, with or without reason, like jewels from the mass of uncleanness, to shine in praise of divine love! But what kind of love is it that can create beings to be the objects of wrath? What kind of humanity is it that can be resigned to such a selecting and setting apart of individuals? What a self-complacent kind of theology is that which can coolly submit to seeing millions of creatures doomed to hopeless woe to satisfy absolute and eternal justice—or, according to the Hopkinsian putting of the case, "for the good of the universe"—while the favored few are allowed to look on from the heights of supernal bliss?

And yet, on this strong meat were nourished such stalwart Christians as Cromwell and William, Prince of Orange, together with the Roundheads and Covenanters and Puritans and the heroic Huguenots; Blaise Pascal, also, and the Jansenists; John Knox and Thomas Chalmers and Robert Hall; that princely preacher, George Whitefield, and that king of the modern pulpit, Charles H. Spurgeon; with myriads of men and women of whom the world was not worthy—only showing how much better people can be than their creed. Whittier, in "My Namesake," suggests a beautiful apology for them as well as for himself:

> For, awed by Sinai's Mount of Law,
> The trembling faith alone sufficed,
> That, through its cloud and flame, he saw
> The sweet, sad face of Christ.

In the middle of the eighteenth century that man of might, Jonathan Edwards, set the seal of his master mind on New England thought and the theology of the Christian world. It was during his ministry at Northampton that he preached and published those powerful sermons which produced such overwhelming effects, especially the one entitled, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." The very title is enough to make one shudder. No doubt his eloquence was terrific and appalling. No wonder some of the congregation held to the backs of the pews to prevent themselves from sliding into hell! But were such lurid pictures of fire and blood and wrath true to the facts as found in gospel teaching? Did the powerful preacher truly represent God, or did he misrepresent and blaspheme his Maker? It must be confessed that about the same time, beyond the sea, some of the coadjutors of Wesley often preached sermons hardly less sulphurous and sanguinary. See the published sermons of the Rev. Joseph Benson. Yet there was an essential difference between Joseph Benson's Deity, who provided a hell into which no sinner sank save by the weight of his own deservings, and the Deity of Jonathan Edwards, who, as it seems to us, surrounded the sinner with such a resistless maelstrom of motives, passions, and decrees that he must inevitably be sucked into the all-devouring sea of wrathful retribution.

It was in 1754, while living in the lonely little village of Stockbridge, Mass., that Edwards finished that masterpiece of argument, his *Essay on the Freedom of the Will*, by which he really meant the bondage of the will; for the only freedom he allowed was the freedom to act according to the will. In fact, the will was in his eyes synonymous with "the affections." His reasoning in reference to the prevailing motive is almost unanswerable. Edwards considers foreknowledge as implying foreordination, just as future events imply present facts and grow out of those facts. Bledsoe, in his *Theodicy*, answers with a summary sneer, "As if Omniscience had not ways of seeing the future which we know not of!" But that is not an answer. The question at issue is, Can a contingent future be foreseen, even by a Being of infinite foresight, and yet remain contingent? To this question Calvinists reply with a thunderous and unanimous "negative!"

Dr. L. D. McCabe escapes the logic of this conclusion by the startling and almost confounding theory—not original with him—of "divine nescience." Possibly it may be the only consistent solution of the problem of evil, which, in its Arminian form, would be, "Could not the Deity have created beings that would not have sinned?" Possibly it would have been contradictory and impossible to create free moral beings who would not, soon or late, fall into sin. Possibly, also, as Bushnell in his chapter on "Sin," in *Nature and the Supernatural*, has almost demonstrated, the fall, and sin itself, may be overruled for the highest welfare of the race. But, in any case, in perfect accord with freedom, a free agent can be foreseen, both by a finite and an infinite mind, as doing certain acts without being bound and compelled and eternally predestined to do them. Character and habit merge into moral certainty, and yet remain essentially free.

One of the most original and baffling arguments in Edwards's treatise on the will is that on the infinite series of choices presupposed in every act of choice—infinity in a finite intelligence. Yet we may find that this apparent *reductio ad absurdum* is really a *petitio principii*. It seems to take for granted that mind is merely mechanical, having no self-originating energy to determine its own actions. The very idea of will implies the "self-beginning of activity," so that to speak of free will is a mere tautology. If the will exists at all it is free; if not free it is practically nonexistent.

It was reserved for our own Dr. Whedon not only to besiege and capture, but to demolish, this strong fortress of Edwardsian logic. Whedon meets Edwards squarely, fairly, and triumphantly. Some of our Methodist controversialists, notably the late able and venerable Dr. Curry, compromised with Calvinism to some extent and talked about "the guilt of original sin," as the younger Edwards and the late President Smith and Dr. Hodge, Jr., in his debate with Curry, at Chautauqua, compromised with Arminianism; but Whedon has shown that any other than individual and responsible freedom is only "a clock-hammer freedom," which admits of no accountability. The clock "can keep better time than we with all our wits;" but no one in possession of his wits would ever think of punishing the clock even if it did not keep quite accurate time.

The trouble with Calvinistic predestination is that it is not preachable, not talkable, and not even thinkable. It will not stand the test of practical application. The poet Lowell makes the irrepressible Hosea Biglow say:

> The fust thing for sound politicians to larn is,
> Thet Truth, to dror kindly in all sorts o' harness,
> Mus' be kep' in the abstract. . . .
> No, never say nuthin' without you're compelled tu,
> An' then don't say nuthin' thet you can be held tu;
> Nor don't leave no friction idees layin' loose
> For the ign'ant to put to incend'ary use.

May we not be allowed to commend this astute advice to the defenders of an impracticable and impossible creed? Why hold on to it as with a death-grasp ruled by Calvin's dead hand from his very grave, trying to soften its asperities, and still keep mumbling the decrees as Roman priests do the mass in an unknown tongue, patching new pieces of truth to old garments of error worn in the Dark Ages, when might made right? Why not throw away these dark and dismal dogmas that dishonor God and outrage common sense, and if we must believe in the "five points" of Calvinism say nothing about it, but let the people simply repent and believe the Gospel?

Our Methodist fathers, like our Revolutionary sires, raised an insurrection against "the Stamp Act" bearing the impress of Calvin's iron hand, and tossed into the sea of oblivion the worse than British tea of Calvinistic teaching; but, as in the days of King George the taint of Toryism was felt, so even among the early Methodists the touch and taint of Calvinism were sometimes seen. Unguarded expressions floated in the air—half-truths, the most dangerous kind of errors. One of these was, "No merit in any creature," which would logically imply no demerit, no guilt, no need of forgiveness, and no need whatever of the atonement.

The doctrine of "total depravity" needs an Arminian restatement; otherwise, it locks us up in Calvinism. It has led many a man to hide behind his own helplessness and do nothing toward the salvation of his own soul. Our seventh article of religion says man is "very far gone from original righteousness," which is true; but when that article came from the Calvinistic Synod of Dort it read, *elapsus quam longis-*

sime, "gone as far as possible." That was total depravity in its Augustinian sense, which Wesley did not accept. No being was ever born totally depraved, for that would imply depravity so deep, so intense, so terrible that it would make man a fiend, or worse—a mass of malignity, a fiery coal of iniquity wicked enough to destroy a universe. If depravity is limited at all it is not total; if unlimited, it is demoniacal.

The doctrine of "justification by faith" was tainted with Luther's Augustinianism, so that Wesley found it necessary to restate it and join with it the doctrine of a divinely imparted life, implying always a willingness to do "works meet for repentance." He fought the solifidians of his day; and Fletcher, in his "Fifth Check," exposed Antinomianism as anti-Methodistic, unscriptural, and destructive of all moral life. Its dismal ghost still skulks around our Methodist altars, telling our penitents to believe they are saved and they are saved. Luther's doctrine of faith was dogmatical, narrow, one-sided, born of reaction, bare, unqualified, capable of abuse, tending to liberalism and laxity of life, as witness its fruits in the fatherland of to-day. Luther has failed to regenerate Germany.

Free will accords with human responsibility. Once admit that human actions are necessitated, and we play into the hands of atheistic evolutionists, who make man's mind the product of primal matter and force. In thought we can take one leap from the slime of the sea to the brain of a man and all the cerebral activities that spring therefrom. Free will breaks the leap, or makes it impossible. Martineau, in *A Study of Religion*, founds his whole magnificent argument on man's will power and its analogy with the will power of a great First Cause. Herbert Spencer might well dread the admission of will, either in God or man; for it would mar his whole theory of sociology as a science. What though the waves of heredity roar and rage; the "awful hand" of an almighty Maker may, in a moment, curb their power. What though man be snow-bound with drifts of "environment;" one touch from the finger of free will may make the snowdrifts dissolve away. Thus the relentless science of necessitous sociology is beautifully spoiled. And hence the cry, "Away with free will, out of the universe!" But, thus far, it has stubbornly refused to be banished.

When Professor Tyndall, in his celebrated Birmingham address, undertook to prove that physical forces contained "the promise and potency of life," what answer could his challenger have given; since Tyndall could have reminded him that more than half the creeds of Christendom practically admit man to be little more than a machine—an aggregate of links for the transmission of eternal forces? With such philosophy and such theology where will one find a place for either praise or blame —where find the point at which responsibility comes in, unless it is dragged in by main strength and all manner of logical and rhetorical awkwardness?

Free will is in accord with consciousness. The only power in the universe of which we are conscious is positive, personal will power. Who can believe that the Creator has stamped a lie upon the consciousness of his creatures? There is no use in arguing the point, unless we join hands with Kant in admitting the reality of nothing except his *Ding an sich;* or with dreamy Fichte and Hegel and poor, pessimistic Schopenhauer, who thought life was not worth living, till, one day, an army invaded the town he lived in, when, throwing his philosophy to the winds, he fled for his life as fast as legs and wheels could carry him. As Martineau well says, "The first condition of a sound mind is to plant a firm trust on all beliefs and feelings involved in the very existence of the natural faculties; and the collapse of this condition opens the way to illimitable aberrations." And so, sensible and practical men, who believe in the reality of their own sensations, perceptions, and intuitions, may safely say, with Samuel Johnson, "We know the will is free, and there's an end of it."

Free will accords with the justice and beneficence of God. Can it be that the "passing by" of the reprobate is any great improvement on a direct consignment to perdition? Would a beneficent and faithful shepherd select a few of his flock to be safely gathered into the fold and pass by the remainder, leaving them to be devoured by wolves? Are we not justified in the inference that whatever is manifestly unworthy the character of God cannot possibly be true? We should have no difficulty in drawing such an inference, only we are so afraid of making the Deity anthropomorphic that we are in danger of making him unnatural and inhuman. As Whittier says,

The riddle of the world is understood
Only by him who feels that God is good,
As only he can feel who makes his love
The ladder of his faith, and climbs above
On th' rounds of his best instincts; draws no line
Between mere human goodness and divine;
But, judging God by what in him is best,
With a child's trust leans on his Father's breast,
And hears unmoved the old creeds babble still
Of kingly power and dread caprice of will,
Chary of blessing, prodigal of curse,
The pitiless doomsman of the universe.
Can Hatred ask for love? Can Selfishness
Invite to self-denial? Is he less
Than man in kindly dealing? Can he break
His own great law of fatherhood, forsake
And curse his children? Not for earth and heaven
Can separate tables of the law be given.
No rule can bind which he himself denies;
The truths of time are not eternal lies.

Ex-President McCosh, as the result of his researches in trying to solve the problem of sin, concludes, "(1) that God is not the author of evil; (2) that every intelligent creature that sins has himself to blame for it." True; but these twin propositions can never be put to sleep together in a Calvinistic bed. They will cry and fret and fight

Till the sun grows cold
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold.

What shall the end be? Let us, like the Calvinists, forecast the future from the present. Some great authorities in psychics and ethics, such as Dr. Noah Porter and Dr. Samuel Harris, of Yale, now talk of will as a distinct department of the mind; and others, here and beyond the sea, are slowly coming up to the standpoint held long ago by our fathers, whom the world looked upon as "unlearned and ignorant men." And although some fledgling fresh from the nest of the divinity school may venture to preach a sermon on election or reprobation, yet, before he is through preaching, he will be likely to invite one and all to come to Christ, though, theoretically, he has just proved conclusively that their feet are bound so that they cannot come.

The old war cries are hushed, or uttered only with husky and hesitating voice, accompanied by many an apology and explanation; so that they do not startle and shock us as of yore. Calvinism, once a dark mountain looming up into the sky, shows signs of dwindling down into a hillock, which shall, we trust, at last become a mere mound, looking like a deserted and dishonored grave; while Arminianism, sun-crowned, breezy, beautiful, shall become a great mountain and fill the whole earth. Our beloved Methodism is well fitted to be the religion of the coming centuries, brightening and gladdening the world, till the millennial glory shall be ushered in.

Through the harsh noises of our day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt, and creeds of fear,
A light is breaking, calm and clear.
That song of Love, now low and far,
Erelong shall swell from star to star!
That light, the breaking day, which tips
The golden-spired Apocalypse!

D. M. Griffith.

Art. V.—FORMS OF BELIEF IN TRANSMIGRATION.

Transmigration, metempsychosis, and like terms stand for a doctrine old and widespread. The doctrine is that the soul passes, after this life, into other bodies, human or animal, into various substances or successive places. It implies preexistence; and its original logic was in the persistence of life assumed by the earliest thinkers. Forms of the teaching inhere in systems spiritualistic, materialistic, nihilistic.

Egypt, more than two thousand years before the Christian era, included such a doctrine in its religion. In the most ancient of the sacred books of the Egyptians, *The Book of the Dead*, preserved in papyrus rolls or inscribed on coffins, mummies, and walls of tombs, the belief is found. While it is clear that the immortality of the soul was held by these ancient people, it is not so clear what form their ideas of immortality took. Rawlinson ascribes to them a transmigration penal and expiatory, and hence confined to persons dying in sin. From the "Hall of Law, or Truth," to which all souls go immediately after death, the righteous are conducted by good spirits to the "Pools of Peace," the dwelling places of the blest. After three thousand years the soul, reuniting with the body, lives again upon the earth. Ultimately the highest blessedness is attained—absorption into the divine essence, whence the soul originally came. The wicked from the "Hall of Law" are, for purposes of purification and punishment, sentenced "to a round of transmigrations in the bodies of animals more or less unclean," the number and variety being determined by the demerits of the deceased. Incurable souls are, at a second judgment, condemned to annihilation. Renouf, on the other hand, makes their transmigration, which he denominates "transformation," the highest reward of the righteous. Wicked souls go from the "Hall of Law" directly to an inferno, to endure untold sufferings at the hands of demons. The happy dead are conducted to the "blissful place," whence they are given the range of the universe, and, at their own will, can appear in any form they please. It is significant that in the *Records of the Past* the usual request for the deceased is the power to come and go everywhere "under any form they like."

Some have seemed to find transmigration in the religion of Persia. In the *gathas*, or hymns, of the *Avesta*, written in the early Persian language and among the most ancient of books, the doctrine of final rewards and punishments is found. The later portions of the *Avesta* teach distinctly the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its preexistence apart from the body. But, when mention is made of souls after death entering other bodies, the general tenor of the *Avesta* would lead to the conclusion that a resurrection of the body is implied rather than a transmigration of the soul.

Transmigration has its place in the thought both of Greece and Rome. The rise of the doctrine in Greece has been attributed severally to Thales, Pherecydes, and Pythagoras. Of Pythagoras it is represented as the distinctive doctrine; and Plato, whether he believed it or not, put it into his *Phædrus*. Neoplatonism included it. It held to preexistence. The good, after this life, go to the higher and purer regions of the universe, the inordinately bad go to Tartarus, while the generality live again in human or animal bodies. The deeds done in the life just ended measure the character and variety of the births to come. Plato extends the cycle even to ten thousand years. The spirit passes at first into human bodies, thereafter into lower animal creation, thence into human bodies again. Its element of preexistence was the hypothesis for present phenomena of consciousness. The presence of the doctrine among the Greeks has been variously accounted for. Most probably it came through the western drift of Eastern thought. At least two centuries before Pythagoras or Pherecydes it appeared in the Brahmana texts of India. According to Herodotus, Pythagoras imported it from Egypt; but a recent Hibbert lecturer sees in it nothing utterly foreign to previous Hellenic modes of thought. If, as very recent investigation seems to disclose, the Egyptian doctrine was of the nature of an immediate reward, that country could not have supplied the pattern.

Among the Romans, Ennius in his *Annals* versifies the doctrine in a representation of Homer. Its descent from the Greeks is not unnatural.

With India, and Brahmanism preeminently, are associated predominant religiousness, an arrogant priesthood, a rigorous caste system, and transmigration. In the oldest religious book of the

Hindoos, the *Rig-Veda*, Max Müller and Sir Monier Williams find no trace of transmigration. Not till the period of the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads*—the seventh and fourth centuries B. C. respectively—do the germ and then the plant of the doctrine appear. It came to be the Hindoo corollary to their belief in immortality—a belief dimly appearing in their remotest hymns and becoming clearer and clearer till the rise of Buddhism. The fact that features of their doctrine appear in the older one of the Egyptians will modify the opinion that the Hindoo was the inventor. The renewed lives, both for punitive and rewardable purposes, have for their theater this earth. At death the saint goes to a temporary heaven and the sinner to a temporary hell; thence to return to earth and be "reborn in a higher or lower caste of human life, into animal, vegetable, or mineral, according to good or evil deeds." Should one lose human birth he must, say the *Puranas*, pass through eight million births among inferior creatures before restoration to the human. The memory of the happiness or suffering of previous lives is not retained in any subsequent life. The highest end in transmigration is to be born a Brahman; thence absorption takes place into "the Divine," "the Highest Self," "the Absolute," "the Immortal." Transmigration, once adopted by the Hindoos, led to beliefs and practices thought to be collateral. All animal and some vegetable life took on a special sacredness. Their primitive animal worship became emphasized and elaborated. The masses imbibed the belief that men of excessive evil natures passed into demons, the cause of untold crimes and calamities. It eventually became an effective weapon in the hands of a dominating hierarchy.

Buddhism, a development from Brahmanism, a protest against it, and its supplanter for nearly a thousand years, spread beyond India and became the nominal religion of at least a fifth of the human race. It deals with an actual universe and concerns itself not as to origins. Its omnipresent agent is "cause and effect," assumed to account for everything. "Change and decay around it sees"—a universe rolling on through mutation, destruction, renovation, whose beginning and ending are alike unknowable and unknown. Man, a part of the universe, is a compound of impermanent physical qualities and mental powers. Unlike the man of the Brahman sys-

tem, ne has no soul, no separate entity continuing to exist after death. Belief in a soul is catalogued by Buddhists with the sixteen great heresies. This invention or heresy is a link in a chain of causes producing intensified and protracted sorrow and despair. A prime mark of Buddhist conversion is freedom from the "delusion of self." The huge mass of men, angels, and animals is but one order of sentient beings. This soulless man finds himself in a world subject to suffering, the effect of a cause—wrongdoing in this or a previous existence. His present life is but one of a succession of lives of varied forms. The transmigration may be up in higher orders and more virtuous births, down in grosser and more painful, or up and down in irregular and mixed series. There is no prescribed number or kinds of existences; in proportion to the result of each life must be the number and variety of future births. As there is no soul the Buddhist transmigration, so called, is not the passage of the soul through different bodies. Nor is it the birth of the identical being into new forms. When a man or other sentient being dies a new being is produced. This new creature is a "result" of the good or evil contained in the former being. If the good has predominated the birth is of higher order, and *vice versâ*. Death to a man is the utter dissolution and dissipation of his constituent parts. Nothing whatever remains but *karma*—the effect, result, deserts of his thought and action, plus the aggregated, concentrated, focused good or evil of all his predecessors in the series of transmigrations. From this airy something, this effect, this result, this cold abstraction, this hazy identity, a new being comes forth, having no consciousness of a prior existence and no knowledge of what its predecessors had been or its successors will be. No wonder that Buddhism includes this linking or bridging of lives among its "four mysteries!" The causal *nexus* is not over clear.

From this concatenation of sentient existences with different degrees and innumerable forms of suffering Buddhism proposes deliverance through the "fourfold" or "eightfold path," familiar to readers of its literature. The cause of suffering is "thirst" for or "lust" of life—life in this world or continuous, identical existence in a future—a soul thirst when there is no soul. As each stage or path is made an increasing degree of moral perfection is attained, till all evil is extinguished and,

therefore, suffering and the possibility of further existences. This is *nirvana*. Whether *nirvana* is a conscious state or annihilation is a question much discussed. In the primitive conception did it not begin with conscious bliss and end in annihilation? The word signifies "extinction," "going out." Is it not first extinction of evil, producing the conscious *summum bonum* for a period proportioned to the grand total of "result" or "demerits," merging into complete "going out"—the annihilation of consciousness?

But Buddhism as it was in India is not Buddhism as it is throughout Asia. What it is not is a more natural question than what it is. The most diversified, adaptive, eclectic, and changeful of religions, it is materialistic, atheistic, theistic, polytheistic according to viewpoint. Its theories of transmigration change accordingly. As in Christianity there is diversified and contrary teaching of eschatology, so in Buddhism there is much diversity upon transmigration. In this respect the Christian views Buddhism with no greater bewilderment than does the Buddhist Christianity. To the question, What is transmigration? proposed to Buddhist authorities in Japan, a Japanese professor of his country's history and literature, familiar with oriental cults, answers:

> Japan Buddhists are divided into spiritualistic and materialistic schools. Both believe in transmigration through or into other bodies. According to the former the finality is absorption into the Absolute. According to the latter the end is annihilation.

A Buddhist priest writes:

> My sect is not materialistic. We believe in the transmigration of the soul, not as punishment, but as the consequence of conduct, with ultimate absorption.

And still another Buddhist priest:

> Transmigration is the change constantly going on in human and animal beings and material substances in accordance with the law of cause and effect. Our present life is the effect of a previous existence and the cause of one to follow. The result of a life is either good or bad; and this determines whether the rebirth shall be into a higher or lower form. We do not speak of a transmigration of a soul as distinct from the body. As to when transmigration began we can only speculate; and this is not useful. The ultimate condition is the Buddhistic state—deliverance from

transmigrations. This is effected through the perception and illumination of the truth. What more it imparts it is impossible for human wisdom to understand.

Thus Buddhistic thought, represented in Japan alone by twelve general sects, is tending toward a marked modification and virtual elimination of the earlier theory.

Jainism, a small but influential sect in India, began earlier than Buddhism as a protest against Brahmanism. Although its adherents are heretics to both Brahmans and Buddhists, they have a transmigration. The moral quality of the present life is determined in a preexistent one. Absorption and annihilation are both rejected. A conscious, an eternal heaven is beyond this world, and its employment is the study of the highest philosophy.

Lamaism, the religion of Thibet and a product of Buddhism, in addition to a general transmigration, makes an odd use of the doctrine in accounting for the descent of the Grand Lama. This omniscient and infallible high priest and pope passes at death into a newborn infant, discerned by the priesthood, who becomes the successor. There is really no succession of persons, only of bodies. Through the interminable series of incarnations he retains all past knowledge and experience; hence his infallibility and omniscience.

When Chinese Buddhism entered Japan through Korea in the sixth century A. D. it adopted the chief deities of the native religion, affirming them to be transmigrations of the Buddhist ones. But in that native religion of Japan itself—the half-nature, half-ancestor worship which has come to be called Shintoism, and whose ancient traces are visible from Kamchatka to Siam—there is nothing akin to transmigration.

The ancient religion of China, some of whose features remain imprinted in primitive characters made more than two thousand years before Christ, give indications of a belief in a Supreme Being and the survival of souls after death. Confucianism, which arose six hundred years before Christ, professing to be a conservator of the Chinese primitive faith, holds to the existence of disembodied man, but gives no utterance as to his state. Taoism, contemporaneous with Confucianism, was for five hundred years a rationalistic philosophy. Not till after the dawn of Christianity did it become a religion. In the first

century A. D. Indian Buddhists entered China and impressed the country. The Taoists recognized them as rivals, and soon concluded that, to retain their hold upon the people, some popular features akin to Buddhism must be adopted. They were adopted, and among them a transmigration shaped to requirements. Those whose lives are wholly virtuous are escorted at death to an everlasting heaven. Those whose good and bad deeds balance shall be born again as men. Those who have lived tolerably virtuous lives, but have a balance of evil against them, are sent to a purgatory and thereafter put on a second probation by being born again among men. Any who fail to use well this second trial are passed through a severer purgatory and given a third probation by being born again among men. Failing in this, increasingly severe purgatories and further probations are added. In course of time probations cease, when the incorrigible soul, in its individuality, is consigned to an everlasting hell.

Demicivilizations and more primitive peoples throughout the earth exhibit forms of transmigration in their beliefs. Hints of the doctrine among the Druids are given in the folklore of the Welsh. Classical writers, including Cæsar, affirm the Druids' belief in immortality; its form "the passing of the soul at the death of one body to renewed existence in another." To the Gauls a similar doctrine is ascribed by Diodorus and Lucan, as well as by Cæsar. The personified nature worshipers of the Arabic deserts prior to the advent of Mohammedanism, according to Pocock and Sale, believed in immortality, resurrection, and transmigration.

In that remarkable faith of the plucky Druses of Syria reward and punishment are continued existence respectively in human or in animal bodies. This cult and that of the Dyaks are the only ones at all related to Mohammedanism which possess such a doctrine. Among those Germanic and Scythian hordes which swept down upon and destroyed the empire of the Romans, Tacitus informs us that there were tribes which held to the doctrine of transmigration. The idea is variously represented in Germanic mythology. Aryans as they were, their doctrine drifted with them from their eastern source.

The belief in the doctrine in some form has covered the earth. As one examines the mythologies and traditions of the

various localities of the earth and the reports and researches of ethnologists and other specialists in its four quarters, so vast becomes the accumulation of testimony that the mere record thereof would require volumes. While the purpose in the systems is variously reward, punishment, expiation, or purification, many of the systems are merely methods of immortality in this world. The merest references to a few cases must suffice. With the African Vegs the deceased is born again as a babe. Transmigration is an evolution in character—each birth lifting the person higher therein. The choice of body is often permitted the soul. The Dyaks of Borneo have a rebirth from body to body and an ascent from place to place. The spirits of the Marshall Islanders return to inhabit snakes and birds. Some Polynesian warriors go to an abode of happiness; others than warriors are devoured by the gods and then born again. Some New Guineans and New Caledonians are born as white men.

Although the belief is not contained in the vanished yet historic religions of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, it has been very prevalent with the Indian races of America. Among some tribes, the departed spirit assumes another human body just entering life. Among others, wicked souls enter different animals; the good are wafted to heaven on the smoke of the funeral pyre. With some, good souls at death enter upon a blissful indolence; bad souls enter snakes and grizzly bears. With others, "the children" were first without human bodies and human souls, then were given human souls in the bodies of birds, then human bodies and human souls. A number of tribes pass the spirits through graded worlds till perfect happiness is attained.

Those who profess to see transmigration in the Old or New Testament surely "wrest" those sacred writings. Yet among the Hebrews and early Christians there were some who held to forms of the doctrine. That the Hebrews accepted much that was not in their sacred books is abundantly testified to in their history. The Zohar and Talmud taught preexistence, transmigration, and absorption. The Pharisees have been represented as teaching transmigration, and Josephus is quoted as authority for this attribution. But the language of Josephus may be taken equally to mean the resurrection of the body—the distinguishing doctrine of the Pharisees as against the Sadducees. No such tenet is traceable among the sparse material

remaining of the religions of the Canaanites, Phœnicians, or other tribes contiguous to Israel after entering the promised land. But from either Egypt or Greece such a belief could easily have come. Among the later Jews there was apparently an idea that persons in the same or other bodies appeared upon earth at different periods. Hints of this are given in Matt. xiv, 2; xvi, 13–17; Mark vi, 14–18; Luke ix, 7–9, 18–21.

Jerome laments the presence of transmigration beliefs among the early Christians, and gives "Egypt and the East" as their source. Origen, while he repudiates a metempsychosis, distinctly teaches a passage of the soul after death through a succession of abodes ("steps") higher and higher till perfection is attained. The great heart of the race in all ages has spoken for immortality, and men in the darkness and in the light have sought for and invented modes thereof.

John Wier

Art. VI.—SHELLEY'S PLACE IN ENGLISH POETRY.

The memory of Shelley the man rests under two heavy burdens, the weight of which can never be made lighter—his antagonism to morals and to religion. His biographers render no service to his genius by attempts to mitigate his offenses against social morality in his relations to the two women to whom he successively sustained the relation of husband. We may as well accept once for all, without any qualification, the distressing fact that some of the sweetest music of modern verse was poured out for us through a soiled lute. Nor need we attempt to conceal his paganism. In this matter a little reflection upon a general truth will serve us. We do not call surgeons as expert witnesses in carpentry or shipbuilding. A scientist may know nothing about the spinning of flax, and an astronomer may be grossly ignorant of the statutes of the United States. Poetic gifts have often been united with a vigorous logic and wide information. Milton knew everything known to men in his time; and Shakespeare knew the most intimate springs of human action, and reasoned with the directness and vigor of a man of affairs. Some further gift than that of song has in most cases accompanied that sublime gift; but we have a few poets who are poets only, and as a rule they rank high as singers. Byron is a conspicuous example. On what subject is an opinion of his of the smallest value? Our own Edgar A. Poe belongs to the same group of gifted singers whose thinking has not the least importance. The German Heine is another conspicuous member of a family of poets who sing as the birds sing—to allure, please, and enthrall us with pure, warbling melody.

We have also to remember that Shelley was still only a boy when the waves of the Tyrrhene Sea swallowed him up, and his intellectual life had been wholly given to tuning his harp. When any opinion revolts us in his verse we must reflect that he belongs to a company of boy poets, including Marlowe of the "mighty line," Chatterton, Keats, and perhaps we ought to add Burns and Byron, who had scarcely come to a poet's years of discretion. A certain wisdom each of them had, the sort of intuitive wisdom which goes along with poetic inven-

tion and harmonic power. When, however, we approach questions of grave importance, involving duty and faith and demanding the calm sobriety of the thinker, we shall not seek for guides in this company of young singers, though anyone of them may flash now and again some cheerful light on difficult places in our journey to the truth. And yet, in many ways, these boy poets deserve our sympathetic attention, and they keep freshly remembered the near limits of thought and the boundless reach of imagination. Above all, they poetize the clay-covered earth, the sand-bedded sea, and the cloud-bedimmed sky. There is a more perfect emancipation, in dreaming along with them, from the harshness of fact; and temporary release from this taskmastership contributes to make life less hard for such as have ears to hear the melodic solution of our earth-long mysteries.

The purpose of this paper concerns Shelley the poet; but it will aid the reader to recall that Percy Bysshe Shelley was born August 4, 1792, and was drowned near Spezzia, July 8, 1822; that he was expelled from Oxford in 1811 for writing a tract on *The Necessity of Atheism*, at the ripe age of nineteen, when a college boy knows everything; that he married Harriet Westbrook in the same year, she being a sixteen-year-old daughter of a coffee house keeper, he belonging by birth to the landed gentry; that he deserted her three years later (in 1814), formed an intimacy with Mary Godwin, and married Mary in 1816, Harriet having died that year. The remaining facts of his personal history and the groundwork and circumstantial attendants of these facts have really very little to do with his work as a poet.

He was born a poet, with an irresistible impulse to sing. A different life might have given him other themes, and longer years, with a happier morning, have made his sunset as socially splendid as that of Tennyson; but he could hardly by any change of destiny have achieved a more secure place in the world as a rarely complete master of English verse. He abounds in melodious incoherence; he "sows with the sack instead of the hand" the wealth of his imagery; he leaps from thought to thought on emotional wings, disdaining the drudgery of logic; in short, he has all the faults of an unregulated imagination and of logical incongruity, and is still incomparably melo-

dious. Some have even admired him as "a poet of nature;" and that exquisite poem on the "Cloud" seems at first reading to confirm it. But closer reading brings a better judgment. There is just enough conformity to the facts of nature to carry us along happily on the wings of perfect melody expressing the creations of the imagination. There never was any such wonder-working cloud as this of Shelley's. The stars are not "a swarm of golden bees," nor does the cloud pass through the "pores of the ocean and shores." "The beat of the unseen feet" of the moon, "which only the angels hear," is merely that of the poet's delicate fancy treading the airy measures of his verse. Some of these images are singularly apposite, the following, for example:

> With wings folded I rest on mine airy nest,
> As still as a brooding dove.

And yet there is no more perfect lyric in our literature. It has not the variety of Dryden's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day;" but the theme is more strictly defined and adhered to, while the absence of human figures and emotions—usually essential to lyrical success—makes the success a marvel of poetic genius. It abounds, too, with exquisite imagery, as Dryden's poem does not; and in this case we fail to find a single item of inappropriateness or incompleteness. The images stand out clear, and each one is recognized as a distinct picture. We see the flowers freshening in the rain; the buds wakening under the falling dews and rocking in the breeze; the earth dancing about the sun. The laugh of the thunder comes to our ears. We hear as well as see the pines groaning under the falling snow, the rocking of the earthquake, and the whirlwinds unfurling their banners. In the eighty-six lines of this lyric there are about as many distinct images. For this once the poet's fancy runs in rhetorical harness and runs straight. There is not an ill-chosen word or an incomplete or mixed metaphor. It is a piece of perfect lyrical expression. This cloud,

> The daughter of earth and water,
> The nurseling of the sky,

will never depart out of the poetical heavens as long as our English speech shall endure.

We have stepped upon debatable ground in ranking the

"Cloud" as the chief among our lyrics. We conceive of a song as the expression of some human emotion; and there is no human element in this poem of Shelley. With it compare "The Evening Wind," which we reckon the most finished of our own Bryant's lyrics. In Bryant's song the reader at once feels an uplift and expansion of feeling when at the end we see the homesick mariner catching the land breeze and hearing in it "the rustling leaf and running stream." That vision of the closing lines colors the whole poem with human emotion; but for that some might not admit that the song has any true lyrical quality. The matter is large enough for a dissertation. Let a few words suffice for making clear our judgment that Shelley has, by making his cloud sing, transcended other lyrical achievements. The proof is that he interests us—all of us—in the song. The young and the old feel the pure beauty of the notes and the images, and feel it as song. To have proved that song can dispense itself of human sentiment and still please, move, uplift us *as song*, entitles the lyrical genius of Shelley to the laurel crown.

A singular gift is this of the singer. We do not know whether anyone has challenged the absence of this power in the greatest of poets. Shakespeare's plays are as bare of song as Milton's writings on divorce. The bits of singing in them are unworthy of the weakest lyrics of his age. There is lyrical quality in his other poems; but there is no perfect song. The lyricism breaks in now and then for a line or a stanza; but we notice this, that in Shakespeare's most perfect piece of lyricism there is no human emotion. As in the "Cloud," nature takes on human qualities in this perfectly lyrical quatrain:

> Full many a glorious morning have I seen
> Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
> Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
> Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy.

Whoever recognizes this as lyrical poetry must admit that human feeling is not essential to a lyric. Of course the author of these four lines could have produced perfect lyrical poems if he had not attempted and achieved a far nobler thing. But the feebleness of the songs in the plays points to one of the limitations of Shakespeare's work, and by contrast helps us to fix upon the one absolute merit of Shelley.

Another sidelight on the question of merit comes from the rank given to songs which almost literally drip with emotion. Who does not prefer Burns's "Tam o' Shanter" or "Address to the Deil" to his

My Mary, dear, departed shade!

Mrs. Browning gave us an exquisite song of patriotic feeling in "The Forced Recruit;" but it is loaded down with tears and sobs to the point of repelling the reader. Art requires a certain calm; and unrestrained emotion is fatal to lyrical success. Many German singers altogether surpass Heine in emotional power; indeed, his feeling is (apart from vindictiveness, which never makes us cry) so restrained that we begin to doubt whether he had any sweet human emotion to restrain. And yet it was Heine's songs which leaped at a bound from the poet's pen to the people's lips. It is not, then, altogether a question of poetry for poets—of art only—but also of adaptation to the poetic demands of mankind. The "Cloud" has established its right to rank as a successful lyric by commanding and holding the admiration of a great public, as well as by defying the attacks of criticism.

We have dwelt upon this poem because it seems to us to fix the place of Shelley in English poetry. Wherever else he succeeds—in every passage or poem where he is fully worthy of admiration—the element of success is lyrical power. Whenever he fails, absolutely or relatively, it is because he has attempted to do something more than sing or because his lyrical powers are impeded by rhetorical fullness.

The so-called drama of "Prometheus Unbound" is commonly considered the greatest of Shelley's poems. But it cannot be a great poem in the sense of being a great drama, for it is not a drama at all. It may be treated as a collection of songs, strung together upon a thread of revolutionary ideas and having a certain relation of consistency in the mind of the poet. There is no proper action; and a drama without action is not a true drama. One may distinguish three things in the poem—much vaporing declamation in the form of verse, a pantheistic creed under forms more or less Hellenic, and a series of beautiful lyrical poems, the best of which are the choral parts. The author has collected a stageful of personifications, and these

alternately declaim at each other, take their turns at speech-making, or enliven the business with charming interludes of perfect melody. The declamations fall often to the level of ranting, or would fall there but for the sustaining power of an imagination clothing itself in poetic language. In his poetry Shelley is never at a loss for a poetic title or phrase, whether the idea to be dressed for stage display be a real idea or only the ghost of one. In short, the merit of the "Prometheus Unbound" consists in qualities befitting lyrical poetry and in the songs sprinkled through it. Any attempt to take the author seriously as a dramatic poet would deprive him of all claims as a poet of any sort. There is no well-defined character, no development of character through situations, no progressive action, and no striking crisis of the action. Prometheus, who has borrowed from the Satan of Milton his weightiest opinions, is overslaughed by the less real characters of the poem; and if one can read any consistent logic into the business it is by supposing that this Satan is emancipating men from the moral government of God. It is a wild, only half lucid dream, rolling along through the clouds in the fair chariot of Shelley's verse.

The "Alastor" is a collection of dreamy vagaries of no possible interest to any human being, redeemed from nothingness only by the lyrical beauty of some of the lines. It is greatly inferior to the "Prometheus" merely because it lacks the choral magnificence of the latter poem. The "Queen Mab," Shelley's first serious boyish effort, was never recognized by himself, and reached the public without his knowledge. It is an injustice to the poet that this failure is usually placed at the head of a collection of his poetry. All that Shelley valued in it he preserved in the "Dæmon of the World," a short and quasi declamatory set of stanzas, without much coherence, but redeemed by the lyric harmonies which here and there lift the verse into worth and serious dignity. The "Revolt of Islam" gives us more fine lines, less exaggeration in description, less boyish rant, but nothing of the action we are led by the theme to expect; and the charm of it is in many fine lines exquisitely molded and glowing with imagination. Whatever he undertakes, our poet falls to singing.

In his longer poems we shall find rare gems of poetic handicraft, sentences and single phrases hammered into identic exist-

ence, living by and of themselves, such as the following choice rhetorical brilliants:

> Life, like a dome of many colored glass,
> Stains the white radiance of eternity.
>
> With hue like that when some great painter dips
> His pencil in the glow of earthquake and eclipse.

But then, when we attempt to think out the contents of these beautiful lines, we are soon persuaded that they imprison nothing in their fair bosoms but the spirit of the poet's lyre. Very rarely is our poet just beautifully human in the feeling he permits expression. Such gems are these:

> Most wretched men
> Are cradled into poetry by wrong;
> They learn in suffering what they teach in song.
>
> I could lie down, like a tired child,
> And weep away the life of care,
> Which I have borne, and yet must bear.

One feels even here a touch of the Byronic insincerity, and cannot help catching the note of exaggeration. We like Shelley better when he allegorizes and sobs or thunders with the emotionless elements of the natural world. His nature has been warped, and he cannot interpret the heart of man.

It is a note to be marked in Shelley's fame that he is very little quoted, and never popularly quoted. The "white radiance of eternity" and two or three other phrases may be suggested as an exception to the last remark. This rare use of his lines distinguishes for us once more the quality of his lyricism. As a whole, or in complete stanzas, the "Cloud" is recited with no little pleasure. But phrases and lines of it do not spring to the lip or pen. Each piece is a bit of colorless intellectuality of melodic art. It does not hit our human moods or embody our earthly thoughts. Strange thing that this man, thinking himself born to think out a consistent system of human society, palpitating intellectually and artistically with a purpose to set all men right, should have so rarely touched the heart of man! Few men of his age ever did more groaning in spirit for oppressed humanity or had less the art of uncovering the common wellsprings of feeling. We quote him for thought or for poetic drapery of sentiment. Shelley did not think to any

purpose, and rarely recognized plain homespun sentiment as worthy of such clothes as he might have fashioned.

It is the form, not the thought contents, of Shelley's verse which makes his merit; that is to say, unmatched power and skill in lyrical creations constitute his claim to enduring remembrance. His entire genius, little hindered by what he called his ideas, poured itself out over his lyre. That he studied, that he knew, that he returned to from all wanderings in theories and politics. To the last he sang his own pure notes, rising clear above the confused noises of that mob of notions which had invaded the outer court of his mind, but had never captured the citadel of his imagination.

The revolutionary ideas of Shelley are in no sense original. The French Revolution had saturated the mind of Europe with them before Shelley put on trousers. The Napoleonic wars produced an effective reaction against their influence, but did not diminish their attractiveness for those who contemplate the actual world through the mystic haze of the imagination. What Shelley did was to use the revolutionary ideas in his allegorizing of the world. He knew little more of living men than he knew of Prometheus and Panthea; his human creatures are as floating and shadowy as his clouds, and resemble real humanity as little as his starry swarm of bees resemble the stellar system of the astronomer. He allegorized as a child does in giving feeling and speech to a group of dolls. The extreme youthfulness of Shelley's mind is continually shown in these delightful personifications. Sometimes a child is found conversing with dolls at the age of fourteen; Shelley kept it up fifteen years longer, only with this difference—that his dolls are brooks, leaves, forests, and planets. It is an abnormal perpetuation of the imaginative life of the mind into the years of manhood. His poetry is "of imagination all compact." No other poet is so completely under the sway of his fancy.

For such poetry the only possible dress is the lyrical robe; and whatever this poet attempted he succeeded only when he permitted himself freedom of imagination and unrestricted liberty of song. His "Cenci," for example, is in the mere formal ordering of scenes, acts, and motives, sufficiently regular; but the motives are superhuman or subterhuman, the characters are imaginary shadows, and only some rare bits of lyri-

cism make the play tolerable. But at the very close of the drama there is a real touch of human nature, so apt and pathetic that we suspect Mary Shelley to have been its author. We cannot find anything with the same brand of humanity on it in any other poem of Shelley. It is as though some mother, at the close of her child's drama of the dolls, had added these utterly human words of Beatrice to her mother:

> Here, mother, tie
> My girdle for me, and bind up this hair
> In any simple knot; ay, that does well.
> And yours, I see, is coming down. How often
> Have we done this for one another! Now
> We shall not do it any more.

This simple indication of humanity makes us realize, for the first time, that two gentle and gracious women are being led away to unmerited execution.

Turn from this drama of reputed action to "Hellas," which is formally a lyrical one. Here the poet's genius is in full play, and nine lines in ten are exquisitely lyrical. In various measures the vaguely outlined actors and the choruses pour forth abundant strains of the sweetest music. Witness these choral chants at the end of the piece:

> A brighter Hellas rears its mountains
> From waves serener far;
> A new Peneus rolls his fountains
> Against the morning star;
> Where fairer Tempes bloom, there sleep
> Young Cyclads on a sunnier deep.
>
> A loftier Argo cleaves the main,
> Fraught with a later prize;
> Another Orpheus sings again,
> And loves, and weeps, and dies;
> A new Ulysses leaves once more
> Calypso for his native shore.

And from the dialogue take these passages:

> Joy waked the voiceless people of the sea.
>
> The fleet which, like a flock of clouds
> Chased by the wind, flies the insurgent banner.
>
> The prey birds and the wolves are gorged and sleep.
>
> O word
> Of the Great Prophet, whose o'ershadowing wings
> Darkened the thrones and idols of the West.

In the "Witch of Atlas" we find a good description of the poet's true sphere of work:

> A tale more fit for the weird winter nights,
> Than for these garish summer days, when we
> Scarcely believe much more than we can see.

The story is pure fancy, working upon myth, and allegorized nature is at the bottom of the theme. The poet here is like some English nurse telling the awed children under her charge some tale of the woods, the fairies, and the witches. It is of no importance, and has no moral or application, and, like the nurse, our poet has no task but to tell the story effectively; and this means the careful stitching together of the lyrical robe and the adorning of it with purple and golden patches of fancy. And therefore the poem abounds in modulated music such inclosing clear pictures as this:

> And every nymph of stream and spreading tree,
> And every shepherdess of ocean's flocks,
> Who drives her white waves over the green sea.

The purpose of this paper is affirmative, not negative. We do not seek to disparage a common opinion of the students of Shelley, but rather to turn their attention to his real merits. He has suffered in critical estimates from a belief that the singer is subordinate to the thinker; that his thoughts and creeds and opinions must be accounted for and justified before we can accept the gifts of his genius. The singer is just an allegorist. No matter what he sings about; the weighty matter is, How does he sing? And such a test as this places Shelley among our permanent delights.

G. H. Clarke

Art. VII.—THE MYSTERY OF THE TRINITY.

In considering the doctrine of the Trinity it is well to keep constantly in mind that we have before us not a matter of human philosophy nor a product of human reason, but the most profound and mysterious subject of divine revelation. To use the words of Hilary of Poitiers,* "The Trinity is a truth which lies beyond the domain of human language, beyond the scope of sense, beyond the comprehension of reason. The archangels know it not, the angels understand it not, the ages do not comprehend it, no prophet has discovered it, no apostle explored it, the Son himself has not made it fully known." It behooves us to handle reverently such a truth, and to beware of presumption in dealing with it.

The subject of the mystery of the Trinity suggests two questions, which we may ask with all due reverence. These are: 1. In what phases of the doctrine does the mystery lie? 2. Is the mystery of the doctrine fatal to its credibility? We might also ask a third question, namely, Have we sufficient ground for holding the doctrine, notwithstanding its mystery? But as this belongs more properly to the proofs of the Trinity we will not include it in this discussion.

I. First, then, in what does the mystery of the Trinity consist? We note in passing that the mystery does not lie in a logical contradiction. The doctrine of the Trinity does not assert that three times one are one. If it did it would be an absurdity. We note also that the mystery does not consist in what Channing calls "those hairbreadth distinctions between being and person which the sagacity of later ages has discovered." The distinction between being and person is an obvious one and is not a mystery. We can all see that the term "person" has more in it than the mere notion of being. We must search elsewhere for the true statement of the mystery.

We shall find it in those elements of the doctrine which are incomprehensible to human thought, for this is the real meaning of the word. These elements we find to be two: (1) the existence of person without individuated being; (2) the distinction between personality and person, as applied to the Deity.

* Christlieb, p. 264.

There are thus two phases, or elements, in the mystery. Let us consider them in their order.

1. The existence of person without individuated being. The Athanasian creed says: "We worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in unity, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance." This teaches that there is but one substance in the Godhead, and that this substance, without being divided, exists in three persons. Thus there are three persons, each of whom is distinct as a person, and yet not individuated in his substance. We have here a far deeper mystery than the so-called "hairbreadth distinctions between being and person." We have the mystery of individual persons who are not individual beings. Although there is a clear distinction in thought between being and person, yet in all human experience every individual person is also an individual being. But the doctrine of the Trinity affirms that in the Godhead this is not so. We here have the first element of the mystery, a truth which baffles all efforts of human reason.

2. But there is another mystery in the Trinity even more profound than the first. It is the distinction between personality and person as applied to the Godhead, a distinction which is necessary to safeguard the unity of God on the one hand and to avoid self-contradiction on the other. The mere existence of person without individuated substance, which we have thus far noticed, although necessary to the doctrine of the Trinity, is nevertheless not sufficient for the doctrine. Such an existence is competent to give us a trinity of persons; it is competent to give us a unity of substance; but it cannot give us a personal unity. If we ground the unity of the Godhead simply in the substance, note the results. We have a personal trinity and an impersonal unity. But an impersonal unity is not sufficient for monotheism. With an impersonal unity we have not one God. We have one divine substance, it is true, but this is impersonal, and an impersonal substance cannot be God in any true sense of theism. If, therefore, we ground the unity of the Godhead simply in the divine substance we have surrendered our faith in one personal God, and are open to the objection of Unitarianism, as stated by Channing, that "the doctrine of the Trinity, whilst acknowledging in words, subverts in effect, the unity of God."

How shall we avoid exposing ourselves to this objection? How shall we avoid subverting the unity of God? Our only safeguard is in conceiving the one divine substance as in itself personal. We then have not merely one divine substance existing in three persons, but one divine personal substance existing in three persons. This gives us a unity in personality, and thus we still hold to one personal God. But in asserting one personal substance, or one personality, existing in three persons, are we not approaching dangerously near to that logical contradiction which in the beginning we disavowed? It certainly at first thought seems like a contradiction to say that one personal substance or personality exists in three persons. If we said that one person exists in three persons it would be a contradiction incompatible with all laws of thought. But we do not say that. We say that one personal substance or personality exists in three persons. Now, if the term "personality" be absolutely equivalent to the term "person," then our statement is certainly self-contradictory. But if the term "personality" is not absolutely equivalent to the term "person," then the statement is not necessarily contradictory.

Let us, therefore, consider the distinction, if there be any, between the terms "personality" and "person." We shall consider them under the two aspects known to logic, namely, comprehension or depth, and extension or breadth. In comprehension the term "person" is deeper than the term "personality;" for along with the essential attributes of personality the term "person" also connotes the idea of individuation. Among human beings this individuation is complete. Every personality is a completely individuated person. But in the divine being this individuation is not complete. For if we think of the three persons as completely individuated we shall have three separate personalities, with the result of tritheism. We must, therefore, think of the individuation of the three persons as sufficiently restricted to conserve the oneness of the personality, and yet as sufficiently complete to secure all that is essential to the idea of person.

Now, let us examine these terms again, this time under the aspect of extension or breadth. We shall here find a marked difference between their divine and their human application. In the human application of the terms their extension or

breadth is equal. Among human beings every person includes an entirely separate personality. Every person is coextensive with a personality. But in their divine application the extension of the two terms is not equal. For here the term "personality" is the broader term, while the term "person" is more restricted. Although among human beings, then, every person is coextensive with an entire personality, in the Godhead a person does not include, or is not coextensive with, an entire personality.

We thus have the distinction between personality and person as applied to the Godhead, namely, that the term person as to comprehension is less deep, and as to extension is less broad, than in its human application; that is, that the individuation of the personality is to be held in a qualified sense, and that one person does not include an entire personality. In the unity of the Godhead there is one personality, which is not individuated person. In the trinity of the Godhead there are three individuated persons, no one of which is coextensive with the entire personality. It is by this distinction between personality and person, in their application to Deity, that we avoid self-contradiction.

This, however, brings us face to face with another danger. In asserting a distinction between personality and person, and holding that there is in the Godhead one personality and three persons, we are in danger of implying four personal agents instead of three. We are in danger of conceiving the personality as a fourth something from which the three are evolved. This would give us a quaternity instead of the Trinity. The way to avoid this is to think of God the Father as *fons totius deitatis*. The Father is the one personal substance in whom the other two are personally united, and from whom they are, as persons, individuated. His personality is so broadened as to allow the existence of the other two persons without dividing it. This is equivalent to saying that the Father, as a person, is not coextensive with his own personality.

We have here the second element of the mystery—the existence of person not coextensive with personality and without the complete individuation of personality. These two elements, namely, person without individuated substance, and person not coextensive with personality, give us the central

mystery of the Trinity—a mystery immeasurable in profundity, infinitely transcending all human thought.

II. We now proceed to our second main question, Is the mystery of the Trinity fatal to its credibility? We must here bear in mind that respecting the validity of the doctrine itself the proof devolves upon those who hold the doctrine, but respecting the credibility of the doctrine the burden of proof devolves upon those who assert that it is incredible. Bearing this in mind, let us consider the question in connection with each element of the mystery.

1. In connection with the first we ask, Is the existence of person without individuated substance incredible? Our answer will be drawn from human ignorance rather than from human knowledge. He who would assert that such an existence is incredible must be able to demonstrate that individuated substance is an essential element of personality. This is not so easy as it might seem. Of course, in all persons we have ever met we have found individuated substance as an accompaniment of personality. Reasoning by induction, we might infer that all persons are individual beings. Thus we come to associate individuated substance with personality. This is the result of an induction, perhaps an unconscious induction, in our human experience; but an induction, to give absolute certainty, must either examine all possible cases or must prove that all possible cases come under the same law. We cannot, however, examine every person that exists or ever has existed. Consequently, unless we can affirm that individuated being is a law of personality we cannot affirm that every person in the universe must have individuated being. But if it be possible that individuated substance is merely an adventitious element of human personality, arising, possibly, from our space relations, then it is conceivable that in a supersensuous existence there may be persons without such individuation. We hold that, in the limited position of our human powers, no man can demonstrate that individuated substance is a necessary law of personality, and that until this can be demonstrated he shows bold presumption who affirms that the triune God is impossible. Therefore, the first element of the mystery is not fatal to its credibility.

2. We now ask the same question respecting the second element of the mystery. Is the existence of a person who is not

coextensive with a personality incredible? As this mystery is more profound than the other, so its credibility appears more difficult. As before, we draw our answer from the limitations of our knowledge. We frankly admit that if anyone can prove such an existence to be impossible then the doctrine of the Trinity will appear as an absurdity. But can such a thing be proved? Certainly such a mode of existence is not to be found within the range of human experience. For with us every personality is one person, and every person is coextensive with a personality. But is this absolutely essential to the concept of a person? We do not think this question can be determined by human reason. We take the risk of challenging anyone to prove the affirmative of the question. To assert that the coextension of person with personality is an essential element in the concept of person requires such a superhuman insight into the nature of person as the profoundest master of philosophy might well hesitate to assume. But if, perchance, this coextension of person with personality which we find among us be not essential to the concept of a person, but simply an adventitious circumstance in connection with human persons, then may it not be possible that in a superhuman existence there are persons not under this limitation? We do not attempt to prove this possibility, but we challenge anyone to prove the impossibility. And until the impossibility of such existence can be proved no man is warranted in regarding the Trinity as an incredible mystery.

If the power of human thought were the test of credibility how many experiences of everyday life would be ranked among fabulous absurdities! How is it possible for mind to act on matter? The connection is unthinkable and, if it were not a matter of daily experience, we might be tempted to say, impossible. If we had always existed in pure spirituality, having no experience of matter, not knowing that there was such a thing, and should then be made acquainted with it and told that we could move it whithersoever we wished, would we not at first believe such power to be incredible? And yet we exercise such power every day that we live. The fact is true, notwithstanding the mystery.

So it is with the mystery of the Trinity. It is true that human thought cannot attain to it. Human thought utterly fails

in attemping to grasp it. But if we know not our own selves, if our power to move our own bodies is an unfathomable mystery, how can we expect to comprehend the height and the depth of the mystery of God? Human imagination can only recombine elements that have been found in human experience. When considering a mode of existence which so transcends all human experience should we not expect human imagination to be unable to picture it? Our thoughts while in this tenement of clay are clogged by spatial conceptions and fettered by spatial relations. How natural, then, that they should be unable to grasp a mode of existence which in its very nature is removed from space relations and incompatible with them! We conclude that our inability to comprehend a thing is no proof that it is incredible.

We add but one thought more. If the doctrine of the Trinity be not incredible, then its very mystery is a presumption of its truth. If the mind of man could grasp the teaching in all its fullness we might well question whether it came from any higher source than man. But if the teaching be one which only the mind of God could originate and comprehend, then, perchance, it must have come from God.

Seeing now that the mystery is not an incredible mystery, our faith still clings to the triune God. We hold to the triune God, because he has revealed himself as such in his word. We hold to the triune God, because in this name our fathers through the ages have battled with sin and darkness. And lastly, we hold to our faith in the triune God, because, through the atonement in the only-begotten Son and through the witness of the eternal Spirit, we know that "we are children of God."

Edwin Sherwood.

Art. VIII. — GENERAL CONFERENCE POWERS AND PROCEDURE.

The constitutional powers of the General Conference, though given in brief terms, are broad and comprehensive. The general grant is of "full authority to make rules and regulations for our Church," subject to limitations needless here to specify. Its assent, by a two-third vote, is also requisite to any amendment of the organic law. For present purposes it suffices to say that, barring certain powers belonging *ex officio* to the bishops, the entire authority of government is conferred upon this body, with the right also of participation in action to amend the Constitution. We therefore are to regard it as possessing, besides the function last named, general legislative, executive, and judicial powers. As these differ in essential features, wise policy clearly demands that they should be separately exercised. Moreover, in respect to each class of powers, legitimately to call them into action, a matter in nature appropriate thereto must be before the body. Apparently, however, in the practice of the General Conference what should follow from the propositions stated has been lost sight of at times or but dimly seen. Beyond all this, also, extra-constitutional function has been exerted, from which, perhaps, some confusion has arisen, though when its character is understood and a true order of business adopted the action is wholly unobjectionable. Our object now is to note the great divisions of power with which the General Conference is invested; to show the necessity of a matter in nature accordant therewith, in order to the exercise of each; the character of the extra-legal action referred to; and then to point out the procedure that logically follows as the method by which the business of the body should be conducted.

All understand the general differences between legislative, executive, and judicial powers. But when, as here, they are conferred upon a single body their distinctions are not so easily observed. Add to this a practice which almost entirely fails to class them and that these several functions are exercised by a large assembly, most of whom are untrained in such affairs, and the marvel is not that misconception and confusion have at times crept in, but that so little has followed. This

last, no doubt, is attributable in large part to the line of very able presidents which the General Conference has been blessed with from the beginning.

No particular analysis of the different powers which government, ecclesiastical no less than civil, implies is deemed necessary, save as an incident to showing that from the nature of things none of them can be exerted legitimately unless upon an appropriate subject-matter. We begin with the legislative function. This, in its substance, is the power to enact law, to make or change rules of action or conduct for those within their authority. Obviously, unless some new law or rule is to be made or an old one repealed, this power cannot be exercised. There is nothing upon which it can operate. For example, a resolution that it would be wise to make a certain regulation, or that the Conference has authority to enact it, is no exercise of legislative function, but a mere expression of opinion and, except as such, void of any effect whatever. A matter, then, respecting which the power is exerted, in a form to make new or repeal old laws, is necessary to its lawful exercise. Precisely the same principle applies to the executive authority of the General Conference. This is largely invoked in the appointment and supervision of bishops and the various agents for the performance of executive duties, such as our economy requires. Manifestly a resolve that those officers are needed for the different departments of Church work would be no exertion of executive power. But when the Conference appoints them, then it is called into operation—an executive act is done. So, also, as respects the question of amending the Constitution. A declaration that it would be improved by a certain change could have no legal effect. The action must be directly upon a proposition to amend—a matter within this field of power—in order to its exercise. All this is so obvious that its statement might be regarded as superfluous. But, as it shows a principle in applications beyond doubt, it may aid in making clear how it applies in cases not quite so plain.

On the point in question more misapprehension appears as to the exercise of judicial power by the General Conference than is found in respect to its other functions. The necessity for a matter before the body of a nature which calls for judicial action, as a condition therefor, is not always clearly per-

ceived. A simple example, however, will illustrate legitimate activity of function under each class of usual powers. Suppose a new office is to be created and filled. Legislation becomes necessary to provide for it and to prescribe its duties. By an executive act the officer is appointed. Thereafter he is charged with a breach of duty such as to subject him to discipline, which he denies. Now, the hearing and decision by the Conference of the case thus made would be a judicial act, calling into activity its judicial powers. But a resolution, passed prior to the dereliction, declaring what the decision ought to be if such a case arose, manifestly would not. One reason of this is that judicial action is from its nature impossible, except upon a state of facts already in existence.

> That which distinguishes a judicial from a legislative act is, that one is a *determination of what the existing law is in relation to some existing thing already done or happened*, while the other is the predetermination of what the law shall be for the regulation of all future cases falling under its provisions.*

There is another question closely connected with this, which, in order to a full understanding of the judicial function, it is important to consider. The judicial capacity is the only one in which cases involving a right under the law can be decided and the law authoritatively interpreted. This principle is elementary and fundamental in the American constitutional system. Regarding the Constitution of the United States a most able and learned writer says:

> The judicial interpretation . . . is . . . the ultimate interpretation; but it must be given *through the form of a case, and can be given only upon such questions as form a proper subject for a case.* †

This doctrine and a correct practice under it are of paramount importance if we wish to have a system of ecclesiastical law in which each great function of government will find its proper place and limitations. The fact that all these powers are vested in the General Conference possibly has led to misunderstanding here. A few seem to suppose that if a case arises and is decided, still, by some assumed exercise of fancied legislative power, it may be declared overruled, and so set aside. Yet from the nature of the thing this is impossible. The Conference can

* Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, *91.

† Burgess's *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, vol. ii, p. 327.

never legislate what a decision shall be, for the reason that if no case has arisen the act is void for want of anything upon which to operate, while if one be before the body, and it is decided, whatever the form of the action, it is judicial in nature, and not legislative. If a case were to arise under a statute, which a decision construed and applied, its effect might be destroyed, as to future cases, by repealing or changing the statute. But where a provision of the Constitution is involved the decision must remain as the law until reversed in another case or the instrument is changed by amendment. No resolution that the Constitution shall be differently interpreted and read could have the slightest legal effect, as the legislative power does not extend into the judicial, and such an act is not, nor can it be, legislation. Chief Justice Marshall long ago said: "The difference between the departments undoubtedly is, that *the legislature makes, . . . and the judiciary construes, the law.*"* The two functions are in nature separate and distinct, and cannot, without the overthrow of all system, be confused in practice. If this were done, indeed, no one ever could know what the law was in its application to cases. A decision, solemnly made, might be set aside by an *ad captandum* resolution declaring that those voting for it are of a different opinion. Such a procedure would breed confusion, render settled rules of judicial decision impossible, and bring the administration of our law into merited contempt. The judicial power, it may be added, extends to all cases of alleged infraction of our laws and Constitution which may come before the General Conference. It also covers questions relating to the qualifications of its members. Their decision is a judicial act. When hearing and deciding such questions the Conference *ipso facto* becomes a "court."† This is true also in all cases in which it acts judicially. The circumstance that the body is large in number, and its modes of procedure different from those usual in courts, does not alter this result.

Before amendment of the organic law can be made the General Conference by proper action must concur therein. Hence it is invested with a portion of what may be designated as

* Wayman *vs.* Southard, 10 Wheaton, 46.

† 1 Kent's *Commentary*, *235; People *vs.* Hall, 80 New York, 123; Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, *133.

constitution-making power. The simple fact is all that attention need now be called to, as it alone shows one of the distinct functions of the body.

A short statement is required regarding the extra-constitutional powers assumed by the General Conference. In strict legal view these really are proceedings of the persons composing the body, in unofficial capacity, but clothed in official forms. Expressions of opinion by resolution, report, adopted, or otherwise, on public questions touching morals and religion, such as the liquor traffic, Chinese exclusion, Sunday newspapers, and the like, are wholly outside of the authority conferred upon the Conference. But if that be understood, in view of its representative character and the weight naturally attaching to its utterances, such action is not only free from objection, but eminently right and proper. It makes, however, no "rule" or "regulation"—is extra, though not, within certain limits, unconstitutional. Attention is directed to it that the nature of such action may be clearly seen and its place indicated in a correct procedure.

The foregoing review of the powers and practice of the General Conference makes manifest that, within constitutional limits, it may act in four separate and distinct capacities—legislative, executive, judicial, and constitution-making. To this is to be added the extra-legal, which may be termed the expressed opinion of its members on important affairs, beyond the powers of the body, but in form as its action. We thus get the grounds for a logical order of business, that is, one by which, in the proceedings of the Conference, these functions shall be separated in their exercise. The way to this is simple and perfectly practicable. When legislation is the work to be done, let it be in what shall be known as a legislative session; executive business, in executive session; judicial action, in court session; consideration of constitutional amendments, in amendment session; and extra-legal acts, in extra session. By this or some similar method the business of the body would be classified, its nature disclosed, and confusion avoided. The "mixed" states of mind at times apparent in the Conference as to its powers, and especially the disposition occasionally manifest to run them into one another, as a sort of hotchpotch, one might hope would disappear. A session of one kind should of course exclude

what belongs to another, and so for the time confine attention to a single field.

To us the advantages of such a procedure seem very great. As an aid to the growing sense of the fact that we have a constitutional system, which includes the great departments of governmental power, distinguished by inherent differences of nature, its adoption in substance appears to be important. The form as well as grounds of a new procedure, therefore, have been stated in order to bring them to the attention of those in position to secure any desirable change.

In conclusion, a few words must be said upon another but related topic. To our mind it is clear that each session of the General Conference should enact that its rules of order shall govern in the following session, until that session changes them. These also ought to be published in new editions of the Discipline, for the benefit of the Church at large. Then the people could know something both of the powers and practice of our "Governing Conference."

Miriam L. Sibley

Art. IX.—THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.

The Old Testament Scriptures are divided into three groups, the law, the prophets, and the hagiographa. The law embraces the first five books, which are familiarly called the Pentateuch. They are also frequently spoken of as the books of Moses and the books of the law. They form a whole and include the purely legislative portion of the Old Testament. To the sacred Scriptures in their entirety the law is the beginning, the primary source of authority and control in matters relating to the theocratic life of Israel, and contains the fundamental statement of the nature and will of Jehovah.

The hagiographa is very miscellaneous in its character. It is not limited to any definition which would exclude any writings from it. This is indicated by the title itself, which signifies literally "sacred writings." Jesus, the son of Sirach (in Ecclesiasticus), and Philo speak of these writings as the "other books." The title was simply a general term which might easily be made to include whatever it was thought best for any reason to assign to it. Accordingly every species of literary composition may be found in this collection, including law, prophecy, wisdom, praise, and history.

The division of the prophets is also very broad in its scope. Here are found portions of the sacred writings which in their subject-matter, style, and purpose certainly differ very considerably from one another. According to the rabbis, and with some justification in the writings themselves, there are two subdivisions, the former and the latter prophets. There is little difficulty in accounting for such chronological classification on the supposition that the historical books included in the former prophets, namely, Joshua, Judges, the Books of Samuel, and the Kings, are properly prophecy. This may be allowed, either because the prophets were prominent actors of the times and wrote the histories, or because prophecy was understood to involve instruction as one of its functions equally with prediction. The latter prophets are again divided into the major and minor prophets. To the first belong Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The minor prophets include the last twelve books of the Old Testament.

This threefold arrangement of the sacred writings is very ancient. There was sufficient ground for it in the nature of the subjects treated in the different books. The law and the prophets, in particular, gradually rose into distinctive prominence because of the differences in their character, in their sources, and in their relations to the life and development of Israel. They had each their special function and sphere, which, during the entire period of their activity, could hardly have failed to secure for them separate recognition. The geographer naturally speaks of mountain systems and river systems, because they denote two distinct classes of objects. No less naturally must the peculiarities of the law and the prophets have made it necessary, in the crudest and most general arrangement of their contents, to distinguish between them and assign to each division the writings that belonged to it. This is clearly seen in the case of the law. From the beginning of the history of the Hebrew people as a nation it stood out prominently before their thought and exercised a controlling influence upon their practices. The "law," the "book of the law," the "book of the covenant" are expressions continuously recurring throughout the historical books and the Psalms which illustrate to what prominence and importance the law early attained. Whatever may be the results of the higher criticism, after it has swung freely between extreme conservatism and extreme radicalism, and found a resting place at last, in defining the original contents of the Pentateuch and the dates of its redactions and final shaping, it is quite clear that from the time of Moses and onward the law had a very large and definite meaning in the Hebrew mind. Its complete and permanent form, it may be conceded, if minor details alone are considered, was not given it until the final revision by Ezra, B. C. 444.

The prophets, however—and by the term is now intended the writings of the prophets—were much later than the law in securing recognition as a distinct class of writing. The former prophets were certainly for a long period included in a general way in the law. None of the major or minor prophets had an existence until long after the national life had progressed well along toward its close; and even after the final completion of the law Malachi yet remained to utter his prophecy. It

could hardly be expected, therefore, that the prophets should have had distinct mention in the Old Testament as a collection of important documents or books or as a class of writings treasured by the nation. The prophets, upon whom it is necessary to rely for the most part for a history of their times, were themselves the authors of the prophetic books; and it was not their business, nor did it come in their way, to classify their own words. That was left to a later age, when these utterances should be studied as so much valuable truth and it should become necessary for practical purposes to give them a separate designation in the literature of the nation. Nevertheless, it is clear from incidental references, and especially from the language of Zechariah, that as early as the times of Ezra a differentiation of the prophetic writings which then existed had been gradually developing. During the centuries that elapsed between the last of the Old Testament prophets and the older books of the New Testament both the hagiographa and the prophets grew more and more into that definiteness to which the law had already attained. In the prologue to Ecclesiasticus the author speaks three different times of the law, the prophets, and other writings, calling these last the "other books of our fathers" and the "rest of the books." In the second book of the Maccabees, about the middle of the second century B. C., Nehemiah is said to have gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings concerning the holy gifts. These words are ambiguous, though there are some things about them that are very plain. There was no need of referring to the law, and, therefore, it was not mentioned. The prophets received attention as a division of the sacred writings then quite well known and understood. There were also miscellaneous books which were regarded as a part of the inspired teachings of the fathers. Philo, who flourished about the time of Christ, speaks of this miscellaneous portion of the Old Testament as "praises to God and other writings." Josephus, near the close of the first century A. D., does little more than confirm the fact of this threefold arrangement. The hagiographa was a gradual collection of many miscellaneous writings which, for good reasons, while they could not be classified with the law and the prophets, were thought

worthy of preservation as a part of the theocratic literature of Israel.

In the New Testament, as we might expect, there is no lack of the most definite references to the law and the prophets. One great fact ever present to the mind of Christ was the law, whose ancient utterances furnished him with an important basis of authority and truth. In like manner, not only in imitation of their divine Lord, but especially because the presuppositions of the Gospel which they preached were found in the law, the apostles quoted it and make its authority paramount in their teachings. It is frequently spoken of as the law of Moses, thus being identified with a body of laws known already by this general title. The prophets, however, occupy no second place, in comparison with the law, in the New Testament writings. For the first time they stand on an equality, to say the least, with the revered laws of Moses. Hitherto, they had been relegated to a subordinate rank. The apocryphal books of the Old Testament, while they evinced the greatest respect for the Hebrew Scriptures as a whole, invariably assigned the chief place to the law. Likewise the rabbis distinguished between the law and the prophets, to the disadvantage of the latter, teaching that the law was essentially superior and entitled to the greater consideration and reverence. So strong was this conviction that it was strictly forbidden in the Talmud to put the prophets in the same case with the law or to place the roll of the prophets on the roll of the law. Philo and Josephus, reflecting the opinions of their age and of the Jewish Church, express the same decided preference for the law on account of the superior inspiration which Moses possessed. While the phrases, "The law and the prophets," and "Moses and the prophets," are frequently on the lips of Christ, there is nothing in the fact to commit him to the prevailing prejudices in favor of the law. His manner of employing these phrases, indeed, as well as the context, plainly shows that, to his mind, the prophets were not inferior in their authority and teachings to the best utterances of the law. "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them," he solemnly declared, thus showing that Moses and the prophets are equally concerned in instructing the soul in the truths necessary to salvation.

It is in the New Testament, therefore, that the true position

and importance of the prophets in the progressive life and final destiny of Israel appear. The devout Jew, studying the prophetic writings, while the words of Malachi were yet fresh and new, but before the wonderful person and teachings of Christ had given to prophecy its rightful significance, might have been excused if, with a picture of something grand and glorious outlined to his thought, he nevertheless saw nothing to long divert his gaze from the majestic image of the law, before which, in perfect sympathy with his age, he had reverently bowed. Simeon and Anna, true types of the faithful in Israel, themselves looking for the glory of God which they had discovered reflected in the writings of the prophets, did well to abide in the temple in reverent and devout fulfillment of the requirements of the law, until their eyes were blessed with the first tangible evidence of the meaning of the prophetic word in the infant Christ. With the ministry of Christ and his disclosure of the true principles of the kingdom of God, which the prophets had faintly anticipated, with the baptism of Pentecost and the widening prospect of a glorious fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies, the New Testament necessarily exalted the prophets to a place, if anything, above the law.

It has, therefore, been inevitable that, in the development of the Christian Church, the prophets should assume an ever-increasing importance and interest as a distinct class of Old Testament writings. Their character, the peculiar position which they held in the economy of the ancient Church, but much more their relation to the New Testament Church, its Founder, its spirit, and its truths, have differentiated them from all other writings and given them a place of honor and influence by themselves. Their promises of salvation for Israel and of the establishment of God's kingdom through the work of the Messiah, which formed so large a part of the prophetic writings, early gave the prophets authority in the interpretation of gospel teachings. Their value in this particular has only increased as the more thorough biblical study and the more critical investigation of succeeding generations have revealed more and more clearly their vital relation to the work and ministry of Christ. Of late a deep and growing interest in the history of Old Testament times—partly the result of new and more critical methods of historical study, which have given a flattering promise of a

better understanding of the early ages and ancient nations, and partly because of questions that have arisen bearing upon the composition and essential meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, the ideas current in Israel regarding the kingdom of God, and the worth of biblical records in the light of archæological discoveries—has brought the prophets into greater prominence than ever before. They are appealed to by all parties, by foes as well as friends of a supernatural religion, and by friends who differ very widely in the opinions which they hold. Their relation to the law forms a most important and crucial subject of inquiry. Supplementing as they do the very insufficient records of the historical books and presenting all necessary and reasonable evidence of their integrity and authenticity, they furnish an indispensable aid to a thorough understanding of the Old Testament history and religion.

The prophetic writings might seem to be quite meager as a source of information concerning the great questions which have been raised by modern critical scholarship; and certainly no one would claim that the writings which have been transmitted to the Christian Church are voluminous. This fact, however, does not negative their value. Bulk is by no means a test of the merits of any writings or collection of writings. Large dimensions and little value may be asserted of the same volume, while a very small space has often contained the richest treasures of fact and truth. Neither pages, nor chapters, nor volumes necessarily form a proper and adequate basis on which to make an estimate of the value of any literary production. Other and quite different elements enter into the problem. The subject, the treatment of the subject, the accuracy and reliability of the statements, the spirit and character of the author, his position and opportunities of observation and judgment are some, at least, of the important points by which the value of a book or books is to be determined. Judged of in the light of such considerations, the prophets are entitled to an important and prominent position in the study of Old Testament times. They may be relied upon with the most implicit confidence to give a true and faithful picture of the internal life of the Hebrew people, to point out the marked tendencies of each age, and the nature of the influences which were in operation to check hurtful tendencies and create new objects of desire

and ambition. Especially do they describe the religious condition and disposition of both divisions of the Hebrew nationality. Indeed, the Christian Church is largely indebted to them for a correct idea of the teachings and doctrines which were current in the northern and southern kingdoms, and were understood to represent the mind and will of Jehovah. So distinct and pronounced are all the sentiments and requirements of the prophets, so perfectly do they agree from the first to the last word of their utterance, so separated from and so antagonistic to the spirit and forms of idolatry do they always appear to be, that they reflect, in a comprehensive as well as minute way, the conflict and struggle of those moral forces which underlay and characterized the national existence. One has only to reflect on the simple outline of events, mainly wars and revolutions, recorded in the historical books, to realize how scanty the material would be on which to judge of the life of Israel but for the prophets. An examination will show, too, that they have furnished those more hidden conditions of individual and social life which in all history are the real explanation of its more prominent events.

A glance at the authors of the prophetic books will only serve to confirm these views of the relation of the prophets to the essential life of Israel. The prophets were indeed in a position to represent the ages in which they lived. They were of the people, lived among the people, and ministered to the people. They were citizens of their respective governments, and were keenly alive to everything that in any way had to do with the interests of the nation. Their office made them the natural guardians of all the institutions, doctrines, and divine privileges which belonged to the chosen people of God. It was an important part of their appointed work, therefore, to be ever jealous of the rights of Jehovah among his people and of the fidelity of the people to Jehovah. The public character of their labors, and the boldness with which they attacked evil of every form and dared the hostility of all classes in the performance of duty, render their writings of the greatest value as mirrors of the times. The prophets might have been contradicted and their declarations disproved, so open and public were they, if they had been false; but the fact is that the moral consciousness of the nation fully sustained them. Their personal

character, their intellectual strength and grasp, the sturdy and rugged principles for which they stood and which they exhibited in their lives, reminding us of the best modern reformers and surpassing them, give to the prophets a measure of reliability to which few who represent even a great national life are entitled. A careful study of the nature of the prophetic office as understood in the Hebrew Scriptures will throw light upon the essential relation of the prophets to the current life about them. The word most frequently used, and always translated by the word "prophet," is *navi.** It is a verbal noun derived from the verb *nava*,† meaning "to boil or bubble up and pour forth;" that is, it represents the idea of pent-up energy, striving to break forth in some external expression. The *navi* is one who has been wrought upon by influences which have created this inward, restless, uncontrollable energy. There is a spirit within him which struggles to speak, a spiritual power, bestowed by God, which impels him to go forth and speak the truth which is in his mind and heart. Two other words are applied to the prophetic office, though not so frequently as *navi*. They are the two participles *roeh*‡ and *chozeh*§, which correspond to the participles of our two words "see" and "perceive." The prophet is, therefore, a seer, who beholds at a distance and understands what he sees.

There are, then, evidently two functions here indicated as belonging to the prophetic order. The one is prediction. The prophet sees future events, feels their meaning, and with inspired energy proclaims them. But while this is clearly one function it is not the only one, and perhaps not the most important one. The other, which was by far more essential to the development of the theocratic idea, had to do with current events. The *navi*, filled with the energy of the divine Spirit and excited by clear views of the divine truth, was impelled by inward power to speak to king or priest or people the word of the living God. He could not help doing this. He might, like Jonah, flee, but he would, like Jonah, be brought back again to declare the counsel of Jehovah. It was this which made the prophet the mouthpiece of Jehovah. It was this also which rendered him the guide and instructor of his age. This living, divine energy within the soul, this clear sense of the presence of Jehovah,

* נָבִיא. † נָבָא. ‡ רֹאֶה. § חֹזֶה.

committing to them his truth, made the prophets heroes to whom neither king nor priest nor false prophet nor people could oppose any serious obstacle. It is useless to ask if the prophets were inspired. The very terms of their office imply it. Their own profession never hesitates at this point. Their spirit, their elevated sentiments, the truths they proclaimed, all furnish us with the most indubitable evidence of their inspiration. It does not matter in what way they were inspired, through what psychological processes they might have passed. It is enough that their words are tremulous with a strange passion and power which are not of earth, which can only come from the divine mind. Perhaps it is natural that we should give a great deal of attention to the mechanics of inspiration; but we often do the divine word a great injustice. We rudely invert the order in which inspiration as a doctrine is related to inspiration as a fact. In other words, instead of comprehending the doctrine by a living sense of the spirit which pervades the sacred pages and transfuses them with a heavenly light, we seek through our doctrine, verbal, plenary, or what not, to catch and appreciate the great truth of inspiration. This is wrong. We recognize man by no preconceived theory of what life is, but by the animation of countenance, the vigor of body, the strength and brightness of intellect, the soul that looks through eyes, that speaks through words, that touches us by a spirit akin to our own. It is no theory of life that stands before us; it is life itself. Such is the life of the prophets, ever breaking forth in their wonderful outbursts of passionate energy and holy zeal. No nation has ever been so fortunate as the Jews in its teachers and the guardians of its most sacred interests.

The writings of the prophets extend over a long and important period of the history of the Hebrew people. Without naming precise dates, it is safe to fix the beginning of the period at about the middle of the ninth century B. C. The period closed about 400 B. C. Nearly five hundred years were therefore embraced in the writings of the prophets. With the exception of three comparatively brief intervals, in one or the other kingdom, the record of prophetic utterances was complete and continuous. These centuries were crowded with important events. Both kingdoms, through a long succession of wars and civil and religious revolutions, advanced to the final and

terrible ordeal of siege and captivity. During this time one or the other kingdom was brought into almost constant relation with those overshadowing military powers, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and Persia, which in great inundations of conquest afflicted in turn various portions of the ancient world and laid waste the pleasant places of Palestine. Much of all that transpired under these conditions is known to the modern world only through these prophets. They furnish the key to many otherwise inexplicable situations, and refer to events of which and persons of whom some knowledge is indispensable to a satisfactory understanding of history.

It is an occasion for astonishment that so large and valuable a body of writings of such a remarkable character should have been transmitted from those ancient times. It is perhaps of little significance that no other ancient nation can present anything at all comparable with these sacred records, for no nation possessed such a remarkable body of men or such high conceptions of moral and religious truth. This is, however, an important fact to remember in connection with the prophetic writings ; and if for no other reason, at least to exhibit the superiority of the Hebrew people in this respect to every other people. It is of real significance to remember, also, that the period to which the prophets belonged was not a period of any general literary activity. As an art writing was not cultivated to any great extent. Perhaps as little had reading become an attainment beyond the comparatively limited circle of those whose business it was to chronicle the affairs of kings and of the nation and to record the laws and precepts of religion. As was the case among the masses of other ancient nations, so it must have been among the Hebrews. There is at least no good reason to think that it was otherwise. There were in all probability comparatively few who could either read or write. There was no encouragement for the prophets to write their messages in any great demand for the written prophecies that existed among the people at large. The peculiar character of the prophecies also rendered them less likely to be recorded than the ordinary facts and events of history, for whose preservation scribes were appointed. They might naturally enough have seemed to be temporary in their value, as they had mainly to do with current interests. Undoubtedly, also, much that was

spoken was never written. Probably much that was written was not preserved or incorporated into the prophetic writings. Under such circumstances it is a remarkable fact that so large a collection of writings was preserved. A great debt of gratitude is due to those noble and brave men who determined so largely the moral and religious life of Israel.

It is only just, in view of all these facts, to accord great praise to the prophetic writings which have been treasured up by the Church of God from age to age. They form together a body of sacred literature which reflects no mean credit upon the character, industry, and influence of the "writing prophets." They are ample enough not only to furnish the student of the Bible with a guide through the mazes of the history of the secular and religious life of Israel, but also to show him by what doctrines and sanctions the kingdom of God was developed through ages of wars and civil strifes and shameless defections from the truth and commands of Jehovah. They emphasize with a peculiar force the very points in which Israel was preeminently superior to all other nations. Such utterances, not only tolerated by the Hebrews, but treasured up by them as an essential part of their history, show plainly the trend and spirit of the national life. No people have furnished such rich materials for a correct and complete estimate of their character, and the great purposes which they serve in history, as the Hebrews have done in the simple but abundant prophetic literature which they have transmitted to the Christian Church.

It has been in this field that higher criticism has done some of its best and hardest work, in finding confirmations of the positions which have been taken regarding the history of Israel or in removing obstacles which have stood in the way of some preconceived theories of national evolution. It cannot be difficult, certainly, to see how the prophets, with their jealous regard for the past, as well as deep interest in the present, should contribute very much to the solution of important problems which have grown out of the antiquity and obscurity of the earlier periods of the national history. It was inevitable that they should represent the result to which the most ancient principles and teachings had naturally led, and embody, although in a greatly developed and spiritual way, the early religious customs and forms under which the nation had had its beginning.

Already much intelligent and careful study has been given to the prophets. Every word has been critically examined, the contents of every phrase and sentence have been sifted, obscure references have been thoroughly worked out in the light of modern historical and archæological discoveries, and the relation of the prophets to the current events and life about them more fully determined. In particular, the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, containing a most interesting and valuable history of Assyria and Babylon during the entire period of the written prophecies, but deciphered only through the patient efforts of modern scholarship, have been employed with great skill and acuteness to illustrate and explain important points in the prophecies. It is impossible to estimate the amount of painstaking labor which in one way or another has been bestowed upon them even in the last decade. It is true that there has been an amazing activity in every department of biblical investigation for the last fifteen or twenty years; but in none of them has more satisfactory work been done, and in none of them has it been done in a more earnest and appreciative spirit, than in the writings of the prophets. If some views which have been held for centuries have been contradicted or greatly modified, much has been gained in breadth of view and in a knowledge of what the prophets really were and what they were commissioned to accomplish. There can hardly be anything of greater importance to a Christian minister than the study of the prophets and their work in the Old Testament Church. Nowhere will he imbibe more fully the heroic, fearless, and devoted spirit of self-sacrificing loyalty to the commandments and purposes of God than in those inspired and inspiriting writings; nowhere will he be better prepared to appreciate the spirituality and holiness manifested in the person and teachings of the Redeemer; nowhere will he be nerved more thoroughly to the performance of his entire duty in the fear of God. The prophets may thus become living words, even in this late age of the Christian dispensation.

C. W. Gallagher.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The first paper in this number is permitted, as is obviously proper because of its exceptional relation to the *Review*, to exceed the fixed limit of space allowed to our contributed articles. Only great self-restraint has enabled us to reduce it within the pages which now contain it, there being in the long, rich history of the *Review* abundant and interesting material for an article thrice as long.

Dr. James Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance*, the masterly work of a great biblical scholar, moves on from one edition to another of the enormous sale it is surely destined to have. It is the most extraordinary, magnificent, and monumental product of an immensely industrious life. For the next half century it will probably be the one unequaled and indispensable concordance of the Holy Scriptures. It is offered by the publishers at the lowest possible price. All ministers and other Bible students should buy it at once or begin to save money enough for its purchase.

DR. J. O. PECK.

Born among the mountains of Vermont, born again amid thunder and lightning on the slope of one of them, nursed and toughened into hardiness on the scanty and gritty soil which the rocky hills reluctantly concede, under the attrition of ages, to form the fields that spread about their feet, Dr. Peck was somewhat like the mountains in structure and quality, in stature and stability.

Bishop Scott said that when he walked with Dr. Olin and tried to make his own short legs keep up with the long, easy strides he felt as if he were walking beside an elephant. Stephen Olin and J. O. Peck were nearly of a size, the latter standing six feet two inches. We imagine there was more manifest and active physical force in Peck than in Olin. On a large frame an extraordinary muscular development built up and compacted a sturdy and formidable physique, which had great capacity and irrepressible propensity for action. His arms found it easy to tame the wildest colt or swing the heaviest sledge-hammer.

Most men who met him felt their right hand lost and helpless in his big and hearty grasp. During almost forty years this prodigious human power was consecrated to divine service. He put broad and loyal shoulders under every load God and the Church laid upon him, stood up straight under it, and carried it as if he loved the weight he had to bear. The aggregate of effort and of result was enormous.

When the excitement of the civil war broke in upon his young manhood militant tendencies and patriotic zeal would have made him a soldier, but for the fact that when he twice attempted to enlist he was rejected because of a defect in the vision of his right eye. His patriotism found partial expression, however, in being used by Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, for delivering addresses in various parts of the State at meetings for the promotion of enlistments.

In energy, in methods, and in results Dr. Peck's ministry is universally conceded to be exceptional—indeed, phenomenal. To this every place in which he was ever pastor bears witness. When he set foot in a community the ground of the region felt a ponderous and active tread. The quiet of sleepy neighborhoods was disturbed. From his personality as a center out to a wide circumference things began to stir immediately on his arrival, and kept on whirling as long as he stayed there. Frequently it was tempestuous round about him. He was a son of thunder, sending his message forth with a stentorian voice. His pulpit was a battery without any wooden guns. His ministry was aggressive for the salvation of men, denunciatory and belligerent toward depravity and ungodliness. The stroke of his eager challenge rang on the brazen shield of the world which lieth in wickedness. He smote with a lunging force, like the fighting gladiator. His utterances were like the blows of a hammer on an anvil, and from a heart which burned like a furnace his fiery words flew as sparks from a forge. Doubtless he will remain in the memory of our Church as the great pastor-evangelist of his day and generation. While pastor at Hanson Place, Brooklyn, he received about nine hundred into the church, most of them the fruit of three sweeping revivals in three successive years. A revival he would always have, nor men nor devils could prevent it. When he set out for this the manner and method of his ministry were resolute, audacious, pertinacious, and imperative. His protracted meetings ran ten, twelve, fourteen weeks. He would go all day scouring the parish and beyond, sometimes using

up relays of horses to hunt down the impenitent. He was an officer with a search warrant from the supreme Authority, and there was not much use in hiding, for no retreat was secure from his invasion. He caught men, women, and young people wherever he could find them, in their homes, their business places, their social assemblies, or on the streets. None could elude him. Then at night he would preach from fifty to ninety minutes, and afterward go into an intense revival service for as much longer. It was simply tremendous, and all through the years godly men who were witnesses of his work felt called upon to warn him that it is not in mortal flesh and blood to endure such a strain; to all of which expostulations he paid no heed. His nature and his methods were his own; he must work either by them or not at all.

He was shrewd and skillful in finding access to human nature and in subduing it to his own and the Master's will. He had large influence with men of the world, moving easily with a brotherly informality and genial *bonhomie* into their friendship; and, once on the inside of their confidence, he watched his chance to grapple with them in order that he might make them prisoners for his captain, Christ. An illustration of this influence is seen in the fact that he was for twelve years the popular and beloved chaplain of the Brooklyn regiment known as "the fighting Fourteenth."

Dr. Peck was one of the men who know how to preach mightily from manuscript, that being his pulpit method for the most part during his ministry. Even when delivering his sermon word for word from paper his earnestness was such that he preached

> As never sure to preach again,
> And as a dying man to dying men.

When he spoke extemporaneously it was not infrequently like the starting of heavy machinery, his utterance and action a little labored and slow at the beginning, until the ponderous engines got under good headway; then it was powerful and sometimes terrific in volume of voice, in rapidity of utterance, in physical action, in the torrent of passion, the whole man—body, soul, and spirit—carried away by the momentous business.

A man's strength is often his danger. Overconfidence carries him to the breaking point. Dr. Peck is dead too early because he was strong, not because he was weak; just as some men are alive because they have known themselves to be feeble and have

been proportionally prudent in exposure and exertion. Speaking concerning his Chicago pastorate recently to a friend, he said, "I was a Hercules then." His habits of overexertion were so fixed that he could not speak in public with moderation. If he restrained himself he did not have a good time. When he reported with satisfaction of a Conference address, "I had a rattling good time," we knew it meant that he had thrown himself with complete abandon into the effort. At missionary anniversaries he stormed audiences so that they spoke of him as an "oratoric cyclone;" the speaker himself being visibly swayed by strong emotion, his whole frame in action, and his great limbs moving like the branches of an oak tree in a gale. In the office-work he was a prompt, capable, and faithful secretary, holding his mind steadily against his work and acquiring such familiarity with, and ready handling of, all details as only constant mental contact with them makes possible. He steeped himself in the business till he was soaked full of it, ready to emit correct information under the pressure of any call. It was not in him to shirk, and he applied himself to the confining and burdensome work of the office with unsparing and unremitting assiduity.

More confidently and positively than most men Dr. Peck believed that God was with him in all he said and did. Intending to be always on the Lord's side, he took it as axiomatic that Providence was on his side in an extraordinary manner. A most remarkable demonstration of the truth of our statement may be found in the sermon which he delivered ten years ago last October in Hanson Place pulpit, reviewing his twenty-five years of ministerial life, and which was published under the title, "Special Providence Illustrated." That sermon closed with Whittier's lines:

I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His goodness underlies.

. . . . . .

I know not where his islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond his love and care.

When the fatal sickness came that dominant will, which had ridden through life like a horseman booted and spurred, resented the furious onset of disease bringing the menace of death. Freed, as he supposed, from an ailment of years before, he thought

himself a strong man in his prime, with greater life before him. To him it was incredible that the end could be at hand. He had much to live for and was resolved to live. After a day and a night of dreadful illness he welcomed his physician's early visit next day with buoyant and cheery courage: "I'm much better this morning, doctor. I *guess* the Church thinks I'm worth saving, and I'm *sure* this little woman thinks so." But manly courage and determination availed nothing before that mysterious power at whose attack an ancient king of France, the wild Clotaire, groaned out, "Who is this great god that breaks down the strength of the mightiest kings?"

The writer of these memorial words had nearby knowledge of the facts herein affirmed. Succeeding him at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, in 1881, and experiencing the difficulty a stranger finds in holding on to a mass of new converts gathered under the ministry of another man, the writer little dreamed that thirteen years later he would be, outside of the immediate family, the nearest eyewitness of Dr. Peck's last half year of life, dwelling under the same roof and in almost daily converse out of business hours; least of all could he foresee that it would fall to him to assist in ministering to the sufferings of the final illness, to pray beside him, to put roses in his sick room, to help hold his head and lift his feet, to watch through the slow, solemn night hours the failing pulse and shortening breath, and to see the strong man's eyes close for the last long sleep. How sacred, in the unknown possibilities they hold, are our relations with our fellow-men! What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!

> How beautiful it is for man to die
> Upon the walls of Zion; to be called,
> Like a watch-worn and weary sentinel,
> To put his armor off, and rest—in heaven!

He that turneth many to righteousness "doth set his name a star among the stars."

SEASONABLE LITERATURE.

The magazines issue midsummer numbers and aim to pitch the contents on the keynote of the bright, warm, languid solstice. It is the season when man's mental as well as physical nature craves something light and easy, loose and cool. Body and mind alike court exposure to the elements, and find refreshment in being washed by winds and bathed by waves, rinsing off life's varied soilure in water, air, and sun. A worn and torn man re-

sorts to nature, as a tired child goes to its mother, for soothing and repairs. Once outside of walls and doors, one instinctively takes off his hat in the inarticulate and subconscious hope that the wandering breeze, straying his way, may not only cool his forehead, but somehow get through the skull into the heated chambers of the mind, where his very thoughts sit round *en déshabillé*, perspiring like Turkish bathers in the sudatorium.

For all things lawful there is a time and season. Doubtless there are books seasonable for summer, as others for winter, and mental needs of August unlike those of January. Winter days within house walls, that shut out the world and shut one in with his thoughts, protecting him from allurements and distractions, favor hard thinking, close reasoning, and formidable tasks; but the heated term is not for severe study or weighty reading, not for volumes logical or theological, nor for the tough problems and exacting work of exact sciences.

The season calls for such books as will console the heart, heal the wounded spirit, happify the mind, favor and foster the nobler sentiments, enrich and enliven the imagination, and take us out of ourselves into the free fellowship and liberal franchise of the wide, wide world. One can do worse than to embark on such a book as Kingsley's *Westward Ho*, to voyage with great mariners, with heaven's gales bellying the sails and English manhood at its splendid best—a book which does long dead heroes the justice, and mankind the service, of making immortally memorable such forgotten worthies as Drake and Hawkins and Frobisher, insuring that centuries to come shall be familiar with them and know them in their habit as they lived; a book in which the stout oaken ships rock and dip as if to the rhythm of the breezy and buoyant lines:

> Over the sea our galleys went,
> With cleaving prows, in order brave,
> To a speeding wind and a bounding wave,
> A gallant armament;

a book which takes us through the thronging events, the adventurous and glowing action, which stirred and lit "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," finishing with that sea fight, fierce and famous, which ended in the Spanish Armada's defeat, dispersion, and destruction, when not only hardy Protestant sailors, but even the "winds and waves had commission from God to fight under British banners."

Is there propriety, profit, or pleasure in reading out of doors?

Shall a man take books with him in his outing? Does the printed page gain anything with the light of the open sky on it, and the southwest wind, like a well-meaning child, clumsily fumbling and trying to turn the leaves for the reader? It is not impossible that some pieces of literature may have their charm and power enhanced by being set in the scene and the season which suits them, so that the narrow letterpress has the broad bordering world around it as a gorgeously illuminated margin. Much poetry will do to go abroad with, and books which give the poetry and grandeur of science lose nothing in the presence of the beautiful, sublime, and wonderful world which science studies. *The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith* is a book to gladden and glorify a whole summer. Parts of the New Testament gain by being read under the open heavens. Suitable environment may throw new light upon the sacred page. It has been found unutterably impressive to read under Bethany olives and fig trees the record of the raising of Lazarus and the visits of Jesus to the friendly home of Mary and Martha. How many have tried taking the fourth chapter of Matthew or first of Mark down among fishing boats by the shore, to read there the calling of Peter and Andrew, James and John, from mending or casting their Galilean nets to become fishers of men in the great sea of the world? Who of us has watched the fishing smacks come scudding home under a sky tinged with sunset and across waters sombered by the first hint of withdrawing day and approaching dark, then run down to the beach to meet them, wondering what they have caught, and seen them come through the breakers and the oarsmen leap over into the surf and haul the boats up the sloping sand, and then opened the gospels and read Luke v, 1–11, or John xxi, 1–14? Nature is a realist, able to add vividness and life-likeness even to the descriptive narratives of inspired evangelists.

Much profitable reading has been done with the blue-domed world for a reading-room and the sun for a drop-light. A man often saunters over Europe with one or another of the paper-covered Tauchnitz volumes always in his coat pocket. Thomas Coke in Atlantic voyages read on deck the pastorals of Virgil, thereby obtaining, in the midst of the vast, briny, barren sea, a delicious sense of wandering in fields and groves, through valleys and by purling brooks. The saddle was often John Wesley's study; he read history, philosophy, and poetry on horseback. He tells us how he finished the book of the tenth "Iliad" while riding down to New Castle, among the hills of Northumberland,

under the moist, gray English skies, and read a great part of the "Odyssey" coming back. In like manner did John P. Durbin study and read, as also many other studious pioneer itinerants who carried their library in their saddlebags. Niccolò Machiavelli gives us this glimpse of his manner of life at his San Casciano villa, seven miles from Florence: "I rise with the sun in the morning and go into the woods for a couple of hours. On leaving the wood I go to a spring, carrying always a book under my arm, either Dante or Petrarch or one of the minor poets, such as Tibullus or Ovid; and the time passes pleasantly enough in the meditations they suggest and inspire."

John Tyndall, spent with long, strenuous effort and depressed with the grief of futile thinking, went to the Alps. Believing that it is not good for man, either socially or intellectually, to be entirely alone, he took with him two books, Goethe's *Farbenlehre* and Alexander Bain's *Logic*, as he said, to spur up the emotions and to nourish the intellect and the will. Exhausted with many laborious months, his mind was a blank for any future work, and he suffered the depression and hopelessness which often accompany the complete ebb of intellectual force. He found in Bain what one would hardly look to find in a book on logic, a diagnosis of his own vacuous condition, with the following descriptive detail: "The uncertainty where to look for the next opening of discovery brings the pain of conflict and the debility of indecision." (It would seem to us more correct to say that the indecision of debility makes one uncertain where to look for any future opening.) On Bain's sentence Tyndall comments: "The period of mental halting between two investigations is not always one of repose. It is often an interval of doubt and discomfort, of gloom and *ennui*." Most men, whose life bears chiefly on brain and nerve and whose work, so long as they are in it, demands incessant mental productiveness, are familiar by experience with this abysmal exhaustion and temporary despair. Was it Charles Reade, or was it Dr. J. G. Holland, or who was it, who confessed that whenever he finished writing one book his possibilities of work seemed to him to be ended forever? He was sure he could never write another. Many a minister has felt at bedtime on Sunday, after the driving duties of a week during which he has forced himself daily toward a climax of effort, as if he could never find in himself materials for another sermon. His mind seemed a dry, dead, empty desert in which nothing could ever grow. In the midsummer madness of his nervous, restless sleep he might easily dream of himself as

an extinct volcano that could never fill up and fire up and blaze again, a spent geyser that would boil and spout no more.

After long stress and outpour of nerve energy such exhaustion may be more than an affair of Sunday night, to be repaired by nine hours' sleep and a Monday outing. For it there is no surer restorative and recreation than weeks of sea or mountain, open air and sunshine, meadows and streams, in the saddle or on the wheel or the keel or afoot, rowing on lake or river, swimming in the bay, or tramping among the hills, with much free meditation, spontaneous note-making, and an occasional dip into some suitable, piquant, pregnant, informing, or stimulating book. After such weeks the minister may bring home in mind and heart sermons that will not seem to his hearers heavy and feverish, rank with the smell of midnight oil, but full of the influences of noonday, blue heavens, wholesome winds, and all the florid and succulent abundance of God's bloomy and bountiful world.

THE OUTER ADORNMENT OF LIFE.

Some part of the agitations of the time, and not a small part, comes out of our external modernity—out of the rapidly changed conditions of physical being, doing, and living. A half century has given a new face to the implemental world handled by the human soul. It would be wearisome to repeat this story of triumph over externality. Swift travel, talking wires, cheap books, cheap light, and thousands of things, big and little, enter into life and produce a new experience. Precedents, if a half century old, hardly fit us and our belongings and "questions." In this rush of change some things change not, or change little; but these are few and of no large importance. Of course the constant order of nature still brooks no interference; but "things" are transformed and ushered into new utilities and become practically a new and large "natural bounty."

Withal the human soul, the handler of the implemental world, has not changed. This new bounty—by the side of which the old bounty of soil and mine fall into discredit with us—is plentifully advertised, praised, and coveted. This is partly because it is new, partly because it requires a new effort to obtain the new things, partly because it is measurably limited. To enjoy all the modern fashions and improvements one must live in a city; hence the rush to the centers. One must also have a larger income; hence the discontent with mediocre fortune. This discontent, taking new forms in politics, is not conspicuous in the poor, as

our fathers would have defined the poor; it is larger in groups our fathers would have described as comfortable, or even rich. The human soul has awakened to covetousness of a long list of desirable things, and meets an obstruction in the difficulty of obtaining them. Philanthropists are more or less at fault, and they waste ink and breath in describing plans to relieve poverty at a time when poverty of necessities is not a common cause of complaining. There is such poverty, but the poverty of social romances is a poverty of luxuries or of things which were luxuries even fifty years ago. To get easily and certainly all those novelties of material life which a half century has produced—these are our problems. That all people may get them, so to say, by touching an electric button—this is our philanthropy.

The big machines, their cheap production, and mercantile competition tend, of course, to the wider distribution of luxuries. They clamor for a large market, and so business concurs with philanthropy in seeking to give everybody everything. The head of the family cannot stop the strain of exertion when he has provided roof, food, and necessary clothing. He must go on straining to get for his loved ones an infinite variety of ornaments of life; and the ornaments are thought of now as necessaries were thought of by our fathers. A thoughtful man, given to economic calculations, recently observed that in his city ninety per cent of the people live in houses or flats too costly for their means, and so are perpetually railing at high rents. He therefore gathered a little company of tenants and said to them: "You need not live in these costly homes. Decent dwellings are in the market for one third of the rent you now pay. Fit your demands for homes to your means and you will find a supply to meet those demands. If the dwellings do not exist they will be built for you." This address provoked a storm of indignation: "Do you think our families would live in hovels?" The economist was a "brute" to his audience. Every disciple of Franklin who pleads on these lines is a brute, a heartless thinker, a hired servant of that modern devil called Capital, or of Wall Street, or of whatever other demoniacal force may be thought of as hindering our easy access to all desirable ornaments of life. A house costing less than from three to five thousand dollars is "a hovel" to a clerk earning eight hundred dollars a year. The case was tersely put by a street car conductor: "How is a man earning thirty-five dollars a month to pay thirty of it for rent? Rents must come down or wages must go up."

It is not strange that scheming politicians humor the vagaries of the agitator's reforming imagination; it *is* strange that now and then a voice is raised against the electric button theory. We are undergoing a ferment, and the cause is the changed external world. The unchanged man wants all there is to have and enjoy—as he always did—and, with a world full of new enjoyments, he is not content to take less than his neighbor takes. If he must take less he reaches up as far as he can, and insists that his pay shall rise to the level of his rent and to the level of all else he has reached out and seized. Of course there is always a body of nascent capitalists who accumulate by living down below their desires. But the vast body of the children of this very new world of ours take the ornaments of life as a right; and they expect God or the government to remove any obstacles to their free and happy possession.

This outbreak of unrestrained desire affects morals and religion. The bettered order of life suggests desire and weakens faith. But the outbreak is specially apparent in the political world when the sense of defrauded hope is naturally active, when an increasing number of people look for happiness to be created and protected. This tendency is encouraged by a reflex action of the machinery of abundance. Wider enjoyment of the ornaments of life means larger possibilities of gain in producing and distributing them. This fact is brought within the popular vision by concentration of production. Goods could not be cheap in the old way of making them and selling them. But the new way means that a man or a corporation may gain a single, whole, and entire cent from each one of sixty millions of people in a single year. This means sixty thousand dollars—means millionaires. The cent may represent a saving of one hundred cents to the consumer; but the swollen aggregate of millions perplexes the voter and suggests to him the "robber barons" of an earlier time. And so rights and wrongs, honest gains and dishonest gains, get jumbled and confused in the heats of irritated and discontented thinking.

The new order, with its banks and paper money and intricate system of exchange, has created puzzles for average minds—perhaps for the best minds, if they would but confess—and we are hardly aware how new it all is, how recently the merchant weighed out gold and silver in making payments. Elaborate contrivances for extending credit, the smooth facility of coupon bonds, and the neatness and dispatch of mortgaging one's house disguise the growing debts of the people; and when pay day

comes the careless user of the ornaments of life is tempted to think that the mortgage means a fraud at his expense. A disciple of Franklin would say, "It is too easy to get into debt." The modern man complains of the necessity of paying to get out of debt. The easily made debt is, indeed, a prized ornament of life, and the benevolent deities of modern paganism are expected to remove the debt in some painless way. All the science, economic or ethic, which is concerned is but crudely conceived and wildly argued, because the science has to deal with complexities which the older world knew nothing about.

An old-fashioned way of reasoning about desired things still lingers with us. Its way is to advise prudence, self-restraint, self-denial. That means going without the ornaments until we are able to procure them by full payment. A modern way is to get them when and how we can and to ask the government to make it easy to pay for them. And it is not strange that a growing force exerts itself in the direction of equality of possession, and that many sincere people believe in the possibility of realizing the electric-button theory of obtaining our desires. One has only to pass along a street of stores and look at the goods displayed in their windows, to get a hint of our troubled desires. If he will also look at the clothing of the people who throng the street he will get another hint. A visit to the homes of these people will add still another. Luxuries are abundant and are widely distributed. But their getting strains the muscles and empties the purse; and there still remains in these restless souls a great yearning of unsatisfied desire. Morals, religion, science—all are sinned against by aching hearts wanting more, while the ornaments in possession represent debts or neglected moral claims. Is it possible to bring the earning power up to the level of this demand for the ornaments of life? Economists despair of that. Is it possible to devise an electric-button system of supply? Science does not answer hopefully. But were either possible the philosopher would say that some new outbreak of unsatisfied desire would certainly come to pass. The ornaments attained, the soul would make a new and impossible demand upon the world of "things."

SUICIDE.

One of the saddest and most painful features of modern civilization is the frequency of suicide. It invests the pages of the secular press with tragic, mournful, and suggestive interest. In one July

day of the year of grace 1893 no less than six persons died by their own hands in the city of New York. Rarely a day passes without attempt by some unfortunate to throw off the burden of a weary life and to rush uncalled into the unveiled presence of the Almighty. These phenomena are of sufficient gravity to enlist the most careful study of philanthropists, and especially of Christian clergymen.

The annual number of suicides in New York, per million inhabitants, is given by one statistician of high repute at 144 between 1871 and 1880. In the city of Naples it was 34; Rome, 74; London, 87; Genoa, 135; Turin, 150; Berlin, 170; Florence, 180; St. Petersburg, 206; Dresden, 240; Brussels, 271; Vienna, 287; Copenhagen, 302; Stockholm, 354; Paris, 422. In London the annual average per million inhabitants declined from 107 in 1841–50 to 85 in 1871–80; in Paris it increased from 488 in 1820–30 to 573 in 1841–50, and thence declined to 422 in 1871–80. The annual report of the Health Department of the city of New York for the year ending December 31, 1891, gives the number of suicides within that period at 300. Of these, 239 were males and 61 females. Sixty-one males and 23 females were natives of the United States; 178 males and 38 females were of foreign birth. Thirty-eight were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, 146 from twenty-five to forty-five, 96 from forty-five to sixty-five, and 20 over sixty-five. The total number of suicides in the city from 1869 to 1892 was 4,073, of whom 3,239 were males and 834 females, while 1,043 were of native, and 3,030 of foreign, birth. Prior to 1878 the nativity of suicides was not recorded in detail by the Health Department. Those recorded since then, to the close of 1891, number 2,306 males and 555 females—2,861 in all. Seventy-two were natives of France, 1,147 of Germany, 290 of Ireland, 741 of the United States, while natives of other countries were in proportion to their respective numbers. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the whole were of foreign birth—people utterly discouraged, for the most part, by the difficulties of social life in a new and strange country.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states the number of suicides, per million inhabitants, during 1882, in Austria, as 158; Belgium, 105; Denmark, 255; France, 191; Italy, 49; Prussia, 191; Saxony, 371; Sweden, 105; England and Wales, 74; Ireland, 21; Scotland, 44; and in the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—the only ones returning statistics on this subject—as 88, 109, and 101, respectively. The United States Census

of 1890 has not as yet reported any returns for the country at large, nor is it likely to do so.

Child suicide is of more frequent occurrence on the Continent than in the British Isles. Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* states that in the five years ending 1880 no fewer than 238 children under fifteen years of age committed suicide in France. Dr. Ogle observes that the suicide of young persons occurs oftener than is generally supposed. "Few," he says, "would imagine that one out of every 119 young men who reach the age of twenty dies ultimately by his own hand; yet such is the case." His figures also show that one out of every 312 girls who reach the age of fifteen ends her own life. He further says that, "broadly speaking, female suicides are never less than fifteen per cent, and never more than thirty, of the average annual number of suicides in any country."

Religious beliefs are highly influential on the suicidal disposition. The firmer the faith in the being and government of God, the immortality of the soul, and personal responsibility for the deeds done in the body the more powerfully is the tendency to self-destruction restrained. It is said that in Great Britain and Ireland 63 Protestants and 17 Roman Catholics to the million inhabitants commit suicide; in Prussia, 170 and 52; Bavaria, 195 and 69; in Austria-Hungary, 140 and 90; in Switzerland, 262 and 81. Of the Protestants, so called, it may truthfully be remarked that many of them are such in rejection not only of the errors, but also of the truths, inculcated by Roman Catholicism. Legoyt affirms that the Jews have even a lower rate of suicide than the Roman Catholics. Unmarried are more liable than married people to suicidal mania. In France the proportion of single to married persons is 54 to 46; in Germany, 57 to 43; in Belgium, 55 to 45; in Italy, 56 to 44; and in Switzerland, 57 to 43. Contrary to the popular notion summer is the season in which most suicides occur. The shrinking from the plunge into cold water during the other seasons of the year is held to account in part for this. Saturday shows the fewest number of suicides of any day of the week in France, and Tuesday and Thursday the most. Hanging is the mode mostly adopted; next drowning, and then poisoning. The high rate of suicide among medical men, chemists, and druggists may be attributed in part to their familiarity with toxic substances. In all countries the suicide rate is higher for the educated than for the uneducated classes. The rate for soldiers is enormously in excess of that for any other oc-

cupation. Shooting and cutting are naturally suggested to them by the circumstances of their daily life.

Concerning the causes of suicide, the European average is thirty-four per cent from insanity, twenty-three from grief, fifteen from drink, and twenty-eight from various causes. Caspar ascribes twenty-five per cent of the suicides in Germany to alcoholism, and Brown twelve per cent of those in England. In the United States the proportion is, in all probability, higher than in Germany. Among the contributing causes of suicide are reckoned the increase of railways, steamers, and commerce, and the consequent stimulation of the nervous system ; the greater consumption of spirits and flesh foods; the rapid growth of urban, and decline of rural, life ; the unprecedented growth of wealth ; the practice of divorce; the keener struggle for existence; and the rapid spread of secular education and infidelity. Insanity of body or brain is usually the direct occasion of suicide. This may be hereditary. Or it may be induced by endemic or epidemic disease; by intoxicants, drugs, lechery, or overwork—as in the case of Romilly and Mackintosh, the great law reformers; by disappointment in love, failure to obtain satisfactory maintenance, sorrow for the loss of deceased friends, or remorse for error or for guilt ; by despair—as in the case of Lingg, the Chicago anarchist bomb manufacturer ; by melancholia—as in monks, nuns, and ascetics. Others, insane in moral, if not mental, quality, sacrifice their lives to obtain sums of money for their families from railroad corporations or from life insurance societies. In the case of truly godly men, like the poet Cowper, who attempted self-destruction, the intense physical misery of existence has overpowered the love of life, imperiously dominated the feeble will, and reduced them to that abnormal condition in which, with meaning different from that of Paul, but quite as truthful, they could say, "For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that I do." Not infrequently the suicidal madness has been contagious. Indians, in vast numbers, killed themselves to escape the cruelties of their Spanish conquerors; European witches ended life to avoid torture; and for two centuries, from the end of the fifteenth to that of the seventeenth, Neapolitans, said to have been bitten by the tarantula, thronged in multitudes to the sea, chanted a wild hymn of welcome to death, and passionately rushed to drowning in the waves. Lecky thinks that modern optimism may fitly be qualified by the fact that statistics show suicide to be rapidly increasing, "and to be

peculiarly characteristic of those nations which rank most highly in intellectual development and in general civilization." "Increase of insanity," Maudsley remarks in his *Pathology of Mind*, "is a penalty which an increase of our present civilization necessarily pays." Mental completeness, apparently such, does not always imply moral sanity. Some prefer evil to good, and wrong to right. Insanity is in their passions, not their reasons; in their wills, not their judgments. The devils believe, perhaps more intelligently than Christians, but they tremble in their belief, and still remain devils.

The moral insanity which dares the murder of one's own life does not free the subject thereof from responsibility to the Creator and Preserver of all, whose is our being and who is entitled to the best services we can render; nor from responsibility to the family for whom the individual should live, to the country of which he is a citizen, to the world, of whose brotherhood he is a member, and to all who need his beneficent and noblest exertions. Rousseau, with a deep knowledge of the human heart, "revealed the selfishness that lies at the root of most suicides, exhorting all who felt impelled to it to set about some work for the good of others, in which they would assuredly find relief." This was Christian counsel, so far as it went; but it fails to cover the whole field of human duty and privilege. Love, revealed through fullest personal service in all our relationships, is the normal quality and characteristic of the ideal man. Suicide is the dire offspring of unbelief. It repudiates obligation to God and humanity. It is most frequent among those who have discarded faith in revealed religion. It contemns the body as the temple of the living God, and its members as the instruments wherewith the spirit may glorify God and bless the human race. It was a favorite with skeptical Stoics of the centuries immediately before and after the birth of Him who is the light and life of the world. They asserted independence of circumstances, except of death. They defied death by affirming the right of the individual to close life when it pleased himself or whenever he had satisfactory reasons for so doing. They taught that under certain conditions suicide is a duty and heroic virtue; that self-sacrifice for country or friends justify it; and on this ground Cato, whose treatment of his slaves was infamously cruel, personally illustrated his own theory. They affirmed that poignant distress, poverty, hopeless disease, bodily mutilation or other affliction, loss of liberty, infirmity of age, or any essential hin-

drance to living freely and reasonably was a hint divine—if there were anything divine—that it was time to make one's exit voluntarily from the stage of action. "The door is open," was proudly ejaculated. A single way, it was said, leads into life, but thousands lead out of it. Therefore wretchedness is the subject's own fault. The lancing of an artery opens the way to deliverance. Death is unavoidable, and the prudent man will not shun even painful suicide. Aptly does Blackstone* term "self-murder the pretended heroism, but real cowardice, of the Stoic philosophers who destroyed themselves to avoid those ills which they had not the fortitude to endure." The aged Zeno hanged himself because he had broken one of his fingers, and the sublime Cleanthes starved himself to death because his gums were sore. Their sect was notoriously addicted to felonious homicide. Seneca endeavored to moderate the "passion for suicide" in his disciples. Yet he defended suicide for the reason that it is an assertion of true self-dependence and freedom, and that it should be made even in the threatening prospect of evil; and, under the reign of the atrocious Nero, he wrote: "Depart from life as your impulse leads you, whether it be by the sword, or the rope, or the poison creeping through the veins. Go your way and break the chains of slavery. Man should seek the approbation of others in this life; his death concerns himself alone. If life pleases you, live. If not, you have the right to return whence you came." Civil law, at that time, recognized suicide as a right and as a relief from intolerable suffering. "Above all things," said Epictetus, "remember that the door is open. . . . When all things begin to pall upon you retire. But if you stay do not complain." Silius Italicus, one of the latest Latin poets, chose to retire in this manner, and so did many others who thus sought to abridge the pangs of disease.

In vain did Stoicism affirm that pain is not a real evil. It permitted a voluntary departure from life, which was a contradiction of its own creed. Sublime as some aspects of this philosophy were, it confessed inability to bear the miseries of real life, much more to reach that height of Christian exaltation which glories "in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." The Stoic knew nothing of an infinite Father whose nature is

* *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, book iv, p. 189.

love; had little, if any, notion of personal guilt; and scornfully declined humiliation as the worst of stains. He possessed no faith in God, no knowledge of how obedience is quickened by love. He had no hope of personal immortality, but at the best only a mournful aspiration toward it; no assurance that all things work together for good to them that love God; no dawn of confidence in the celestial bliss of a life to come. He could only defy fate, blind his mental vision, steel his heart against all consequences, and, leaping into Stygian darkness, hope to find refuge from misery in annihilation.

Epicurus, who taught that pleasure is the end of action, exhorted people "to weigh carefully whether they would prefer death to come to them, or would themselves go to death." Lucretius, the illustrious poet, Cassius, the tyrannicide, Atticus, the friend of Cicero, the voluptuary Petronius, and the philosopher Diodorus, among his disciples, decided to "go to death." Their view of creation was that of the bitter, atheistic Hæckel, who pessimistically declares that, instead of "that kindly and peaceful life which the goodness of the Creator ought to have prepared for his creatures, we rather find—if there be a Creator—everywhere a pitiless, most embittered struggle of all against all. Nowhere in nature, no matter where we turn our eyes, does that idyllic peace exist of which poets sing. We find everywhere a struggle and a real striving to annihilate neighbors and competitors. Passion and selfishness, conscious or unconscious, are everywhere the motive power of life." *

The suicide, endowed with power of "thought and design, a faculty to distinguish the nature of actions, to discern the difference between moral good and evil," is, like the Stoic, without God and "without hope in the world." Eighteen centuries have passed since Seneca died. Fresh light from God's word has broken upon the darkness of this world. Yet men love darkness rather than light "because their deeds are evil." In the gospel radiance of the nineteenth century multitudes are discussing the question, as stated by Paley in his *Moral and Political Philosophy*, "May every man who chooses to destroy his life, innocently do so"—particularly if he should leave none to lament his death? The only answer from the view-point of Christian ethics is a most emphatic negative. If no positive biblical precept prohibit suicide the whole spirit and tenor of the Bible forbid it. General choice of death by those who groan and sweat

* *History of Creation*, vol. i, p. 20.

under the burdens of a weary life would be wholesale robbery of our heavenly Father, gross injustice to society by the abstraction of useful and important forces, and unjust affliction to many families. It would mean the forfeiting of all opportunity to ameliorate one's condition in the present or future state, and would load the memory of the self-murdered with the disgrace of deserting duty, defrauding just creditors, and atheistically defying the Lord God omnipotent.

Such criticisms are natural, not only to Christian, but also to heathen, men. The best and wisest of the old philosophers are at one with Christian thinkers on this point. Pythagoras and Plato condemned it on the ground that we are all soldiers of God, stationed at appointed posts of duty, which it is rebellion against our Maker to desert. Aristotle and the Greek legislators placed the wrong of suicide in the abandonment of duty to the State, to which our services are owing. Plutarch and other writers argued that true courage is shown in the manly endurance of suffering, and that suicide, being an act of flight, is an act of cowardice and, therefore, unworthy of man. The Neoplatonists mystically said that it springs from perturbation of the soul and is, therefore, a crime. "The law of England," writes Blackstone, "wisely and religiously considers that no man hath a power to destroy life but by commission from God, the Author of it, and, as the suicide is guilty of a double offense—one spiritual, in invading the prerogative of the Almighty," the other against the temporal power, which has an interest in the preservation of all its subjects—the law has ranked this among the highest crimes, making it a felony committed on one's own person.

The original right of the Almighty to all we have and are and can do is absolute and unqualified. Reverently we say it, that this right is doubled by redemption. "Know ye not that .... are not your own? For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." "None of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living." This latter fact invests each human life with an unspeakable sanctity. It should be honored and reverenced as being peculiarly the Lord's. To perform all the duties allotted to us therein requires every moment of the time at command, and none can guiltlessly refuse obe-

dience. Perfectness of moral nature is attainable only through suffering. Only thus did Regulus embody the ideal of a Roman citizen, and Job that of a patriarchal saint. Suffering, as Madame de Staël has beautifully shown, softens, purifies, and deepens the character. Habitual and submissive resignation, accompanied by zealous activity, is not only the highest duty, but is also a means of purest consolation, and at the same time the appointed condition of moral betterment. The Captain of our salvation was made "perfect through sufferings." Suicide implies rebellion against God, is a sin that does not admit of repentance, and is, therefore, an unpardonable crime. For this reason the early Christians, who, in passionate frenzy for martyrdom, sacrificed their own lives, had no hope except in what Roman Catholicism styles "the uncovenanted mercies of God." St. Augustine decidedly condemned suicide in any form or for any reason, and especially such as was practiced by the *Circumcelliones* in the fourth century. These killed themselves in great numbers, imagining that thereby they would secure eternal salvation. Neither Augustine nor the Church of his time, however, denounced the slow suicide committed by the early ascetics through their absurd austerities. In the mediæval era the criminality of suicide was discussed by Abelard and St. Thomas Aquinas; and Dante devoted some telling lines to a description of the experiences of suicidal homicides in the *inferno*. The Council of Arles, in the fifth century, pronounced suicide to be at the instigation of the devil. Another council, in the following century, ordained that no religious rites should be performed at the tomb of the culprit, and that no masses should be said for the repose of his soul. St. Louis added to this deterrent legislation by confiscating the property of the dead man. In some countries the corpse of the suicide was dragged upon a hurdle through the streets, hung up with the head downward, thrown into the public sewer, burnt, buried in the sand below high-water mark, or interred—as in England—at the crossing of two roads, and transfixed by a stake driven through it. The result was a reaction against suicidal tendencies. Diseased imaginations were kept from self-destruction by these hideously grotesque outrages upon the senseless remains. The certainty that religious, legislative, and social influences would aggravate the agony of surviving relatives operated with even greater force, and the number of suicides greatly diminished. The statutes confiscating the property of the deliberate self-homicide to the crown still disgrace the code of English law; but

public opinion "and the charitable perjury of juries," as Lecky* remarks, "render them inoperative."

What, in view of existing phenomena, is the duty of the Christian Church and ministry? Religious motives, as we have seen, are the most potent dissuasives from this sorrowful crime. Revealed religion powerfully presents four doctrines which ought to be clearly, impressively, and persistently enforced in every church, Sunday school—day school, if possible—and home within the American republic. These are the government of God, the responsibility of the individual, the immortality of the soul, and the certainty of future reward and punishment. The latter, according to Herbert Spencer, is absolutely necessary to the accommodation of man to his environment. An infinitely higher authority than he impliedly makes the same statement. The duty of unselfish consecration to the service of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the race he died and lives to save, should be pressed with weightiest emphasis. Faith in the overruling providence of God, as simple duty and as the means whereby the heart and mind are kept in perfect peace, should be matter of constant inculcation. A correlative duty is that of resignation to the divine will—resignation not like the apathy of fatalism, but involving the active and passive spirit of the prayer, "Thy will be done." Faith, spirit, lives akin to, but higher than, those recorded so glowingly in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews are the first moral needs of the nineteenth century.

With us no melancholy void,
No moment lingers unemployed,
Or unimproved, below;
Our weariness of life is gone,
Who live to serve our God alone,
And only thee to know.

GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATION ONLY.

The challenge of our representative system by the so-called industrial armies is probably a passing incident of our public life. Though it is far from being a solitary thing in its kind, it is probably the most striking example of American revolt from government by the majority as determined by elections. It is striking, because we held elections in 1892 upon defined issues, and chose representatives having definite orders from the people. If the mandates are not executed the complaints should come

* *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, p. 59.

from the majorities who elected a Congress. In fact, the complaints come from the defeated, from minorities; and the industrials represent largely ideas which had no place or only a small place in the canvass for votes. The industrial (?) armies represent a revolting minority, and they are a significant indication of a change in American temper; for there is undoubtedly a considerable development of sympathy with the extraordinary proceedings of the Coxeys, Randalls, and Kellys. In short, dissatisfaction with representative government is a large element in the making of current history. An easy test is this: Would not a very large majority of us hail with joy the news that neither Congress nor a State Legislature could meet for ten years to come? We have come to fear more than we hope when a legislative body convenes. Most of us desire some new legislation; but we would forego that for peace and security. We could endure present laws; we fear the effects of changes in the law.

This crisis has long been coming on. It has grown more definite because the perfected work of the political class has taken from the enlightened people and given to the ignorant and the debased an effectual control of elections, to such a degree that a senator or a representative often represents only a "gang" or a "combine," managed by a rich, unscrupulous man. Besides, politicians have audaciously undertaken every two years, for a decade past, to revolutionize the fiscal and commercial policy of the nation, and so to subvert the basis of business security. All business proceeds upon an assumption that to-morrow and next year will be as to-day and this year, so far as legislation can enter into calculations involving time as a factor.

It is plain that, if such conditions continue to surround government by representation, and if these conditions, as is probable, grow more influential—wealthy combinations, ignorant or purchased voters, and interested voting becoming the most potent factors in law making—then our confidence in representative government must decline more and more.

The system assumes a majority and a minority party. But we are threatened with a break-up into a half dozen or more parties. And if there be only three, and the third assume a certain importance, legislation may be controlled by the smallest of the three parties—by a small minority. This situation is actually existent in England and in the United States. In both countries third parties hold in a measure a balance of power. Government by a majority is not free from ethical difficulties; and the only

moral appeasement of distrust comes, with us, from the Constitution and the courts, as protective of minority rights, and in England from the actual influence of the crown and lords. But government by a small minority is intolerable; and even when the minority must win the cooperation of a larger body of legislators, it is felt as a grievance that the larger body should surrender some part of its opinions and should violate the spirit or letter of its pledges to the people.

This is a brief outline of the situation. It may be well to recall that government by representation alone is a novelty. The English system did not become such in fact until the middle of the century—if, in fact, it has yet become such. The influence of the crown, peers, and intellectual classes controlled law making certainly down to 1850, and the queen and lords are still too influential to permit the entire control of law making by the electors of the empire. With us, down to a recent date, influences akin in character to the English conservative forces have checked the action of the pure democracy of our elective franchise; nor have they yet ceased to check that action. But the check is plainly less effectual year by year.

The truth is that government by a free and unchecked majority seems to be the ideal of the time; and it is among us moderns a pure novelty. It has often failed in the past. The wisest among us have always regarded it as an experiment, and have confessed that the intelligence and virtue of the people is absolutely essential to its success. Fifty years ago, though the unlettered were more numerous relatively, our confidence in the system was very strong. It has been greatly weakened by the growth of practical politics, by the vast increase of centralized wealth, by the failure of disinterestedness in electors and elected, and by the immense weight of the ignorant and debauched vote. All this has come about by the semisocialistic legislation of the period, by the constant appeal to the interests of voters, by the increasing dependence of production and trade upon congressional decisions—that is to say, upon "popular verdicts" to be interpreted and executed by a three-party government beset on all sides by the clamor of the crowds and the subtler whispers of the wealthy few. Is there the smallest reason for expecting an arrest of the growth of distrust? It would seem that so long as a Congress has the power of life and death, alike over the corporation and the wage-earner, the interested element in voting must be dominant and more and more suppress the force of disinterested and self renouncing

patriotism. And, say what men may of the impracticability of such a theory, it will be found to be true that every human organization must live, if it live gloriously, upon the self-renouncing spirit. A government by pure selfishness must be a government by civil war, for the interests can never be harmonized or definitely compromised; and the war must at length become internecine, destroying the contending self-seekers and the rest of the people along with them. As yet we seem to be a long way from this undesirable end of representative government. Our safety is for the time secured by the enlightened self-control and self-surrender to the duties of patriotism of a vast body of Americans, whose check upon representation is, though little organized, a powerful obstruction to the successful operations of the selfish element in political affairs.

If government by representation only is an experiment apparently on the road to failure, what may be expected to become of our institutions? The danger may be very great, and yet may be avoided; and it will be avoided if the disinterested maintain their check upon public life. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this check will retain its practical ascendency in all major concernments. But to do this enlightened patriotism must wisely dismiss its ideal of an unchecked democracy; or rather, since it has never altogether adopted that ideal, it must wisely begin to condemn it frankly and oppose it openly. At this present it seems to be required of us all to profess faith in a kind of government our fathers did not found, and to apologize for the conservative elements in the Constitution they bequeathed to us. The checks of the Constitution were meant to obstruct the free play of representative government; and it is not an idle charge, nor is it one of dishonor, that the framers of the Constitution "distrusted the people." The truth in the case is that elective victories may be won against the people by ignorant, interested, and debauched voting. And it is conceivable that the elected representation may not represent.

When and wherever representation fails the executive and judicial power may effectively resist aggression upon rights, if enlightened and disinterested public opinion shall frankly and openly support the more stable power in public life. Whether we shall escape the debauching influence of semisocialistic demands for legislation of a dangerous kind may be doubtful; but rights will be safe so long as the courts have the brains of the nation to buttress their constitutional independence.

THE ARENA.

TOLSTOÏ'S EXPERIMENT.

THE fire of Tolstoï's genius does not burn low in his retirement. The principles of *My Religion*, which he evolved out of his prodigious learning and exciting career, he is attesting with a pertinacity as sincere as it is heroic. It is a Titanic effort, which commands the respectful attention even of those who reject his doctrine. His attitude is of commanding interest, because of its contrast with that of many of his countrymen who, like him, have reached the conclusion that society is altogether evil, but who, unlike him, believe that the only remedy is destructive revolution.

His cure for the prevalent artificial life is a return to simplicity, nonresistance, nature. And this he believes is the religion of the Christ, as fully set forth in the Sermon on the Mount. But in this particular the great Russian is far astray. The Sermon on the Mount is not the substance of the new life which Jesus gives us in himself. It is the spiritual essence of the ancient Judaism; and every precept it contains is latent somewhere in the law and the prophets. In that sermon there is nothing that is distinctively Christian. There is not a hint of regeneration, the Holy Spirit, the atonement, or Christ as the spring of the new life. The master in literature has not proven himself a master in the Gospel. He is only *in transitu*. He is hardly that; for he mistakes the bridge from legalism to life for the life itself.

No one who is familiar with *My Confession* need be at a loss for the real secret of Tolstoï's career. It is the old sad story told over and over again by Egyptian, Hebrew, Greek, and German philosophers and echoed by many of smaller measure. How could he understand life who had so despicably abused it? His confession is too loathsome to transcribe, and yet he makes it with as little apparent compunction as he would describe his slipping on ice. To him sin is an abyss of mistakes, with deplorable natural results. Its heinous guilt as against the holy God is barely suggested. For years and years, for purposes of gain and praise, he suppressed the deepest truths which his genius discerned.

After fifty years of self-gratification, when the animal man is surfeited and the evil days come which Solomon so graphically describes and which the Russian's history so powerfully illustrates, he thinks to tell the moral world where to find rest. We ask, Who is he—a hoary libertine and confessed self-worshiper, who, while fully aware of his crime, drove the spikes into the hands and feet of truth and turned from his husks only when he starved—who, we ask, is this gray sinner that he should declare to the world the truth of life? We would not be so cruel as to say that no vice has spiritual vision. There is a sin that is humble, that bewails itself, smites its breast, and cries for mercy. Truth turns to it with compassionate revelation. But the vice of pride ever obscures the vision divine. We cannot at this moment recall many great champions of truth

who came up out of a long career in wickedness. There have been a few, like Bunyan, John Newton, and Jerry McAuley, who became aggressive servants of the Gospel. But the heralds of a new truth have, in the main, come out of a pure life—Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, John the Baptist, all the apostles, Timothy, most of the fathers, Luther and his compeers, Wesley, Moody. God chooses clean men to whom he intrusts his oracles. As we approach Tolstoï's religious system we plainly see that his towering pride, though all unconscious of itself, is trying out of its own genius to evolve an idea peculiar to himself—untaught by all the great teachers in history. He is going to be lone, peculiar, original, the prophet of a new religion in the world. Is not this last effort only a continuation in different form of his own confessed self-worship? Not content with the crowns he already wears, he would with his own hands place on his head that of the Lord's anointed.

Tolstoï's religion is defective in many respects. He mistakes for the core of the Gospel a single set of truths which Jesus taught. Not his teachings, but Jesus himself, is the great truth. Unlike other teachers, Christ would bring men to his own person. The philosophers said, "Believe what I say;" Jesus said, "Believe in me." The arms of a mother will comfort a weary child far more than all the true things she might say; so that child of life, who is weary, in sufferings and mysteries, gets genuine rest in the consciousness that underneath are the everlasting arms of love. That personal contact with the heart of the living Christ we cannot find in all Tolstoï's *My Religion.*

Still another fatal defect is his effort to make the heart right by mending the life. The true Gospel is just the reverse. "Be good," says world-wisdom, "and so become a child of God." "Become a child of God," says divine wisdom, "and so be good." Tolstoï's principle in this particular is that of the world.

Then, too, his plan has been literally tried, faithfully and long. The history of hermitage and monastery is before us. The literal abandonment of the world by men seeking the divine life has resulted too often in the ruin of manhood to justify a repetition of the experiment in modified form. We suspect that this is the effect, in a measure at least, on the author of the *Kreutzer Sonata*, which emits the foul odor of decaying morals. While he, with colossal will, is seeking rest in "the immeasurable silences" and filling the world with what seems to us the wail of despair, there are thousands upon thousands who are bearing a real martyrdom in the joy of a blessed faith; for they have heard the words, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Newark, N. J. A. H. Tuttle.

A POINT IN THEOLOGY.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the great high priest of our profession, says that he was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." I find in the works of two prominent Methodist theologians and commentators conflicting opinions on this sub-

ject. The older of the two says that Christ was "not only sinless, and unsinning, but incapable of sinning." The other and more modern says, "He had full ability to sin, yet without the commission or guilt of sin." With the former I fully agree; with the latter I disagree. I am a believer in the impeccability of Christ, and consider this position in harmony with the teaching of Scripture and fundamental in Methodist theology. To my mind the contrary undeifies Christ's personality, destroys the design of his incarnation, and takes away the merit of his atonement. It would make him, of whom the prophet said, "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all," simply able to meet his own possible liabilities. To say or to suppose that Christ, the God-man, was capable of sinning, makes me feel as did the woman at the tomb of Jesus when she said, "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulcher, and we know not where they have laid him." Pardon me for saying that I look upon all who hold such a view of the case as sympathizers with Socinianism. Let every Methodist preacher who believes and teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ was capable of committing sin, though subject to temptation, reconsider the case and come to the conclusion, as did Pilate, "I find in him no fault at all." Let us never surrender the risen Saviour, the Lord of life and glory, to be crucified as one capable of malefaction.

B. F. Price.

Woodlawn, Md.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF LIFE.

The article in the January-February number of the *Review* on the "Loss of an Old Friend," as the writer, Professor H. W. Conn, of Wesleyan University, designates protoplasm, is decidedly meaty and very valuable. For nearly fifty years protoplasm, a supposed quaternary jelly-like species of matter, held the scepter of authority among "positive philosophers" as "the physical basis of life." But it has been dethroned, its glory has departed, and the Wesleyan professor sorrows, as if he were suffering a deep personal loss. He must not infer, however, that at this time we can join him as a mourner with many fresh tears, inasmuch as in 1887 we were led by German *savants* to abandon, as worthless, this idol of modern speculative philosophy. A little volume, entitled *Matter, Life, and Mind*, published about that time by Phillips & Hunt, contains a record of our experience. Still, it is truly rich and refreshing to see how thoroughly Professor Conn dissects his "old friend," exposes his shortcomings, and relegates him to the rear as either fact or factor in biological science. He has thus set positive philosophy afloat again; and some other form of matter must be found to serve as a "physical basis" for "life"—the idol of materialism—or its temple will be left without a worshiper. Apparently the admirable paper before us was written to expose the present abject weakness of the materialistic theory, and to open the way for a fresh search for some new form of matter which shall account for life.

Here permit us to raise a question. Why look to matter at all as the possible basis, cause, or origin of life? Why seek the living as coming

from the dead? Why seek for life by means and methods which can deal only with matter? Could the something called life be detected by chemical analysis or discovered by the microscope, would not that fact demonstrate that the supposed "life essence" is a myth or a chimera and that matter *per se* is vital? Some thirteen kinds of matter—kinds the most abundant in nature and the best known to the chemist—enter into the structure of the human body. Oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, and calcium constitute about ninety-two per cent of all animal organisms; and as matter is incapable of change these substances, when in the body, as blood, nerves, brain matter, etc., are exactly what they were when afloat in the air or forming the soil of a cornfield. The iron of our blood does not differ from the iron of a horseshoe. The difference between a human body, weighing, say, one hundred and fifty pounds, and the same number of pounds of thin mire taken from a swamp is simply this: life built the man's body and abides in it, and the mass is matter and nothing more.

The theory that life has a physical basis implies that matter initiates the organism, works itself into a mechanical structure, and that life is a transient resultant. If life has a "physical basis" its basis is self-formed, and matter works itself into all the organic bodies of the globe; and if thus endowed who shall put limits to its capacity? May it not as well work itself into a brain organism and compel us to hold that thought, will, and feeling are, like bile, physical secretions? In that case mind and life must be ruled out of existence as substantive reals and be regarded as physical effects.

Rather is it not clear that matter is wholly indifferent to its position, whether in dirt or a diamond, in a fig or a thistle, an eagle or a turtle, a fool or a philosopher, a king or a slave? Matter is utterly careless of its associations or of the company it keeps. It is the same to the diamond whether it be set in the mud or the crown of a king. It is not so with life. Most kinds of matter it cannot handle and will not touch, except to expel them from the body it animates. Prussic acid forced into the system is unmanageable, and life yields to it as a victor. In securing nourishment for itself the life of trees, animals, and men is marvelously selective. When matter can be made to spin a hair, or weave a tissue, or bore out a microscopic vein and drive the blood through it we may feel justified in regarding it as "the physical basis of life." Until that is done we must continue to believe that life is the base, the origin, and the cause of the existence of all organic structures, from the algæ or the lowest plant up to man.

It may be answered that vital phenomena never appear except in connection with matter; hence, logically, we must look for their origin and cause in matter. If so, then, as we never come into contact with mind except in connection with matter, it follows that thought, will, and feeling are affections of matter. If the reasoning is good in the one case it is imperative in the other; and when we have demonstrated that life and mind are simply physical phenomena, and that they depend for their existence upon a physical basis, the temple of materialism will be ablaze

with glory, and the assumed objective of the Gospel, the human soul, will be proved to have never had an existence.

In thinking of God and mind and life we should first think away from them every property that belongs to matter, and then from their phenomena invest them with attributes which are wholly their own. We can form as clear a conception of God as a spirit, of mind as a thinking intelligence, and of life as the matter-organizing agent of nature, as we can of the material atom. The smallness of the atom is as inconceivable as is the vastness of space. We conceive the atom to be a real existence, an x whose value is but partially known, placed by its littleness as fully beyond the reach of our sense organs as are the souls of the antediluvians; yet the chemist cannot get along without it. What mind is to the living body as an explanation of the phenomenon of thought the sixty-five different kinds of atoms are in chemistry to the properties of different compound bodies. If we deny individuality and substance to life because it is intangible, why not repudiate for the same reason the atomic entities of the chemist, and even the mind of man? In searching for life, in protoplasm or any other material substance, and by physical methods, as, for instance, through microchemistry, we assume in thought at the start that life is material; and all our failures to find it go to prove that the vital world is not matter, but that it is a different and an independent, self-centered existence, having a nature and properties wholly its own.

Professor Conn uses the expression "vital force" as if it were a substantive entity—as if it did things on its own account; but we cannot conceive of the existence of force with nothing to exert it. We find also the expression "life essence." Does he mean that in creation God gave existence to vital entities as a part of his works and correlated them to a few kinds of matter, which they work into organic structures? If so, we are with him, head and heart. He speaks of "live matter." Pardon us for thinking there is no such matter. Matter should never in science be designated as either dead or alive. Oxygen can be associated with life, and yet it is not on that account any more alive itself than when united with hydrogen in the form of water. Nor can we properly speak of a thing as dead if it were never alive. The diversity of organic structures, animal and vegetable, which adorn our earth and seas, indicates that the vital world is infinitely rich in the varieties, orders, and kinds which God "in the beginning" created.

H. H. Moore.

De Funiak Springs, Fla.

THE QUESTION OF "ZENANA BAPTISMS."

In the article on the above subject by Mr. W. A. Carver in the "Arena" of the March *Review* there were some good things which we desire to commend. Yet it seems to us that one very important suggestion, which has been discussed, "*pro* and *con*," in many of our Church papers, was left untouched. There can be no doubt in the minds of all thinking Christian people in regard to the "irresistibility of Christianity;" we have only to look at the facts of its history to find this truth. Neither can we doubt

that the customs and beliefs of paganism must go. Therefore they are not "irresistible." The twenty thousand women in these zenanas who are converts to Christianity are proof of this. Yet it is well to remember that instrumentalities can get in the way and greatly retard the work.

Christianity has destroyed many heathen customs; but she will not overturn the purdah system of India until she rises above tradition and former environment and meets the obstacle in a practical way. Now, we would not ask for "lay baptism," but for special orders. If Bishop Thoburn can be a bishop in India and not elsewhere, why cannot a deaconness ordained for India be given the right to baptize there and not elsewhere? What is the word "deaconness" but the feminine of "deacon?" And does not this imply that she should possess the right to baptize? We believe the Church is morally bound to give converts the privileges of the Gospel. In the early Church such provisions were always made; and the Church will fail in doing its duty to these women of India if it requires them to wait to the "second or third generation" for baptism. Therefore, while it would be perhaps foolishness to seek to destroy at once the long-established custom of the zenana, we believe it would be wisdom in the Church to make the office of deaconness to mean what its correspondent does, and especially so in India; in other words, the ministerial instrumentality to the conversion of these women should carry within themselves the power by authority of the Church to administer the privileges of Christianity to them, or be able to provide the same. This can now only be done in some such way as we have above suggested.

Deep River, Ia. W. B. Marsh.

A MATTER OF PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

In the March-April number of the *Review*, Mrs. Mary S. Robinson gives, under the title of the "Latest Renaissance," a brief but highly interesting account of the rise of the Bulgarian nation, together with a carefully prepared summary of the history of Bulgaria. The esteemed writer has consulted the best authority on Bulgarian history—Jireçek's *History of the Bulgarians* (*Geschichte der Bulgaren*)—and her brief *résumé* is, on the whole, correct.

It is, however, a matter of regret that she has not paid sufficient attention to the orthography of certain names, especially the titles of the Bulgarian emperors and empresses—*tsars* and *tsarinas*. On page 194 of the *Review*, for example, speaking of the first Bulgarian Christian *tsar*,* she spells the word exactly like the English *car*, which, of course, every American, educated or uneducated, would pronounce as it is spelled, and be altogether misled. Not having the German translation (I have the Russian translation) of Jireçek's *History of the Bulgarians*, I cannot say how that learned author spells the word *tsar;* but, knowing that he is Czech (Bohemian), I would not be surprised at all if he spelled it just as

* This word, like the German *Kaiser*, is undoubtedly derived from the Greek καῖσαρ and the Latin *Cæsar*. I notice of late that the London *Times* spells the word as given here, and not *czar*, as it is commonly spelled.

Mrs. Robinson does, for the letter *c* in Bohemian has the sound of *ts*, so that in that language *car* would be pronounced *tsar*, though never so in English. Again, on page 197 of the *Review*, speaking of the pillar in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Tirnova, built by John Asen II to commemorate his victories over the Greeks, Mrs. Robinson gives the proud inscription upon this pillar in the following words: "I, John Asen, son of the Great Asen, under God car and autocrat of the Bulgarians," etc. In a footnote on the same page the writer refers to Samuelson's *Bulgaria, Past and Present*, page 177; but on page 179 of that work I find Mr. Samuelson gives a translation of the inscription, in which he renders the Bulgarian emperor's titles more correctly as "czar and autocrat of the Bulgarians." Now the word *czar* is much nearer the Slavic *tsar* than *car* is, and certainly is more intelligible to American readers.

Rustchuk, Bulgaria. S. Thomoff.

PRESCIENCE OR NESCIENCE—WHICH?

The question of the prescience or nescience of God, as advocated by Dr. Miley on the one hand and Dr. McCabe on the other, referred to in the "Arena" of the January *Review*, is a matter of vital importance, and not one to be believed or disbelieved as may suit the notion or whim of the individual considering it. If God did not foreknow, then how could prophets be inspired by him to see events to come, and how could such ample provisions be made for future contingencies as have been arranged? All critics of the foreknowledge of God fail to note that anything foreknown must necessarily come to pass; not that the foreknowledge of the event causes it to come to pass, but that unless it does come to pass it could not have been foreknown. It can be understood that when God decided to make man, though he desired that he should not sin, and did not make him to furnish a basis for the scheme of salvation, he foreknew his whole future, and, knowing this, he could not recede; for how could the future be foreknown that never should exist? There is no injustice, therefore, done the character of God. Having made man a free moral agent and having simply foreseen the manner in which he would act, the foreseeing of events to be performed by him necessitating his creation, in what way could God be responsible for his choice? W. W. W. Wilson.

Port Chester, N. Y.

AN OBJECTION TO DIVINE NESCIENCE.

The advocates of the theory of divine nescience of future contingencies often base their objection to the assumption of divine omniscience on the assertion that to create a race of beings, some of whom God foreknew would fall into eternal condemnation, would be inconsistent with infinite goodness. Is not this objection disposed of by the oft-made reply that to create a race of beings every one of whom, for aught the Creator knew, would fall into perdition, would be at least equally incompatible with mercy and justice? Austin H. Herrick.

Wakefield, Mass.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NOTES ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION," CHAPTERS VII–X.

THERE is no place where the laws of harmonization must be more observed than in the study of the Pentateuch. As a matter of history it has come down to us as the production of Moses. The precise meaning to be attached to his authorship—that is, how far he employed materials which were within his reach—is a question on which there is a wide difference of opinion. In order to ascertain the probability of the authorship of Moses it is important to notice the attempts to account for the existence of the Pentateuch without acknowledging the accredited view, or what is called the traditional view. This point is brought out by Harman in the discussion of the document hypothesis in the seventh chapter. He calls attention to points of defense of great importance. There is a lack of agreement as to the number of the original documents, but a strict agreement in depriving Moses of any part in the composition. This shows thought tendencies not to be overlooked. Further, he calls attention to the complete change which has taken place among the critics as to which was the fundamental document—the Elohistic or the Jehovistic.

The original ground for the decomposition of the Pentateuch, and especially the Book of Genesis, he justly states to be the employment of the divine names, Elohim and Jehovah. The answer to this is found on page 85, and is threefold, namely, that Moses may have employed the original documents if such there were; that the Pentateuch is uniform in language; and that in Genesis the phraseology does not belong to the ante-Mosaic type. He further answers the objections growing out of the want of order in the Mosaic code and the apparent contradiction in the history. At this point the great principles of harmonization may well be applied, namely, that for purposes of defense it is only necessary to show that the account may be harmonized. This the author attempts in this chapter. If hypothesis be admitted as a ground for the rejection of the Mosaic authorship, it is much more natural to employ it in explanation of the existing narrative. It will be well for the student at this point to fix in his mind the character of the defense on these contested subjects, which will satisfy his judgment as being fully adequate.

"The Unity of the Pentateuch" is the subject of Chapter VIII, which is a strong argument also for the Mosaic authorship. If the Pentateuch is a unit it is probably the work of one author; and if it is the product of one author there is no one to whom it can be assigned with more probability than to the reputed author, Moses.

It has been charged that when Moses is claimed to have written the Pentateuch alphabetical writing did not exist, and that consequently the books under consideration belong to a later age. Harman proves, in the ninth chapter, the existence of alphabetical writing at a very early period, and also the advanced state of the arts and sciences among the Egyptians.

This, if established, is a strong confirmation of the truth of the biblical narrative. In connection with this chapter the student will do well to read the paper on the "Antiquity of Writing" in the department of "Archæology and Biblical Research" in the last *Methodist Review*. The discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets has done much to confirm, indeed, to establish, the position taken by Harman in this chapter.

The tenth chapter, on the internal evidence for the great antiquity of the Pentateuch, is of the utmost importance. It is claimed by some writers that parts, at least, of the Pentateuch were written at a time subsequent to the captivity. Harman takes direct issue with those who uphold the later date of the Pentateuch. The student will do well to notice the precise point in conflict, as the internal evidence is claimed also for the modern school of criticism. That the writers "give unmistakable evidence of the age to which they belong" is a statement which both sides of the controversy will admit. Harman's claim is that many words employed in the Pentateuch in a certain sense are not found in that sense in the later books, and, conversely, that later uses are not found in earlier writings. For example, the Hebrew word translated *darics*, "the name of a Persian coin that came into use after the Babylonian captivity, is found in several places in Ezra and Nehemiah," but not in "the middle books of the Pentateuch." A decided difference is found also in the earlier and later uses of the pronoun הוּא and of the preposition לְ. The conclusion of the author is that "the archaisms of the Pentateuch prove something more than its high antiquity," and that "they furnish the most striking proof that the volume of Moses has come down to us in its original form."

PROPRIETIES IN CHURCH SERVICE.

Many able preachers and devoted pastors are prevented from accomplishing all the good possible to them by their failure to appreciate the small proprieties which are so essential to the service in God's house. In the arrangement of the tabernacle and temple service the most exact details were given, and any infringement of them was regarded not only as a mistake, but as a sin. A bishop once spoke with sharp condemnation of a preacher who had gone out of his pulpit several times during the service to attend to matters neglected by him before church.

The preacher is not merely a leader of the devotions of others; he is also a worshiper as well, and should show by his manner that he is a worshiper with his congregation. At the period that Henry Ward Beecher was the popular pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, a clergyman of another denomination was supplying a Congregational church in another part of the city. Among the members of the latter congregation was a man who for many years had been under the ministry of Mr. Beecher. The layman had been, so to speak, educated by Mr. Beecher as to the proprieties of church service, and he said one day to the preacher, "I see that you do not worship with the rest of the congregation." "Why not?" said the preacher. "Because, when the people are singing, I notice

that you are busy looking up your Scripture lessons and attending to other matters pertaining to the service which might better have been done before the service began." The criticism was a just one. Circumstances may occur to prevent it occasionally, but as a rule a preacher should have all such details attended to at the beginning of the services.

Another layman complained of the irreverence with which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was conducted, referring particularly to the haste with which the bread and wine were passed. Of course, in these matters there are wide diversities of opinion; but anything bordering on undue haste or rudeness should be avoided. Some regard it as much more in harmony with the proprieties of the occasion to make no remarks to the people as they rise from their knees beyond the mere dismissal, "Go in peace." Others indulge in an address to those who have communicated. The writer is of the opinion that such addresses as a rule do not add to the edification of the worshipers. Failure in these little things often injures the usefulness of able and devoted ministers.

EXAMINATIONS IN THE CONFERENCE COURSE.

The Itinerants' Club observes with satisfaction that the committees of several Conferences are utilizing the Summer Schools with great advantage. There has been for many years at Round Lake, within the Troy Conference, a successful Summer School for various departments, including biblical and theological studies, where ample facilities have been offered those choosing to attend. Many have availed themselves of its privileges with profit.

This preliminary statement will explain the following circular which has been issued by the chairman of one of the committees, the Rev. Dr. Brown. The circular is addressed to the members of the fourth year's class, and contains the names of the members of the committees and of the class. We take the liberty of inserting it as an evidence of the progress which is being made in giving efficiency to the course of study prescribed by our Board of Bishops. We understand that all the committees of the Conference are arranging for similar examinations. It is evident that there is a great impulse in this direction throughout the entire Church.

"North Adams, Mass., *May* 22, 1894.

"Dear Brother: Several letters of inquiry as to our Course of Study have reached me thus early in the year. These have been prompted no doubt by the present enlarged and improved course, and by the advanced standard of examination fixed upon at our recent Conference. To answer these questions, and present a few other hints, I make the following suggestions:

"The course is now certainly a rigid one, and covers a wide range. Many of the text-books are the same as those used in our colleges and theological seminaries. Yet it is not so heavy as to render its mastery impossible to the average student if he will begin early and make diligent effort.

"You doubtless feel the need of careful preparation. To aid you in this, and in compliance with the resolutions passed by our Conference,

the Committee, or a part of it, will be in attendance at Round Lake, August 6–18. During this time the members of the Fourth Year Class are invited to meet for study. At the close of the two weeks there will be a written examination on two of the studies, namely, Butler's *Analogy* and Bowne's *Philosophy of Theism*. These examinations, if satisfactory, will be final. (See Minutes, p. 14.) This will enable you to get a portion of your work done early in the year.

"Partially for the convenience of the Committee, but more especially for your own benefit, it has been decided to have the written work required by the Course of Study sent to the following members of the Committee on or before the dates named:

Exegesis	George W. Brown	October 1, 1894.
Essay	M. D. Jump	November 1, 1894.
Sermon	J. W. Thompson	December 1, 1894.
Syllabuses	G. W. Browne	March 1, 1895.

"You will find it to your advantage to be prompt in forwarding these papers. We purposely leave the winter months free. May they be months of spiritual harvesting!

"The exegesis is intended to be an exposition of some portion of Scripture selected by the Committee. It may be a more critical examination of the passage than would be proper for even an expository sermon.

"Your passage for exegesis is Isaiah——

"The essay should be written on some abstract or literary theme, and not be simply a sermon without a text.

"Each syllabus should show that you have carefully read the book named, and are able to present a brief outline giving its scope and gist.

"You will find 'The Itinerants' Club' in the *Methodist Review* suggestive and helpful.

"The writer will be glad to answer such questions as he can, or aid you in any way he may during the year.

"George W. Brown, *Chairman.*"

THE PRESERVATION OF MATERIAL.

Editor "Itinerants' Club:" Hoping that the interest in this important work has not yet become extinct, I wish to describe my method. Among the features that led me to adopt the system, the most characteristic is its extreme flexibility. My books are arranged on the shelves according to the following classification:

I. Mathematics I^2 Astronomy; I^3 Physics.
II. Chemistry; II^2 Geology and Palæohtology.
III. Zoology; III^2 Botany; III^3 Microscopy.
IV. History; IV^2 Church History; IV^3 Biography.
V. Philosophy; V^2 Theology; V^3 Sermons and Lectures.
VI. Education; VI^2 Fiction, Poetry, etc.
VII. Cyclopedias, Commentaries, etc.; VII^2 Reports and Minutes.
VIII. Periodicals.
1. Methodist Review.
2. Educational Review.
3. The Independent.
4. North American Review, etc.

Each volume is numbered under this method so that any book or periodical can be indicated in the index or on the margin of another book, by using its generic number followed by its specific number. Thus, I^3 16 is

The Conservation of Energy, by Balfour Stewart. If I desire to refer to page 74 of this book in the index, or elsewhere, I write (I^3 16) 74. Thus a reference is made to any volume and its page, using but little space in the index. (VIII^1, 1894) 208, refers to the *Methodist Review* for 1894, and to Dr. Little's article, "The Chicago Parliament of Religions."

It is almost impossible to allot proper space to various subjects on the pages of blank books. A page, or the part of a page assigned to a certain subject, becomes filled with references, when it becomesnecessary to indicate that the subject is carried to some other page. Or, it is desired to index a new subject and there is not sufficient room for it on the page where it would naturally belong, and consequently it must be placed elsewhere. These difficulties are entirely overcome by using cards, a card for each subject. These cards are arranged alphabetically, and whenever a new subject is indexed its card can be placed in its proper place. Should a card become filled with references the subject can be continued on another card, which will be placed behind the full one. To illustrate, I will make a copy of one of my reference cards:

Day Creative. (*)
($V^2$17) 302. (V11) 84. ($V^2$22) 245. ($II^2$3) 264.
($II^2$9) 16. ($II^2$13) 742. ($II^2$1) 348. ($V^2$16) 188, 221.
(VIII^{1}1878) 368. (VIII^{1}1879) 581.

Here are eleven references to ten volumes, as follows: *Systematic Theology*, John Miley, p. 302; *Nature and the Bible*, J. W. Dawson, p. 84; *Christian Theology*, Samuel Wakefield, p. 245; *Elements of Geology*, Joseph Le Conte, p. 264; *Man in Genesis and in Geology*, Joseph P. Thompson, p. 16; *Manual of Geology*, James D. Dana, p. 742; *Elementary Geology*, Edward Hitchcock, p. 348; *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, Henry M. Harman, pp. 188, 221; *Methodist Review*, 1878, p. 368; 1879, p. 581. The star indicates that I have an article taken from a newspaper or magazine and preserved in an envelope labeled "Day Creative." The envelopes are labeled as scraps accumulate and are arranged alphabetically.

As I study I make references on a piece of paper and then copy them on the cards when I have finished that subject. It is very frequently the case that an article will furnish several references, as was true with President J. G. Schurman's article, "What is Philosophy?" in the October, 1893, *Chautauquan*, to which I made some fifteen references. These cards are placed on edge in a box. Between the leading letters of the alphabet I have larger cards marked A, B, C, etc., making it very easy to find any card required. Should I desire to preach a sermon on baptism I would take that card from the box, and thus have before me all the material that I had found up to that time, and in the course of my study any new matter would be indexed for future reference.

J. Brownell Rogers.

Conquest, N. Y.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

TELL-EL-HESY.

During the past twenty years the pick and the spade have rendered very valuable service to the archæologist. Having unearthed many an ancient treasure and more than one buried library, they have necessitated the rewriting of the history of several early nations. Very large sums of money have been spent for diggings and explorations in Egypt and Babylonia, though Palestine has been sadly neglected. But the students of biblical archæology have watched with profound interest the excavations which for the past four years have been carried on at Tell-el-Hesy, so much the more interesting since they are really the first thorough and scientific attempt of the kind made in Palestine.

It was a glad day when Professor Flinders Petrie, so successful in his chosen work in the land of the Pharaohs, was prevailed upon to spend a few weeks in southern Palestine, and in April, 1890, to commence operations at the supposed site of ancient Lachish. He was soon satisfied that Tell-el-Hesy had some important disclosures to make. In six short weeks he was compelled to abandon the work, and further excavations were intrusted to J. F. Bliss, M.A., an American educated at Amherst College and, if we are not mistaken, the son of Professor Bliss, of the Protestant (American) College at Beyroot. Professor Petrie's mantle could not have fallen upon a worthier man, for, being acquainted with the language and character of the Arabs and *fellahin*, and an archæologist by nature and from choice, he was thoroughly equipped for the work. Now, after four seasons of digging at this venerable mound, Mr. Bliss gives a detailed account of the excavations in a very interesting illustrated volume, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. From this we learn that the northeastern part of the mound—about a third of the whole—has been cut down clear to the original soil, and that not a shovelful of the rubbish, wheeled away to the valley below, was allowed to go unnoticed. Thousands of specimens of ancient art were unearthed by Mr. Bliss as the foundation of one city after another was laid bare. At last, having brought to light the ruins of at least eight, and, probably, eleven, cities, the native clay was reached on which was built what is supposed to have been ancient Lachish, of the Amorite period.

The "tell" itself, as was natural, was largest at its base—about one fourth of a mile square. This does not represent the entire city, as is clear from other walls outside the "tell" proper, but rather the citadel, or the most strongly fortified portion. The bases of the cities, beginning with the lowest, or most ancient, were found at a depth of sixty-five, fifty-six, fifty-three, forty-eight, forty-five, thirty-seven, thirty-two, twenty-two, eighteen, eight, and four feet, respectively, from the top of the mound. The age of these several cities cannot be given with absolute certainty; but a comparison of the articles therein buried and similar objects elsewhere

discovered, the age of which has been established beyond controversy, will facilitate the study of the mound's chronology. For example, the pottery found at this place is classified as Amorite, Phœnician, Jewish, and Greek. The Amorite, or pre-Israelitish, was found in City I; the Phœnician, in Cities II, III, and IV; the Jewish, a rude imitation of the Phœnician, was plentiful in Cities V, VI, VII, and VIII; while the polished red and black Greek ware, the same as that at Naukratis, was found along with the Jewish in the last two cities. No pottery was discovered at Tell-el-Hesy which can be as late as the Seleucidan period; in short, it is all pre-Alexandine. Phœnician pottery, just like that of this "tell," has been found in Egypt along with objects which, without doubt, date back to the fifteenth century before Christ and reach down at least through a period of six hundred years, or from 1400 to 800 B. C.

Mr. Bliss proposes to study the articles discovered in the following order: (*a*) the inscribed objects; (*b*) the figured objects; (*c*) the metal tools and weapons; (*d*) the pottery. And from a comparative examination of these he concludes that the following dates cannot be far from correct: City Sub I,* 1700 B. C., or older; City I, 1600; City Sub II, 1550; City II, 1500; City III, 1450; City Sub IV, 1400; City IV, 1300–1100 (?); City V, 1000; City VI, 800; City VII, 500; and City VIII, 400 B. C. Let us briefly consider these cities in the order indicated.

In City Sub I was found, in good state of preservation, the foundation of what must have been a tower fifty-six by twenty-eight feet in area. Its massive walls, some ten feet thick, were built, as were indeed most of the walls throughout the "tell," of sun-dried bricks of reddish-yellow clay, full of straw. This town must have been an ancient fortress of the powerful Amorites, whose cities, according to Deut. i, 28, were great and fenced up to heaven. The solidity of such a wall is explained by the fact that Tell-el-Hesy must have been very close to the direct road over which the kings of Egypt, from the time of Thothmes I, led their invading armies north. We learn from the Egyptian monuments that several of the monarchs of that country waged war on Palestine in pre-Israelitish times, and also that the Amorites were famous for their massive walls and fortified cities. The Assyrian monuments likewise bear witness to the strength of Lachish centuries later, when attacked by Sennacherib. Joshua also captured this stronghold of the Amorites. It is not wonderful, therefore, since Lachish was on the highway of the nations, that it was taken and destroyed time and again in the great wars between rival kings.

In City I was discovered the foundation of a house which had succumbed to fire and was filled with ashes. In and around this were found various objects in bronze, such as spear heads, knives, etc., which differ so much from the tools and weapons discovered elsewhere as to suggest a local civilization. Here also were unearthed a wooden seal, fragments of pottery, and a small bronze figure, probably an image of some god.

*The term "sub city" is explained by the following note: "The great city wall on City I shows at least two rebuildings. I shall call the original structure City Sub I, and the rebuildings, City I."

Neither has the pottery any affinity with the Egyptian or Phœnician wares, and for that reason it is called by Mr. Bliss Amorite pottery, by which he understands the well-marked type of pre-Israelitish ware, "the earliest use of which we cannot fix, but which went out as a prevailing type in the sixteenth century B. C., though specimens of it are found later." The different kinds of pottery in Cities I and II is very noticeable, pointing clearly to a long interval and a change of occupation. The style of pottery found here will aid greatly in determining the chronology of the "tells" and ruins of the Holy Land in the future.

Seventeen feet above City Sub I brings us to the fourth layer of ruins, or City II. Its destruction must have been very complete. Nothing remains except the bare foundations. It was razed to the very ground, which is clear from the fact that there were no signs of doors left, as in several other ruins. The most remarkable thing found here was a circular structure, with walls two feet thick and an inside diameter of more than seven feet. In the walls were flues connecting with the bottom of the structure. Mr. Bliss was at first inclined to regard this as a blast furnace for iron; but as the structure could not have been built later than 1400 B. C., and as no iron tools of any kind dating farther back than 900 B. C. have been discovered in any country, it is not probable that it was used for smelting iron ores. This is rendered the more certain from the fact that no iron implements were found at this level, though discovered in abundance higher up in the "tell."

Forty-five feet from the top of the "tell" is City III. On its north side is a massive wall seventeen feet in thickness, against which abut a series of rooms with walls still standing three feet above the ground, thus showing clearly the openings from one room to the other. Though this building was in excellent state of preservation, no articles of any interest were found therein. However, just outside was picked up one of the most interesting objects ever discovered in Palestine. It was a tablet of burnt clay in cuneiform script, of the same age, character, and language as those written from southern Canaan to the rulers of Egypt and found at Tel-el-Amarna. Zimrida, or Zimridi, known to us already from the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence as the governor of Lachish, is twice mentioned in this brick letter. A similar tablet has since been found near Gaza. The discovery of these two tablets encourages us in the hope that there may be many like them, if not in the remaining two thirds of this mound, yet in other ruins in various parts of Palestine. And now, since the Turkish government has just granted a firman to the Palestine Exploration Fund to carry on excavations for two years in Jerusalem, since the age of railroad building has commenced in Palestine, and since many new structures are being erected, we may reasonably expect important finds in the near future. The age of this tablet is further confirmed by the fact that nothing later than the eighteenth dynasty was found at this level, while several scarabs of that period were picked up. One of them bears the name of "Amen-Ra," another, "The good son of Amen-Ra," while a third has the cartouche of Queen Thi. Here also were found very fine specimens of pottery, different

from anything else in the mound and equal to the finest Egyptian pottery of the Tel-el-Amarna period.

Between the ruins of Cities III and IV was a bed of ashes from three to seven feet in thickness, extending over the entire area of the excavation. The origin of these ashes is a problem yet unsolved. In a house built upon them were picked up two bronze objects, one about four inches long, supposed to be a figure of Ptah, the other a statuette of a goat with two kids, and near them was a rude female figure made of clay. It has been suggested that these might have been household gods such as Rachel carried away from her father Laban.

In City Sub IV were found two ancient wine presses and caldrons for boiling the juice of the grape into sirup. About midway down the "tell," in City IV, were unearthed the foundations of a very large structure. It is fifty-six feet square, and very symmetrical. This is the only building in the entire mound which shows any architectural pretensions. Among other things we find rude carvings of animals on one of the doorjambs and a pilaster in bas-relief which ends in a volute. This suggests to Dr. Petrie "the horns of the altar" in ancient temples. The objects discovered at this level were very numerous, consisting of spear heads, knives, borers, tweezers, rings, etc., in bronze, besides a goodly number of articles in bone, alabaster, and stone. There were also not less than eight scarabs with hieroglyphs, as well as several cylinders. Among the pottery, which was very abundant, varied, and highly ornamented, was found a fragment of a plate with three Phœnician letters, which are said to correspond to the Hebrew בלע, *swallow*, "an appropriate legend for a dish." Not far from this was picked up a jar handle bearing the inscription, "The palace of Ra-aa-Khepheru."

Some ten feet higher in the "tell" are the ruins of City V, the rudest of all the foundations. Here we find a large number of stones at irregular distances from one another. Now, as City VI was only four feet higher, it is almost certain that it was built soon after the destruction of City V, and that all the material which could be utilized was employed in the construction of the new town.

The deep accumulation of rubbish between Cities VI and VII shows that a long period had elapsed between the destruction of these two. The ruins of the latter bear the marks of a great conflagration, which, judging from the greasy appearance of the pottery found here, originated in the oils stored in this part of the "tell." Many pits were seen at this level, not only such as were used for ovens, but larger ones, which served as granaries or places to store various articles. These pits must have belonged to the city above, as they extended ten feet or more into the ground. Such grain pits are still common in many parts of Syria. A few grains of different cereals were found in several of them.

Just four feet from the surface of the mound were the imperfect foundations of City VIII, the last built upon this site. So thorough was the destruction here that scarcely anything more than some oven pits remained to testify that human beings had ever lived upon the spot.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE STATE OF HINDOO MORALS AS SHOWN BY HINDOO SACRED LITERATURE.

The question of morals, as treated in Christian and non-Christian religious literatures, is one that has of late been forcing itself afresh to the front. The study of the religions of the world is increasing in many parts of the heathen world, as well as among Christian peoples. Western scholarship has made known to the people of India their sacred literature, which has for many years been buried from them because only extant in what is to them, as well as to others, a dead language. Thousands of Hindoos are learning now for the first time, by translations made by Christian scholars, what their sacred books really teach. Professor Max Müller has edited, in English, quite a library of the Asiatic religious literatures, under the title of the "Sacred Books of the East." It has, however, been necessarily but an incomplete rendition of those literatures. The *Vedas* are the foundation of all the religious authority of the Hindoos, all else, even the voluminous *Puranas*, being but commentary upon them. Of the *Vedas* there are four, the *Rig-Veda* being the most authoritative. From his edition of the *Vedas* Professor Müller has entirely omitted the *Yajur-Veda*. He has been criticised for this omission, and his defense is that, had he printed it, he would have been liable to prosecution for the circulation of obscene literature. It is well known in the East that this statement is within the facts. The most sacred sacrifice of the Hindoos is described in the *Yajur-Veda*. The High Court of Bombay has declared that it is a criminal offense to translate this ceremony into the living languages of India; and these include a large proportion of the spoken languages of the world. Weber declares this sacrifice to be a "revolting ceremony." But Professor Müller has not only omitted the *Yajur-Veda;* he has printed an expurgated edition of other parts of this literature. In reading his rendition of the hymns of the *Veda* we obtain no idea of the *Veda's* moral character. A writer in the organ of the Christian Literature Society of India, *The Dawn in India*, says that scholars affirm passages of the *Rig-Veda* itself to be "abominable, filthy, and obscene." The brunt of the criticism against Professor Müller does not, however, consist in his failure to publish all these passages, but in that he does not indicate that there have been omissions, and the places where these omissions occur. The emendation is certainly according to the social as well as the legal requirements of Christian communities; but when the part is put for the whole, and the omissions are of so grossly immoral color that they cannot be reproduced, it gives a false presentation of the sacred books to English and Christian readers, and also has a tendency to make the "heathen in his blindness" think the religion he professes a much purer one than it really is. It moreover disables the student, seeking to ascertain the comparative merits of religious systems,

from performing his task fully unless he can pursue it in the Sanskrit, which is a dead language. A great deal of the objection, perhaps all of it, might have been removed if the editor had frankly stated that he had omitted large sections of the original, since such sections would be indecent reading, and their circulation was therefore legally prohibited. In other words, Professor Müller might better have made the same explanation in the volumes themselves that is now wrenched from him in the public prints.

HAWAII, PAST AND PRESENT.

Missionary work in the Sandwich Islands is undergoing investigation under unfortunate conditions. These islands have been thrown for the time into political excitement, and missionary work is being discussed in the heat of partisan strife. Friends of missions will endeavor to make a dispassionate judgment; and it may help them to do so if they bear in mind several things which we now bring to their notice :

1. Seventy-four years ago these islanders were naked, besotted idolators, with little but superstitious notions in the form of religious belief, and well-nigh absolutely without any ideas of morality. They were without moral restraints of any kind. The grossest sins were of everyday occurrence. Chastity was an unknown and an unthought-of virtue. To all this lawless and debased condition the white foreigner was adding other vices peculiarly his own.

2. The missionaries entered at this juncture and erected schools and churches. Eighteen years after they began their labors a great revival commenced, which in five years swept into the Church twenty-seven thousand persons. The twenty succeeding years saw on the average an addition each year of a thousand converts more. The indirect political results were a liberal constitution granted by the king, and land grants in severalty.

3. But there came new conditions. The development of the sugar industry demanded cheap labor, and it was imported from heathen countries. In 1860 there was but one foreigner on the island to every twenty-five natives. By 1884 only a trifle less than one half of the population was foreign. By 1887 twenty thousand unmarried heathen had been imported from China, and this was superimposed upon a small population of say eighty thousand persons, men, women, and children. The results were manifest in many ways. The constitution was changed, restoring an almost absolute monarchy. Kalakaua, a dissolute man in every respect, came to the throne and lent his power to an attempt to revive the old paganism; and the indecent *hula* orgies were reinstituted, with headquarters in the royal palace itself. The prohibitory liquor laws were repealed, under pressure from the sugar interest, thus submitting the natives to the destructive influence of poisonous (Christian ?) intoxicants; and in 1887 a law went into effect licensing the sale of opium. It is little wonder that under these untoward circumstances the native races have rapidly declined in numbers as well as in morals. There were already decadent forces at

work, however, when the missionaries arrived on the islands, if the statistics given can be relied upon. In 1778 Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000; but in 1820, when the missionaries arrived, the estimate was but 140,000. The natives now number only about 36,000. It is a wonder that the little native community survives at all, overlaid, as it is, with the *débris* of a most immoral and unnatural alluvial, in the form of heathen Asiatics, equal in number to the total of the native male population of the islands.

4. Dr. Fisher, editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, reminds us that between 1820 and 1845 sixty missionaries were sent to these islands, but that no missionary family has gone thither within the last fifty years. It is, he says, thirty years since Hawaii was a "mission field;" and nearly all the missionaries sent thither are dead. But sixty thousand natives have in the past seventy-three years espoused Christ, and united with the Church. Of this number it is believed that a large proportion have died in the hope of a blessed resurrection.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CAPE COLONY, AFRICA.

The Cape Colony is a political division of the Cape of Good Hope region in South Africa, and has been supposed by many to be thoroughly evangelized and mostly Christianized. But the census for 1891 reveals a state of things which will surprise many persons who supposed themselves quite familiar with the facts in the case. The truth appears to be that nearly two thirds of the Negro, or rather the colored, population, and about one half of the total population are still non-Christian. Of 1,150,237 in the colored population only 392,562 were returned as having classified themselves as Christians. This colored population consisted of Kaffirs and Bechuanas, 608,456; Fingus, 229,680; Hottentots, 50,388; Malays, 13,907; and of mixed races, 247,806. The Malays live mainly in Cape Town.

The religious classification was as follows: heathens, or "of no religion," 753,824; Mohammedans, mostly Malays, 15,099; Jews, 3,009; and Christians, 749,322, of whom 356,960 were white and 392,362 were colored. Of the Christians, 732,047 were Protestants and 17,275 Roman Catholics. Of the latter, 14,800 were whites, leaving to the Romanists but 2,475 natives. Of the Protestants, the Dutch Reformed Church had 306,320 and the Church of England 139,058. The next largest communion was that of the Wesleyans, who numbered 106,132, besides 5,390 "other Methodists."

THE OUTLOOK IN JAPAN.

The *Japan Mail* recently contained an article which affirmed that it was a great mistake to suppose that Christianity had gained acceptance only among the ignorant and lowly in that country. Forty per cent of the Christians belong to the intellectual class, the *shizoku*. A single congregation is said to contain two persons holding office directly from the emperor, and twelve who hold appointments from the Council of State

with the sanction of the emperor. Twelve members and the speaker of the first Japan Diet were Christians. But Japan is not a Jericho already taken by blowing rams' horns. She will yet be captured, after a steady, brave siege, by means of the sword of the Spirit; but the hope of gaining her to Christianity with a rush must be abandoned. The period of missionary activity, from 1872, when the Methodist Episcopal Church entered Japan, down to within a recent period, coincided with the movement of the Japanese mind toward everything Western, whether of language, politics, armaments, systems of post offices and telegraphs, or dress. The progress has been astonishing, and affords hope of still greater advance. A hundred and fifty thousand additions to the Christian adherents in two decades from the beginning are not to be despised, however small this may seem relatively to forty millions or so of the total population. But with the popular tide setting against everything foreign the Church will have occasion to prepare for the real contest. Ultimate victory is assured, as Japan can never swing back to its old condition, and it is not likely to discover anything more suited than Christianity to aid it in taking the place in the family of nations for which it longs. In 1872 there were 20 church members; in 1875, 538; in 1876, 1,004; in 1883, 2,500, with a Christian community of 13,000; in 1891, 33,390 adult church members. At present the work is embarrassed by many obstacles, and converts are being tested. But the work is not slackened, nor are the witnesses losing steadfastness. This "Great Britain," or rather this "Younger America," of the Pacific seas is bound to advance, and it can be but in one direction—toward the Christian communities of the world.

Rev. J. Vahl, President of the Danish Missionary Society, has earned the reputation of being one of the most reliable of missionary statisticians, and his figures are quoted with more than average confidence. His tables showing the present missionary revenue and forces of the world will be acceptable to ministers and others interested in religious progress. They do not convey all the information that might be desired, but are on the whole as satisfactory as they could well be made. The societies use different methods of tabulation, and hence the difficulty of securing uniformity in a comparative statement. Mr. Vahl omits the wives of missionaries from his enumeration, while many, if not most, of the societies enter them as at least "assistant missionaries." He gives the gross income of all the societies, in British money, as £2,749,340, which may be roundly reckoned as $13,746,700. The male missionaries of all classes number 5,094, and the unmarried female missionaries, 2,445—a total of 7,539, who are assumed to have been sent out by missionary societies, or are at least other than natives of the countries where they labor, though on this point there is some obscurity, the classification differing slightly with the accidents of the situation. The native ministers are returned as numbering 3,730; and there are besides 40,438 native helpers. The several missions, in all parts of the world, roll up the encouraging number of 1,168,560 communicants.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Professor Dr. Aug. Klostermann. His ability is universally recognized, and his biblical studies have been very minute and protracted. For twenty years past he has given special attention to Pentateuchal criticism, and is entitled to be heard concerning the subject. In his recent work, *Der Pentateuch. Beiträge zu seinem Verständniss und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte* [The Pentateuch. Contributions to its Understanding and the History of its Origin], he takes issue with the Graf-Wellhausen theory. But on the other hand he can hardly be classed with the conservatives; for he is a firm believer in a process of development which was carried on in accordance with the will of God, by the cooperation of countless factors that never rest, and which has affected the condition of the revelation. He finds that the whole task of Old Testament Scripture criticism is very much complicated by the fact that numerous changes have taken place in the text. He denies the right of the critic to assume the identity of our text with that of the author of the Pentateuch. He thinks it a perversion to make out distinctions of epochs by means of divergences in style, when these divergences are not between different authors, but between different copies of the same author. Thus it will be seen that he does not deny the existence of the marks by which the critics have divided the Pentateuch into diverse documents, but he does deny the necessity of explaining them as the critics do. He regards Deuteronomy as the only sure starting point for critical inquiry into the Pentateuch. Its age is far back of its discovery, as is evident by the impression it made upon contemporaries. Had it not differed from all other known books of Moses it would have passed comparatively unnoticed. Such is his reasoning. But it strikes us that the doubts he casts upon the integrity of the text must be supposed to apply as well to Deuteronomy as to any other portion of the Pentateuch, and that therefore he cannot, on his principles, find even here a sure starting point for criticism. In fact his theory, in this particular, appears more dangerous than any other theory offered by critics. That variations may have crept in might be admitted without damage to the general integrity of the books, but to make these variations so great as to render the text unsafe as a basis for the higher criticism is to exclude all criticism at once. If this left us the certainty of the Mosaic authorship it would not be so bad. But what do we care for this authorship if his text is defaced beyond all recognition?

Dr. G. H. Graue. His views of the relation between morality and religion are so clear, and, in the main, correct, as to deserve mention here. He regards them as substantially distinct. Morality is sentiment and life under the dominion of the moral law. The moral law is the offspring of

the ideal conception of man, but it enforces its requirements upon the actual man and impels him to the exercise of a true love of humanity. It is a law of freedom, not of compulsion. It is a motive rather than an obligation. It originally appears in consciousness not as the result of ratiocination, but rather as a kind of vague feeling which makes itself felt in impulse and desire. Yet this feeling is not one of pleasure or of pain; it is more like the feeling of awe and reverence. It is possible for man to follow this law, which is a part of his own essential nature, without a consciousness of God or communion with him. In so far a morality without religion is possible. Just so there are religious acts which have no moral purpose. For in religion, one does not, as in morality, enter into relations with the law of his own being, but into relations with a personal power superior to himself. His religious relations with God do not always take the form of a moral relation to the world. On the contrary, his religion often turns him away from men and the world for the very purpose of a more exclusive communion with God. Theoretically this is possible, but if morality is to be victorious it can only be so in the belief in a moral order of the world. Yet this belief can only find a sure support in the religious consciousness. If morality is possible in a degree without a belief in God, it is only found in its highest unfoldings in connection with the Christian religion. In atheistic morality there is wanting a proper humility and an unselfish, new-creating love for mankind. Only the elevation of pious feeling, and especially the experience of the love of God as found in the gospel of Christ, can produce a true and thorough purification from egoism. Very few strictures on the book are in place, and these pertain to minor matters which cannot be touched here. In our remaining space we prefer to commend Graue's defense of Christian morality against the assaults of atheists. He rightly argues that the assistance of religion in morals does not destroy the true autonomy of man, nor a true theonomy produce in the Christian moralist a heteronomy, since man is so constituted that the moral law which springs from his own being is to be considered as a true reflection of the will of God. On this theory theonomy would overpower autonomy only until man was brought back to his normal human condition. While Graue holds that to serve God for the sake of reward would render morality imperfect, the love of God, which is the true Christian motive, aids true morality, and hence is superior to atheistic ethics.

Professor Dr. Theodor Häring. In years gone by he has given much attention to doctrinal subjects, and especially to the doctrine of reconciliation. His views are as follows: The fundamental religious fact of reconciliation is that through Jesus Christ we are led from the profound consciousness of sin to fellowship with God. In this process lies both the condemnation of sin and grace for the sinner. By his personal life work Jesus Christ produces both in us. And this personal life work is completed only when, in his death and resurrection, the result designed is accomplished. These are the fundamental elements of the doctrine of reconcili-

ation as they are found in the New Testament. In working these out into a dogmatic formula there are two ideas which, without difficulty, obtain recognition as decisive. They are the ideas of the relation of God to us, and that of the representation of a man before God, both of them, of course, through Jesus Christ. But, since it is a question of religion, the thought of revelation must unquestionably take the leading place. Christ's representation of men before God springs out of the true conception of revelation. Revelation does not take place by the impartation of instruction, but by the personal work of Jesus. In his own love he revealed the love of God. The full revelation of love as love could only take place in his death, and the full revelation of love as the power which overcomes the world could only take place in his resurrection. Since revelation is wrought by his personal work it could be done in no other way than by his voluntary consent to the loving will of God, even to the death of the cross. This had value in God's sight as the necessary means for the accomplishment of his purpose among men. But in thus entering upon death Christ represented us, since in him God found the human will open to his appeals, whereas sinners resist. The consequence is that we are preserved from hopelessness and from undue pride alike, since our faith, without which indeed we cannot be saved, is in no wise fundamental to salvation; because the perfect faith which made possible the fulfillment of God's loving purpose was found only in Christ. In the death of Christ at the hand of sinners men can see the full significance of human sin; and thereby is proved the permanency of the purpose of good. Jesus Christ, in thus taking up the will of the Father into his own will, suffered death for the good of men and in their stead, and also represented man before God. We see in this the doctrine of vicarious suffering. But it does not seem so clearly nor so reasonably put as it might be were it disconnected from the thought of revelation. The death of Christ had the two aspects of revelation and representation. Why not give each its due place?

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"**Die Christliche Ethik in ihrem Verhältniss zur modernen Ethik**" (Christian Ethics in Relation to Modern Ethics). By Carl Stange. This book contains a keen criticism of the religionless ethics of Paulsen, Wundt, and von Hartmann. The author attempts to show the fundamental weakness of these systems, and the value of the Christian view for the scientific and practical confirmation and establishment of ethics. He confines himself to the principles involved in the systems of the three above-named philosophical ethicists, and does not discuss the details. To his mind they mutually complement each other, so that what is lacking in Paulsen is furnished by Wundt, and what is wanting in Wundt is made up by von Hartmann. Paulsen represents that utilitarianism which sets up as the ethical ideal the welfare of the community as "an objective conformation of life in the sense of human perfection." In this system the highest

good is the normal exercise and development of the natural functions of life, together with the capabilities and powers of man. This utilitarianism is to be distinguished from a purely subjective eudemonism which thinks of human welfare as alone a subjective feeling of delight or pleasure. But Stange holds that it leads even beyond subjective eudemonism, in making, not individual feelings of pleasure the last end of morality, but a general condition of pleasure. Man as a subjective individual is the object of all ethical actions. To this form of utilitarianism the evolutionary principle of Wundt, according to which the worth of all existence is found in the actual development of the ethical-spiritual life, appears as a higher step. The first object of morality is here represented as the development of civilization, the production and enhancement of objective spiritual values; the final object as the development of all spiritual powers in the direction in which, from the beginning of moral existence, they have actually developed, but going indefinitely beyond any goal already attained. A still higher standpoint is the transcendental-negative of von Hartmann. But as Wundt's ideal can only be attained and indeed conceived in the light of religion, so von Hartmann's negative principle is incapable of impelling to positive ethical conduct. Nor can his pantheistic idea of the essential identity of all beings furnish a sufficient ethical principle. On the other hand, the transcendental-positive principle of Christian theism leads to a satisfactory foundation for ethics. God as a perfect personality has a purpose. This purpose is to produce human personalities in the image of God. The ideal of Christian ethics is a perfect community of these human personalities; that is, the kingdom of God. This ideal is a real motive to positive ethical endeavor. The great fault of the book is that it does not develop with sufficient fullness the superiority and sufficiency of the Christian ideal and motive.

"Die Ignatianische Briefe, auf ihren Ursprung untersucht" (The Ignatian Epistles Investigated with Reference to their Origin). By Professor Daniel Völter. To all students of early Church history the Ignatian letters have an intrinsic interest. In addition to this, this book has an interest as affording an example of the application of the principles of higher criticism to noncanonical literature. Of the seven generally accepted letters Völter recognizes the genuineness of but six. But even these are not the product of the pen of Ignatius, who died the martyr's death in Antioch in A. D. 115 or 116, but of Peregrinus Proteus, in the Christian period of his life, and before he became a Cynic (between A. D. 140 and 155). The name of Ignatius was placed at the beginning of these letters without good reason. This hypothesis is internally improbable in the highest degree, and is further refuted by every literary-historical consideration. While attributing the authorship of six of these Ignatian Epistles to Peregrinus, he denies it of the seventh (that to the Romans), and makes it a forgery, having for its object to describe a genuine martyr-bishop and thereby to gain an advantage over Montanism toward the end of the second century. It is a curious fact that although Renan sepa-

rated the letter to the Romans from the other six, as Völter does, he reversed the order, making the letter to the Romans genuine and the other six spurious. Harnack calls attention to the fact that while the six were written to Asiatics the seventh was to Rome; and that his knowledge of the former and ignorance of the latter would render it certain that there should be a difference in his manner of writing. But he denies any such wide divergence as Völter affirms. Völter declares that it was an important matter to the forger to make Ignatius name himself as a bishop, and that this is the reason why he is represented as designating himself so only in the letter to the Romans. But the episcopacy of Ignatius is only mentioned twice in this epistle, and in both cases it is demanded or at least explicable by the context. A twofold incidental mention of his episcopacy would not indicate any very great importance in the mind of the alleged forger. Völter is fond of finding small faults and furnishing small explanations. He points out the absence of personal notices in the Roman letter, with the exception of one, which is somewhat unclear—the mention of Krokus—and suggests that in order not to omit all names the forger had taken this one capriciously from the letter to the Ephesians. Harnack administers a well-deserved rebuke by asking him whether it had never occurred to him how much mischief such "critical" attempts had wrought in the understanding of early Christian literature.

Jesus and the Working Classes, as Seen by a Labor Agitator. Not only is Holland the home of the most extreme criticism of the New Testament, but it is the source from which a great movement has gone out to employ the Bible, and especially the life of Jesus Christ, in the interest of labor. It originated with Domela Nieuwenhuis, who has written works on both the Bible and Christ from the labor standpoint. He undoubtedly gives expression to the general sentiment among socialists of the European type. What he has to say in criticism is directed rather against the record than against Christ himself. True, he denies Christ the honor of originality, attributes to Buddhism an influence on the teachings of our Lord, degrades the Golden Rule to a level with the teachings of Hillel and Confucius, but in the main he, like Pilate, finds in him no fault at all. On the contrary, he admits that Jesus attracts him by his love, his heartfelt pity for all the sorrowing and suffering, his truthfulness which everywhere and without fear attacked all shams and enforced the value of thought and conviction, and by the elevation of his thoughts and the powerful and popular style of his preaching. He even speaks of his love for Jesus, and he has no patience with those who attack him because of the faults of his Church. To him, indeed, Jesus is a socialist of the ancient time, who hated the rich, and would not allow that they could enter into the kingdom of heaven; who preferred the society of the poor, the publican, and the sinner; who was a leader of a rebellion whose object was to overturn completely all existing conditions. He thinks that Matt. vii, 12, contains in principle the whole system of socialism, since what man chiefly desires for himself is food and drink, and hence man

ought to be principally concerned in providing this for others. It is evident that the author intended to treat his theme with a show of learning which he did not possess. It is equally evident that he has found everything in the life of Christ which could give support to the methods employed by European socialists—hatred of wealth, the right to agitate, and even to rebel. Perhaps he is not to be censured for this. But it is to be regretted that he has written solely from the standpoint of a partisan. And still more to be regretted is the fact that he did not more emphasize the spirit which was in Christ as the example for all men, the laboring classes included, to imitate. And yet perhaps he is not to be too severely criticised. For have not ministers of the Gospel steadily through all the centuries overlooked important phases of the life and character of Christ, and applications of his principles to great classes of mankind, while they emphasized almost exclusively such facts as fell within the line of their vision? But what a concession is this appeal to Christ on the part of labor agitators! It practically admits his power even though they could wish it otherwise. And surely it confirms the faith of all Christians, who have felt from the first dawn of the agitation down to the present time, that the principles of Jesus Christ alone could settle the questions involved. The duty is forced upon us by the appearance of such publications to preach Christ in all his fullness. Jesus may not be left to be preached to the laboring classes in such a way as to further socialistic agitation without the whole truth being also taught. While the gospel of salvation from sin is being proclaimed the gospel of salvation from temporal evil must also be preached. Men must be taught that rich and poor are alike to be governed by the Spirit of Christ in their dealings with their fellow-men. The manner in which Nieuwenhuis speaks of Christ shows that Jesus, when presented as he is in the gospels, influences even those who have hitherto cared nothing for him. This is an admonition to the preacher to preach him thus, and not merely with reference to the doctrinal significance of his life and death. It is a suggestion to all who love mankind to scatter copies of the gospels, either singly or combined, or bound together with the epistles, far and wide. The masses of the people are not in the churches. It is not necessary here to ask why; but it is necessary that the people be won to Christ whether they be won to the Church or not. And it is exceedingly important that Christians live in such a way that the contrast between Church life and the life of Christ as portrayed in the gospels be not too great. Thousands and thousands of copies of the work here mentioned are being sold in continental Europe. It is true that to many the enjoyment of the book may be in its destructive tendencies. But it is also an evidence that the working classes are interested in the teachings and example of Christ, and would read what is written from the true standpoint, and hear what is spoken in a right spirit concerning this phase of Christ's life and work. The time has come when two separate organizations should be no longer needed—one to preach the gospel of salvation from sin, and another to show them that Jesus is the friend of the poor and of all who are in

need. All this can be done and ought to be done by the one Church of Jesus Christ, which should care both for the souls and bodies of men.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The School Question in Germany. There is in Germany a class of schools known as the *Fortbildungsschulen ;* that is, schools in which the education of the young people who have been confirmed in the churches is carried forward. Most of these boys and girls leave school as soon as the law allows, namely, at confirmation, and enter upon some kind of employment which stands in the way of further education through the ordinary channels. These advanced schools must therefore be held at a time when attendance is possible. Heretofore Sunday forenoon has been devoted to this purpose. This, however, interferes with attendance upon the regular divine services at ten o'clock. The law provides that after the first of October of this year these schools must not be allowed to continue during the hour of the forenoon service. This cuts out an hour and a half from the forenoon, and makes a rearrangement necessary. The propositions which are brought forward to overcome the difficulty illustrate the hold these schools have upon the affections of the people, and also the state of Sabbath-keeping sentiment among the Germans. One of these propositions is to have these schools on week day afternoons once or twice a week. It is the only one which has been offered in the interest of Sabbath-keeping. But it is agreed on all sides that it would be impossible to find teachers at that time, to say nothing of a place. Sunday afternoon has been proposed, but this is the one German half-holiday, and it cannot be given up. And besides, there is the difficulty of finding a preacher to conduct the religious services which are supposed to accompany the school session. Even the Social-Democrats are opposed to this proposition. The only other possibility is to allow the schools to go on, for a time, at least, as heretofore, during the hours of divine service, and to provide for a half hour's religious service in connection with them, conducted by a clergyman in his gown, so as to make it as far as possible take the place of the regular service. The coolness with which the Church people of Germany discuss the proposition to use God's day and the hour of public service in the interest of secular education, and the zeal they manifest at the same time in maintaining the necessity of divine worship in these Sunday secular schools, is an astonishment to an American. But our friends should take notice who think that to do away with the stringency of the commandment will lead to better Sabbath-keeping. The difference between the sentiment there and the sentiment among Christians here is just the difference between a theory which left men free to keep the Sabbath if they would and one which made it obligatory upon all whether they would or not.

Proposed Change in the Swedish Marriage Ceremony. The words requiring the wife to obey her husband are not contained in the marriage

ceremony. It was proposed that these words should be inserted, and the proper steps were taken to bring it about. But when the matter was brought to the final decision before the Swedish Church Assembly last October it was rejected by a vote of 27 to 25. In the discussion it was declared that the passage of Scripture upon which the demand for the change was founded could be matched by others which as emphatically asserted the perfect equality of husband and wife. Another argument used against the measure was that many debased husbands would make it the excuse for great cruelty to their wives. Among the people generally there was bitter opposition to the innovation.

The Johannean School of Evangelists in Barmen. The wide acquaintance of Professor Dr. Christlieb with ecclesiastical affairs in England and America led him to the founding of this school, originally at Bonn. Its purpose, as its name indicates, is to train men for evangelistic work. At the present time there are seventeen pupils in the three classes. The institution is under the control of an inspector and two assistants, one of whom is a son of the late Dr. Christlieb. Pastor Cörper also gives an hour each week to the practical exposition of Paul's letters to Timothy, and other earnest pastors assist as they have opportunity. At the end of the three years' course these young men are not sent out under the pay of the institute, but wait until they are called into the evangelistic or city missionary work. Up to this time there has been no difficulty in finding employment for all the graduates. At the present time there are twelve of them thus engaged in Germany. It is a significant fact that there should be so much demand in Germany for evangelists. It would appear that Methodism will have accomplished, as everywhere, so in Germany, a greater work in awakening the other Churches than in gathering members into her own fold.

A New Temperance Movement in Switzerland. In the canton of St. Gall a law has been proposed according to which persons who have given themselves up to drunkenness are to be confined in an asylum for inebriates for a period of from nine to eighteen months, and in cases of relapse for a still longer period. This manner of handling the drunkard goes upon the supposition that he is diseased, not criminal. It provides, as will be seen, for a stay in the asylum of sufficiently long duration that the victim may be as it were recreated. But that drunkenness is more than a disease is evident from the fact that it is proposed to deal with the drunkard on entirely different principles from those applied to the victims of other diseases. There are multitudes of people who are periodically, or at least, frequently, the victims of "colds." Yet no one thinks of depriving them of their liberty on that account. This law rightly proceeds upon the (suppressed) fact that the moral element enters into the problem also. It is a disease which has so much of the moral element in it that the victim can prevent its recurrence by the exercise of his will, and especially by the acquisition of divine grace.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

For the reader of current periodicals there are dark shadows upon the pages which chronicle the world's progress. Man has not yet learned the richest meaning of the golden rule or risen to its fullest practice. Social wrongs still remain to be righted; gross inequalities are yet to be adjusted; and the tyranny of sudden aristocrats over their humbler brethren waits to be rebuked at the judgment seat of the nations. But in the very record of these existing evils, and in their caustic condemnation by heroes as fearless as the Baptist, there is hope for the purging of this Christian civilization. The voice of Abel's blood cries from the ground. Retribution is the logical outcome of oppression. The world hastens fast toward the emancipation of the last serf, the restriction of social iniquities, and the dawn of a better day of brotherhood.

Prominent among the articles descriptive of existing national evils is that of Frederic Perry Noble, secretary of the Chicago Congress on Africa, in the *Missionary Review of the World* for June, entitled "Christendom's Rum Trade with Africa: A Modern Devil's Mission." The enormities of this evil seem too great for credence. "Since England entered Egypt," says the writer, "drinking and the liquor traffic have terribly increased, till the natives even one thousand miles up the Nile are demoralized. In Tunis most shameless drunkenness rules among the Moslems. In Algiers and Morocco matters are little better. Senegambia suffers severely. Sierra Leone has had to plead for the prohibition of the import of low-grade trade spirits. Along the West Coast the Negro has for generations seen the ocean-cast powder keg, rum cask, and demijohns along his strand. From Boston, Liverpool, Hamburg, and Holland flow these streams of liquid damnation. Since 1882 one hundred million gallons of spirits have poured into Africa. For hundreds of miles into the interior the square-shouldered bottles are as well known as the usual currency of beads and wire." The protests of explorers like Stanley go for naught, who has declared, "If it depended on me I would have no more to do with rum than with poison." Missionary work is hampered, and, in the words of Joseph Thomson, "for every African influenced for good by Christianity one thousand are driven into deeper degradation by the gin trade." Commerce and civilization are impeded; and in spite of the Berlin Congress of 1885, when "America, England, France, and Italy endeavored to dam drink out from the new world of Central Africa," the liquor dealers of Germany, Holland, and Portugal, insisting on "free rum in the Congo basin, because it is consecrated to free trade," yet trample upon the Christian sentiment of the nations and industriously ply their hellish traffic. Truly, Ethiopia stretches out her hands to the world for liberation from a thralldom unspeakably worse than traffic in the bodies of her people!

The next scene in the drama of human suffering is laid at our very doors.

In the *Catholic World* for June is an article by John J. O'Shea, on "The White Slave Trade." His words cut like a scimeter! After describing the main floors of our leviathan dry-goods stores he speaks of the basement crush and heat which one will recognize as but too true to life. "There," he writes, "the crowds are denser, because the articles sold are more varied, and such as are indispensable in every household. The narrow passages are in one long state of congestion; the temperature is about 20 degrees higher than that overhead, for there is no current of air from the street level; the ceiling is several feet lower. The daylight is so scanty here that the electric light or the gas is constantly kept burning; the air is stifling, the turmoil incessant. Heaven help the miserable heads which are doomed to bear it all the day long, all the night long, too, very often until midnight! With the thermometer at 95 degrees on the ground floor—a very moderate standard for a New York summer afternoon—it is not easy to imagine the condition of things in one of these dry-goods store basements when the tide of business is at high-water mark. The hold of an African slave ship could hardly be more baneful to the human system." Poor pay, averaging from one dollar and a half to seven dollars in the best houses; a system of fines for minor violations of rules; gross lack of sanitary arrangements; and danger from pestilential moral evils, are some of the further iniquities of the system which the writer vividly paints, and for whose restriction he demands an awakened public sentiment.

Still another enormity that calls for protest and for civil retribution is the promiscuous practice of lynching in the Southern States. In *Christian Literature and Review of the Churches* for June is a summary of atrocities which is blood-chilling. In 1892 there were one hundred and sixty lynched; and now three or four are lynched weekly. "Women are lynched as well as men. A woman is accused of poisoning her mistress; she is thrown into prison to await her trial. The mob take her out of jail; . . . she is hanged in the court house square in the view of everybody! A girl of fifteen years of age is accused of poisoning; the mob take her in the same way and hang her. The body of a white man is found dead. A negro named Hastings is accused of the crime. The mob seek him, but fail to find him, take his little daughter fourteen years of age and his son sixteen years old, hang them both on a branch of the nearest tree, and shoot their bodies full of holes. . . . They burn people in the Southern States. Once they had a platform erected, ten feet from the ground, and after taking their prisoner on a cart round the town they fastened him to this platform, thrust red-hot irons into his feet, then rolled the irons up and down his body, then poured oil over him and burnt him." A further protest against such atrocities is found in the *Christian Educator* for April. The author is Frederick Douglass, who in defense of his people argues that they are lynched *because they are black.* His stirring article concludes, "I dare to contend for the colored people of the United States that they are a law-abiding people; and I dare to insist upon it that they, or any man, black or white, accused of crime, shall have a fair trial before he is punished."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April is sensible, solid, and stimulating. Its opening article, on "African Exploration," reviews books by von Höhnel, Lugard, Bent, and Selous, discussing different phases of the question. First remarking on the astonishing contrast between the present map of Africa and that published twenty years ago, it sets forth some of the results since reached in discovery, and finds scanty encouragement in the facts of African colonization to date. "America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are not yet exhausted; and the dangers which threaten the settler in Africa from climate, wild beasts, wild tribes, and waterless deserts do not exist in those countries toward which the tide of emigration now sets. Until such emigrants are convinced that Africa presents superior advantages, or until the more favored regions are fully occupied, the expenditure of governments or of commercial companies does not promise any appreciable return." In the second article "Dr. Julian's Hymnology" is adequately discussed, and his Dictionary of 1,628 large pages, with indexes, cross references, and alphabetical lists, is pronounced as superior to anything that has preceded it. The third article notices the second volume of the "Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier," which covers the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. In the next paper we find an entertaining and valuable discussion of "The Liquefaction of Gases." Lady Burghersh, who faced "warfare and privations with a girlish buoyancy;" Charlotte, Countess Canning, whose face rises "above all the horrors of the Indian mutiny . . . with a prayer for pardon on its lips;" and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, who combined the qualities of "beauty and goodness," are outlined in the next article on "Three Noble Englishwomen." The following papers discuss "Von Moltke's Campaign in Bohemia," "Naval Armaments," "Kidd on Social Evolution," and "The New Ministry." To the perplexities of the Irish question, says the writer of the last article, add "a difficult and oppressive budget and the lack of 'implicit confidence' between the prime minister and the leader of the House of Commons, and the cup of the new ministry seems almost full. Under such circumstances who would be surprised if the new ministry did not even prove 'a *successful* imposture?'"

THE *New World* for June opens with an article by H. Holtzmann on "Baur's New Testament Criticism in the Light of the Present." The conclusion of the author is that, since Baur helped to prepare a common ground on which historians and theologians can discuss the origin of Christianity, he was "a discoverer, a pathfinder, and a pioneer in the best sense of the word." Scholarly articles follow on "John Kelpius, Pietist," by F. H. Williams; "The Movement for Religious Equality in England," by Edward Porritt; and "The Religious and Historical Uses of the Bible," by F. C. Porter. In a discussion of "The Episcopalian Polity" W. Kirkus concludes: "Under the conditions of this American Episcopalianism, so long as the bishops are not unduly multiplied; so long as they are the strongest men in the Church; so long as the House of Bishops really represents the highest intelligence, the most accurate

learning, the widest experience, the most consummate statesmanship, and the most homely common sense of the Church; so long as they can hold their own in society, and make themselves felt as a power in the community in which they live, so long they will be the greatest ecclesiastical power in the United States—and no longer." Each of the following papers deserves a fuller notice than is here possible: "The Pauline Teaching of the Person of Christ," by Orello Cone; "The Significance of Pessimism," by R. A. Holland, Jr.; "Democracy and the Poet," by N. P. Gilman; and "The Book of Job," by Bernhard Duhm.

Christian Thought for June has as contributed articles: 1. "Soul and Spirit," by C. F. Deems, D.D.; 2. "The Part of the Race in Sins of the Individual," by Dr. A. H. Bradford; 3. "The Great Commission," by D. S. Gregory, D.D.; 4. "Books in Demand in a City Library," by R. S. Poole; 5. "The Pulpit and Modern Unbelief," by J. B. Drury, D.D.; 6. "Reflex Influences of Character upon Intellect," by Rev. T. S. Hamlin. The first article, entitled "A Study in Biblical Psychology," illustrates the spirit of keen philosophy which marked its lamented author, and is of particular value as being the paper on which Dr. Deems was working when stricken with paralysis. It therefore seems almost a voice from the other world, on an ever-attractive mystery of psychologic inquiry. In the second article Dr. Bradford holds the solidarity of the race; believes that the sin of the individual belongs also to the race; and represents that Christ is a social as well as an individual Saviour. Not the least attractive paper of the present issue is that by R. S. Poole, librarian of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, on the uses of a city library. The fact that the Association has a collection of 42,000 volumes makes it a center of attraction for readers. In 1893 nearly 50,000 books were consulted. Of these over thirteen per cent were works of fiction; ten per cent were poetry, drama, and kindred literature; over 8,000 were technical volumes used by medical students; nearly eight per cent were on the fine arts; thirteen per cent covered history, biography, and travels; over five per cent were on sociology; over four per cent were on the natural sciences, etc.; nearly four were on philology; over one was on philosophy; and over seven were in encyclopedias. The last contributed article is an address given by Mr. Hamlin at two young ladies' seminaries in 1893; it rings with vigorous Christian counsel. Altogether this bimonthly is to be congratulated on the vigor of its new editorship.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April opens with an article by Professor E. J. Wolf, D.D., on "Christianity and Culture." Through the field of history the author leads us in convincing proof. Though he confines his paper to a "single aspect of the debt which culture owes to Christianity," yet he holds that "by proofs equally indubitable and illustrative it can be shown that all the liberal arts—music, poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture—had their birth in modern ages in the bosom of the Church."

The second paper on "The Adaptations of Nature to the Highest Wants of Man," is by Professor G. F. Wright, editor of the Quarterly. In its representation of man's superiority and the divine goodness to him it is an article of unusual scholarship and attraction. The third article, by Rev. T. S. Potwin, on "The Composition and Date of Deuteronomy," places its period "not later than the reign of Solomon." Dr. W. H. Ward writes ably on the "Relation of Christ's Death to the Old Testament Sacrificial System;" the Rev. J. H. Ross charmingly discusses "The Hymnody of Foreign Missions;" and John Orne writes on "The Arabic Press of Beirut, Syria." The seventh article, by the Rev. D. L. Leonard, on "A Century of Foreign Missions in India," is truly encouraging. The concluding paper is by Professor Theodor Zahn, of Erlangen, on "The Adoration of Jesus in the Apostolic Age." Altogether this is a rich number of the Quarterly.

The *Fortnightly Review* for June is a full number. It contains: 1. "The Future of Parties," by Robert Wallace, M. P.; 2. "The Royal Academy," by D. S. MacColl; 3. "The Two Salons," by Mrs. Pennell; 4. "The New Factory Bill," by Miss March-Phillipps; 5. "Rype Shooting without Dogs," by G. A. Scott; 6. "The Budget and Local Taxation," by W. M. J. Williams; 7. "The Mechanism of Thought," by Alfred Binet; 8. "Professor Robertson Smith," by J. G. Frazer; 9. "The Disaffection in Behar," by D. N. Reid; 10. "The Worship of Pottery," by W. Roberts; 11. "Musical Criticism in England," by Dr. Villiers Stanford; 12. "The Proposed Channel Bridge," by the Prince of Monaco; 13. "Silver and Tariff at Washington," whose author is nameless.

The *North American Review* for June cannot be charged with dullness. It has: 1. "Fashion and Intellect," by W. H. Mallock; 2. "Why Should a Doctor Be Paid?" by Dr. W. A. Hammond; 3. "The Political Outlook in England," by Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett, M. P.; 4. "The New York State University," by the Bishop of Albany; 5. "The Menace of 'Coxeyism,'" by General O. O. Howard, Superintendent Thomas Byrnes, and Dr. A. H. Doty; 6. "The Modern Girl," by Sarah Grand;" 7. "Mexico Under President Diaz," by Prince Iturbide; 8. "Our Family Skeleton," by J. F. Hume; 9. "Woman Suffrage in Practice," by the Governors of Colorado and Nebraska. "Notes and Comments" is also crowded with matters of social and national importance.

The *Yale Review* for May opens with a fascinating and valuable reminiscence of "Black Friday, 1869," by Horace White. The succeeding articles, each of which is deserving of extended quotation, are "Historical Industries," by James Schouler; "Corporations and the Legislature," by H. C. White; "Ulrich Von Hutten in the Light of Recent Investigation," by F. P. Goodrich; "The Condition of the Southern Farmer," by F. W. Moore; and "The Russian-American Extradition Treaty," by I. A. Hourwich. Valuable books are also noticed.

The *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for April has: 1. "The Spiritual Teaching of the Book of Job," by Emma G. Wilbur; 2. "John Calvin and His Correspondents," by G. G. Smith; 3. "Dr. Boland on the Ninth Article," by S. H. Wainright; 4. "Were the Ancients Acquainted with America?" by R. E. Blackwell; 5. "The Idolatries of Rome," by M. B. Chapman; 6. "The Plan of Salvation," by W. A. Betts; 7. "'Jack Knife and Brambles,'" by W. P. Andrews; 8. "The Stage as a Teacher of Morals," by A. C. M.; 9. "The Home Life of the Nations," by T. A. Seals; 10. "The Conditions of Church Membership," by W. F. Tillett; 11. "Sidney Lanier's 'Song of the Chattahoochee,'" by J. E. Wray; 12. "The Church and Freedom of Conscience," by W. T. Bolling. Altogether, it is an able number of an excellent publication.

Haus und Herd for June has among its attractive papers one on "Religious Life and Work in France," by the assistant editor. He particularly notices the hopeful McAll movements.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for June throws light on mission work in Africa, India, and Chili. ——The June numbers of the *Preachers' Magazine*, the *Homiletic Review*, and the *Treasury* are rich in sermonic and pastoral suggestions.——*Living Words* is the name of a new publication somewhat similar to the three last mentioned. It denominates itself "A Monthly Journal of Religious Thought, Homiletic Literature, and Practical Suggestions in Christian Work." It is ably edited by Rev. Elias B. Sanford, M.A.——The *Methodist Magazine* for June has readable articles on "Tent Life in Palestine," by Dr. W. H. Withrow; "Over the Furka Pass," by F. O. Wolf; and "Prisons, and Our Relation to Them," by Rev. R. N. Burns.——The *Nineteenth Century* for June opens with an article by G. W. Smalley, discussing "Checks on Democracy in America." The papers following it are numerous and able.——*Columbus Theological Magazine* for June has, among other papers, a continuation of "A Study of Witchcraft," by Rev. R. C. H. Lenski.——The *Canadian Methodist Review* for May–June opens with "The Idea of God in the World's Religions," by John Wier, D.D. It also contains the third paper of the series by Professor Randles on "Were the Sufferings of Christ Penal?"——The *Century* for June is rich in material. "Across Asia on a Bicycle" will attract the notice even of those who do not aspire to ride the wheel.——In the *Biblical World* for May is a particularly attractive, if unsatisfactory, paper by Dr. Harper, on "The Long-lived Antediluvians.——The *Contemporary Review* for June has important papers on "The Development of the Historic Episcopate," by Vernon Bartlet; "The Race Problem in America," by C. F. Aked; and "Frederick Denison Maurice," by H. R. Haweis.——*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for June is in the main a valuable number; but when is the end of "Trilby" to come? It is inferior in illustration and silly and prolix in composition!

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Spirit of God. By PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR, Author of *The Oriental Christ.* 12mo, pp. 323. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mr. Mozoomdar is at present the best-known representative of the Brahmo Somaj, that is, the best-known in America, which he has visited several times, and where he has published now three books. But in India we believe he belongs to one of the smaller of the four fragments into which the Somaj, never large, has become split up, and has a very insignificant following. The Brahmos for the last thirty years have attracted considerable attention, due, not to their numbers, which have always been small, but to the ability of a few leaders and the uncertainty as to whereunto the movement might grow. But their most prominent man, Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, sorely disappointed the expectations of his friends, and it is now abundantly clear that the movement has no future. The membership of the Somajes, or assemblies, is composed of Bengalis who have been educated in the English government schools, have thus lost faith in orthodox Hindooism with its manifest absurdities and revolting abominations, but for various reasons are unwilling to enroll themselves in the Christian Churches. The alternative, so generally embraced by the similar class in Japan, of becoming outright infidels, does not suit these young men of India; for, like the mass of their countrymen, they are strongly religious, and some kind of a religion they must have. So they have invented one less humbling to their pride of intellect and pride of race than the Christianity brought to them by foreigners—an eclecticism, combining, as they claim, the best features of all faiths and on terms of perfect fellowship with all. This they call Brahmoism, from Brahm, the supreme being, "the one without a second," of whom all the gods in the Hindoo pantheon are manifestations. It cannot be called a form of Christianity, although it is clearly the outcome of the impact of Western civilization upon Eastern minds. Nor is it a form of Hindooism, for it has even less sympathy with the Brahmans than it has with the missionaries. It is a curious conglomerate, more nearly allied, probably, with a certain class of Unitarians in America than with any other religionists under the sun, but not fitted to benefit the masses of India. On the cover of this book concerning the Spirit of God is the flag of "The New Dispensation"—as this particular wing of the Brahmos like to call their system—bearing the emblems of the three religions, Mohammedanism, Hindooism, and Christianity. This sufficiently shows from what standpoint the work is written and makes any extended comment needless. The author says, "Christ does not supplant or abolish the prophets and incarnations of other religions, but they all and each have their place in him; he completes and reconciles them." "In the Brahmo Somaj the essence of Hindooism makes peaceful reconciliation with the essence of Christianity." But if any one procures the book in the hope of

ascertaining just what these essences are and just how they are reconciled he will be disappointed. Plenty of mysticism there is in the volume, and some excellent meditations of a devout sort, but of clear thought or important ideas very little. "All scriptures find acceptance with us," says the author, "all prophets find honor, allegiance, and imitation." He who "accepts" the *Koran* and the *Vedas* in the same sense in which he receives the New Testament is not a teacher of spiritual things to whose utterances the Christian people of America will care to give much heed. When there is so much that is better why should one wish to meddle with the worse?

Joshua and the Land of Promise. By F. B. MEYER, B.A. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 12mo, pp. 210. Price, cloth, $1.

The Way Into the Holiest. Expositions of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By F. B. MEYER, B.A. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 12mo, pp. 272. Price, cloth, $1.

These two books by Mr. Meyer are, like all his works, of deep interest. He has the rare art or gift of writing religious truths in most attractive style. He does not turn aside to seek for flowers of rhetoric with which to embellish his sentences. He moves straight on, like a man with a great purpose in view. But the flowers are there, and flashing gems of truth, and solid nuggets of common sense, which attract and hold and enrich. In the first work mentioned above he describes Joshua's devout heroism and the stirring events of Canaan's conquest, which thoroughly enlist his keenest sympathies and give amplest scope to his vivid imagination. He writes *con amore;* and the reader feels a responsive interest, which continues to the end. The second work, while primarily an exposition of the Hebrews, vindicates the authority of the Pentateuch by showing that it lay at the basis of the teaching of the early Church, and that especially the Book of Leviticus was the fountain of New Testament theology. It is a luxury to read such sentiments in these days of assault upon the Pentateuch. Here are no theological hair-splittings that create doubt and indecision, but manly thinking and lucid explanation in the clear light of revealed truth. The books of Mr. Meyer are fitted for the study table of all students of Scripture exegesis.

The Religious Forces of the United States. Enumerated, Classified, and Described, on the Basis of the Government Census of 1890. By H. K. CARROLL, LL.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 510. New York: The Christian Literature Company. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This book is the first volume of "The American Church History Series," to be issued by the above publishing house under the general editorial supervision of Bishop H. C. Potter, Bishop John F. Hurst, Professor George P. Fisher, Dr. E. J. Wolf, Dr. Samuel M. Jackson, and Henry C. Vedder. The prospectus of the series promises twelve volumes, intended to cover the history of all denominations in the United States. No mistake was made when the collecting of Church statistics for the Census of 1890 was intrusted by the government to Dr. Carroll. No man could have been found better fitted by ability, information, and training for this special work. Our opinion is that no religious census was ever taken in any country so accurate, complete, and trustworthy as that collected and tabu-

lated by Dr. Carroll. The volume before us does not, of course, contain that census in detail, but is based upon it, and presents in clear and proper order the general results in compact summaries, along with brief sketches of the origin, history, doctrines, peculiar customs, numbers, property, etc., of the different denominations. Not the least valuable portion of the book is the "Introduction," which contains fourteen chapters on the following topics: "The Source of Information and the Plan;" "The Scope and Method of the Census;" "Variety in Religion;" "Classification of the Churches;" "Denominational Titles;" "The Causes of Division;" "Analysis of Religious Forces of the United States;" "The Religious Population;" "The Growth of the Churches;" "How the Religious Forces are Distributed;" "The Evangelical and Nonevangelical Elements;" "The General Statistical Summaries;" "The Characteristics of American Christianity;" "How the Church Affects Society." In addition to the regular denominations such bodies as the Salvation Army, the Society for Ethical Culture, the Theosophical Society, the Schwenkfeldians, and the Social Brethren Church, are included, as also one hundred and fifty-six single and independent organizations having no connection with anything outside of themselves. Dr. Carroll's book is the best, as it is the most recent and up-to-date, bird's-eye view of the religious map of the United States. Everybody who has any interest in such subjects will want this volume, whether he purchases the remaining volumes of the "Church History Series" or not; yet the entire series promises to be very valuable. The effect of reading this work is to encourage the friends of religion with a hopeful outlook for the future and with the certainty that Christianity was never more prosperous and powerful than now. Serious reflections are suggested by the multiplicity of denominations and the infinitesimal divisions and subdivisions of Protestantism, as here presented to their last most minute, microscopic detail. The author makes it plain that, in spite of all deductions, criticisms, and errors, "the Church is the mightiest, most pervasive, most persistent, and most beneficent force in our civilization." Dr. Carroll has rendered a monumental service to Christendom in giving exact and solid reasons for the hopes which cheer the heart of the Church as it approaches the threshold and faces the problems of the twentieth century. It is a matter of special interest and satisfaction to us that this thorough piece of work has been done by a Methodist hand.

A Harmony of the Gospels, in the Revised Version. With Some New Features. By JOHN A. BROADUS, D.D., LL.D. Small 8vo, pp. 265. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Dr. Broadus is a professor in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, at Louisville, Ky. That he is a thoughtful biblical scholar this work shows on every page. He affirms it to be the fruit of thirty years spent in teaching the English New Testament. He divides the life and ministry of Christ into eight periods. The first deals with "Matters Connected with our Lord's Birth and Childhood." The others are "Beginnings of the Forerunner's Ministry," "Beginnings of our Lord's Ministry," "Our

Lord's Great Ministry in Galilee," "Season of Retirement into Districts around Galilee," "Closing Ministry in all Parts of the Holy Land," "Last Week of our Lord's Ministry, and his Crucifixion," and "Our Lord's Resurrection, Appearances, and Ascension." The general working out of the author's plan renders the book easy of reference. The type and paper are good, and a wide margin is left for written memoranda. A few additional "Practical Notes" are added by Dr. Robertson, his colleague, and these are valuable. One of them is on "The Four Lists of the Twelve Apostles," as given by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Acts. It is a most clear and satisfactory explanation of apparent discrepancies.

Outline Studies in the Books of the Old Testament. By Professor G. W. MOOREHEAD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is one of the most valuable books of its kind that has appeared for a decade. For nearly two years it was published as a serial in the *Young Men's Era*, making a decided impression and adding greatly to the popularity of that paper. It is especially adapted to the uses of the pastor, the Sunday school teacher, and Christian workers generally. The author is scholarly, without any show of pedantry. To each book in the Bible a chapter is devoted, discussing in a concise form its authorship, the circumstances of its composition, its form, its contents, and other correlated subjects. The chapter on Job, for example, covers sixteen pages and is one of the best short articles ever written on this grand old patriarch. Its opening sentences are as follows: "The Book of Job is one of the noblest poems in existence. The splendor of imagery which glows on every page, the personages introduced into it, the mysterious problems which it discusses, the action which sweeps through every emotion of the soul and strikes every chord of the heart invest the book with peculiar interest." The following are some of the topics most satisfactorily discussed: "Is Job a Real or Fictitious Character?" "The Age in which Job Lived;" "Structure of the Book;" "Design of the Book;" and "Satan's Slander against Job." Nine pages are given to the Book of Jonah. The key to its admirable treatment is in this sentence: "It needs scarcely to be said that the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ forever settles the question of its authenticity and genuineness for every Christian."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Political Economy and Natural Law. By HENRY WOOD, Author of *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography*, etc. 12mo, pp. 305. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The skeleton of this work was presented to the public in 1887 as "Natural Law in the Business World." The new title indicates fairly the growth of the work into a valuable treatise on economic science. The author is a thinker who has tested his thought in the world of facts; and he is gifted with a rare courage which evades no difficulty. While there is nothing novel in making economics a province of natural law, yet the author's method of vindicating that thesis—a method at once idealistic

and practical—is far more successful than the conventional and purely intellectual method of most other "orthodox" economists. In twenty-four chapters, filling three hundred pages, we are conducted through all the field of debate by an ardent philanthropist, who believes in our "social system as a whole," and holds the judgment that "the present order, in its purity, is the only one for existing conditions." The economic order in which we live is a growth—a natural outcome of our past. It will be modified by future growth, but this modification must be effected from within. It cannot be changed except as we change. It will be better when we are better; it will be perfect if we become perfect, not else. And yet "our economic evils are not the outcome of our present social system, but of the abuses which fasten themselves to it, consequent upon general moral delinquency." In short, our economic system is more perfect in its principles than we are; and if we were good enough to live up to sound economic doctrine our social system would yield a larger harvest of abundance. The author's analysis of the leading laws of our economic order is original and optimistic. In competition, for example, the successful man is the competent man, and the unsuccessful one is an incompetent man. The premium on competency is a divine order which never has been evaded and never will be. The political socialist is a man competing for honors and for power. If he succeeds he will exercise the authorities now in the hands of our statesmen and greatly enlarge them. Very likely he does not know that he is already in full swing under the competitive system, or realize that, after he has wrested power from other hands, some new leader in reform will compete with him for the prize. The bad tricks of competitors are not the system, but are immoralities, and will stay with us as long as men lie and steal. Self-interest is not selfishness, and does not require us to be scoundrels or justify us in any trespass. The successful man makes a path for weaker men. A great man built a boat, and then small men could build boats. No matter how wicked the great man was, his success taught others the law of success at that point; so that bad intent does not always make selfish competition an unmitigated evil. Good may come of it, and the wrath of man praise God. In this penetrating and luminous way our author goes through the field with his lamp of natural law, and has shed some cheerful light on every economic principle or condition, including the vexed questions in production and finance which disturb our industries and perplex our politics. The work is an aggressive piece of conservatism. The growth, by the way, of a conservative optimism—of a conservatism which is jubilant, aggressive, and progressive—is a chief mark of these last years of the century. And this book is a fine example of such an optimism.

Sub-Coelum, A Sky-built Human World. By A. P. RUSSELL. 12mo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Recollections of *Library Notes* and *Characteristics* by this author lead us to expect from him books containing a large amount of variegated information and out-of-the-way incident. For taking up in odd hours those two books are interesting, spicy, and bright. This latest produc-

tion from Mr. Russell is of a different character. It avoids the region of historic and biographic incident and, with great ingenuity, constructs in fancy an ideal world. As a work of the imagination it displays invention, and possibly many of its dreamings may in time prove prophetic foreshadowings of things that are to be. The world which Mr. Russell pictures is Arcadia, Utopia, Garden of Eden, and millennium, all in one; and it is not likely that even the writer himself expects that such a paradisaic combination will ever really come to pass upon this rather earthly earth. The elements of this awkward, contradictory, contentious, pragmatic, and obstinate old world are not sufficiently malleable, ductile, amiable, and plastic to be worked into ideally perfect harmony on the frame of so fine a theory. Nevertheless, the book is not without much pleasant and profitable interest. It has the fascination of futurity, the freedom of prediction which no one not gifted with omniscience can dogmatically deny, the quiver of suspense and wonder which conjecture awaits, the unknown and immeasurable possibilities of the things that are to be. In Mr. Russell's golden age there will be abundance of leisure, special instruction in the fine art of telling the truth with precision, chairs of common sense in the colleges, habits of charitable judgment, unfettered individuality, schools of cooking, better physicians and lawyers and ministers, few laws, and limited estates; friends will be counted as the most valuable property, idleness will be disreputable, and there will be no plebeians and no aristocrats; vices will be exterminated; there will be funeral and wedding reforms, sensible dressing, endless orchards, hospices for visiting strangers, prohibition and abolition of snoring, kindness and respect for animals, a diminution of self-confidence and positiveness, and larger use of the words "probably" and "perhaps." If there is anything that is not to be reformed in the author's "sky-built world" we have forgotten what it is. To one reader this book recalls the ancient Greek fables which looked backward to alleged good old times, when all manner of delightful impossibilities happened everywhere and the miraculous and fantastic had full possession of the world; when "tables set themselves, and goblets filled themselves with nectar unbidden, and fish willingly basted themselves, turning the other side to the fire to make sure of being well done; when peace was everywhere and everything grew spontaneously; when rivers ran with milk and honey, and the only quarrel was among the wheat and barley cakes and roasted larks and sweetbreads, as to which could get into your mouth first; when good roast beef all hot went about the streets crying to be eaten, attended by fleets of sausages and shoals of salt fish seasoned just to the taste"—a time of which it might be said, "the world went very well then." In nothing is man quite so great and wonderful as in his dreams.

Some Salient Points in the Science of the Earth. By Sir J. William Dawson, F.R.S. With Forty-six Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 499. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

The headings of the eighteen chapters in this work show that the points which the author discusses are indeed "salient." Eight of these

chapters, for instance, are as follows: "World Making," "History of the North Atlantic," "The Dawn of Life," "Genesis and Migration of Plants," "Growth of Coal," "The Great Ice Age," "Early Man," and "Man in Nature." This volume is both new and old; the new is vigorous, the old is in a large measure reconstructed and is as good as the new. Dr. Dawson is well known as one of the world's best scientists. His *Story of the Earth and Man* and *The Origin of the World* are everywhere accepted and rank as classics. In these pages we find the same spirit of courage, ripe scholarship, and reverent faith as of old, and the same purpose to make a book worthy to be read and studied by all classes. His themes are familiar to him. He speaks with great force because he is sure, and has patiently wrought out his theories from a wide and comprehensive range of observation. He is an able and persistent opponent of the theories of the evolutionists, and makes short work with them. As we read these pages, so vigorous and vivid, we can hardly think of the author as growing toward the eighties, and for the sake of science could wish he were but beginning his career as teacher and writer. He uses beautifully clear and concise language, and speaks as nearly as possible in the dialect of the ordinary scholar. This is one of the elements of power in his works that has made them so popular. His splendid chapter on "The Great Ice Age" is in point. It is in marked contrast to Geike's, Tyndall's, and Rau's discussions of the same theme, for clearness and cogency, and for ease of reading. Nor is he inferior to these scientists in the grasp of the subject and in sharp intellectual treatment. The book will command a good place as an excellent summary of geological history.

The Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate. One volume, 8vo, pp. 898. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

Only a few men can indulge the elegant taste for elaborate and voluminous editions. Life with the large majority is so limited and so practical that a handy one-volume edition of the works of a great author is a desideratum whenever possible. Economy of space and time, instant accessibility, and similar considerations make us ready oftentimes to trade off six volumes for one which holds all the contents of the six. This is the value and desirability of the edition of Tennyson published by Macmillan & Co., which in size and appearance is fit to stand on the library shelf beside the complete one-volume Longfellow issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Here under one cover are the three hundred poems which constitute the literary legacy left our generation and the ages to come by the laureate of Victorian England. All the gentle grace and sumptuous elegance, the polished phrase, the perfect cadence, the faultless finish, the exquisite literary beauty, which made Tennyson the modern Virgil are here. The great poet whom the queen made a peer was in many respects a peerless poet. The garments of his muse are rich and fine and dainty through and through; we see her walk in outer robes of velvet; we hear a silken rustle whispering underneath, rhythmic to the measures of her motion. The rare, sweet, wonderful songs which, had there been no

other poetic voice, were enough in themselves to make England and the nineteenth century musical, are sold in this volume for a song—much treasure in little space for a small price. A certain author being requested to write gratuitously a "New Year's Greeting" for a syndicate of newspapers, and also some appropriate mottoes, replied, "I cannot greet those whom I do not know, but you are welcome to my motto, which is, 'Nothing for nothing and very little for sixpence.'" In the book we are noticing there is a great deal for not much more than sixpence. The edition is strong, clear, smooth, well-bound, compact, and such as will render good service and afford satisfaction. The most elegant and melodious of English poets should be found in every home and every library.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Brave Little Holland, and What She Taught Us. By W. E. GRIFFIS, D.D. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 252. Price, $1.25. In Riverside Library for Young People. Small 16mo, 75 cents. New York and Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The stately volumes of Motley represent one method and *Brave Little Holland* quite another, in the treatment of the same theme. The one sketch with wealth of illustration and resource the majestic development of a nation against the inroads of the sea and the violence of fiercer foes, while the other is a book for young people or for an afternoon's easy reading on a railcar. That Dr. Griffis falls below the historian of the Dutch republic is to be expected. He ventures merely an outline, not much more than a simple table of contents, a brief but at the same time a satisfactory view of the growth of liberty under the guardianship and guidance of Dutch valor and statesmanship. The author has the first qualities of literary success; he is in sympathy with his subject, his style is clear, the sentences are short and pointed. More diffuseness would perhaps have been better. No one, however, can lay this book aside without a distinct impression of the greatness of the events it describes. The relations of Holland with Rome, Spain, England, and America, the influence of the Crusades upon intellectual movements in the Netherlands, and the close identification of religious toleration with national prosperity are all clearly perceived and forcibly stated. The spirit which made and has maintained "brave little Holland," giving her a high historic place among the noblest nations, has its latest impressive manifestation in the quiet announcement recently made that "the Royal Netherland Commission has decided in favor of the project to reclaim five hundred thousand acres of the Zuyder Zee, by means of a sea-dyke from Northern Holland into Friesland," at a cost, "including measures of defense and compensation to fishermen, of three hundred and fifteen million guilders." In a way and to an extent which no other people on the face of the earth has ever paralleled, Holland is a self-made country. Whenever it pleases her to do so she sweeps back the ocean with her broom. What Canute could not do, she can. There is a look of omnipotence in her action when she sets a new bound for the mighty sea, saying calmly, as she extends her dykes,

"Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The varied story of her indomitable prowess and all-enduring patience makes it impossible for us to wonder that Holland initiated modern political science in its best and freest expression; or that she "instructed Europe in progressive agriculture, was the real pioneer in navigation and discovery, produced the most eminent jurists of the seventeenth century, issued more books than all the rest of Europe, and was, inferentially, the most learned and cultured country of the world." Dr. Griffis's book is well adapted to charm young people into a desire to know Dutch history in all its details and significance, as set forth in works more ambitious, voluminous, and complete.

A Child's History of Spain. By JOHN BONNER, Author of *A Child's History of Rome*, *A Child's History of France etc.* Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 365. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

This work does not pretend to be a philosophical history of Spain. Its purpose would be defeated if it were so. Children are not to be attracted by the dry results of critical investigation, or by the conclusions of learned professors who have outlived their youthful illusions and who would apply to the historical records of vigorous and sturdy peoples the tests of their own conservative and unromantic minds. Nor is a *post-mortem* examination always the best place to secure materials for a faithful picture of actual life. To project our own elaborated theories upon a remote and unfamiliar age; to evolve therefrom a system which shall coincide with our modern, highly developed, and unduly unpoetical ideas; to attempt to reconstruct from the mere skeleton all the lines and proportions of the body and all the faculties and emotions of the soul, may possibly guide us no nearer to the truth than would an unphilosophical acceptance of tradition, which probably very largely reflects the spirit of former times, if it does not always embody literal and chronological fact. Perhaps religious truth is not the only truth for whose apprehension we need to become as little children. Mr. Bonner in this volume selects such events from Spanish history as will best interest juvenile readers and stimulate them to obtain sooner or later a more extended and thorough knowledge of the subject. That many of the incidents he describes are not capable of scientific demonstration is very likely. Indeed, he constantly interjects, in a familiar way, a word of caution against a too implicit credence of many of the old legends; as, for example, when in speaking of the Cid Campeador he says, "Though his story reads like a fanciful legend, and some pundits have even doubted whether there ever was such a personage, he is too famous in Spain to be passed over." Such remarks, scattered here and there throughout the book, perhaps constitute all the critical training the average boy or girl is prepared to receive; and these may, at a more mature period of life, and probably will, wherever necessary, evoke inquiry, lead to investigation, and elicit truth. But, making all allowances and eliminating all questionable facts, the history of Spain remains the most romantic of all histories. The conditions were peculiarly favorable to picturesque combination and heroic action. Iberian and Celt, Tyrian and Carthaginian, Greek and Roman, Goth

and Moor, Frenchman and Englishman contested its soil and shared in the development of its institutions. Hannibal, Scipio, Pompey, Cæsar battled here in ancient times; Napoleon and Wellington in more recent times. Here various forms of paganism struggled with one another, and later the champions of Cross and Crescent met in conflict to the death. The division of its territory into numerous Moorish as well as Christian states led to constant warfare, and nourished patriotism as it also intensified religious ardor and racial pride. Out of this rich material Mr. Bonner has produced a vivid and stirring narrative. He gives but eight pages to the domination of the Romans, and but seven to the Visigothic occupation. This allows him greater freedom in painting striking details of the Moorish wars. Thirty pages are devoted to Columbus, twenty-five to Cortez, and nine to Pizarro. In the remaining pages the later history is rapidly sketched. In the earlier part of the book illustrations are frequent, and in some cases are interesting and really elucidate the times. The whole volume presents a good, if somewhat superficial and uncritical, view of Spanish history, and will delight any well-constituted and healthy boy, while its romantic features will probably render it equally acceptable to many a bright and enthusiastic girl.

Was the Apostle Peter Ever at Rome? A Critical Examination of the Evidence and Arguments Presented on Both Sides of the Question. By REV. MASON GALLAGHER, D.D. With an Introduction by Rev. JOHN HALL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 249. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton. Price, $1.25.

The casual reader might say, "Who cares?" But the question is one of importance and its discussion is opportune. The *pros* and *cons* are in these pages compacted and arrayed against each other. Rome rests her claims on Peter. This is asserted over and over, in quotations from Catholic writers, and is with equal force controverted. There is no evidence from Scripture that Peter ever was at Rome, and none from the accredited early Christian fathers. Even the apostle's own language (1 Peter v, 13), "The Church that is at Babylon . . . saluteth you," has been vigorously used as an argument for Peter's sojourn in the Eternal City, which, the Roman Catholics say, for reasons of his own he describes as "Babylon." One wonders that they do not fear to identify it with the "Babylon" of the Apocalypse. Dr. Gallagher brings careful research and great study to this vexed question. He quotes from both sides the very best, in the spirit of impartiality. It will do both sides good to read this work. One is surprised at the sheer assertion on the Romish side and the lack of satisfactory evidence in proof. Many clerical and legal minds have long ago surrendered the argument, but still the Roman Church asserts the claim and the mass accept the teaching. We note that Dr. Gallagher drops, and wisely, the term "Saint" from the names of all the apostles. There is no authority for its use. They were not so styled until centuries after their death. We had noted a number of passages to quote, but refrain, and urge our readers to read for themselves. Having once opened the volume one gets absorbed, and will hardly leave it until he has finished; and when he has finished the question is forever settled.

Sketches of Mexico, in Prehistoric, Primitive, Colonial, and Modern Times. Lectures at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation, 1894. By Rev. JOHN W. BUTLER, D.D., Twenty Years Resident in Mexico. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

However much has been written on the origin and development of Mexican life, the scanty realization of the many good qualities of "our next door neighbor" justifies the issue of such works as the one here under consideration. Especially are such volumes valuable when they are written, not by tourists who have dashed through the country and have hurriedly recorded the results of their superficial observations, but by those who have resided in Mexico sufficiently long to see things in their true light and to form right judgments of Mexican institutions. To the latter class belongs the present author. In the pursuit for a score of years of that calling which is more adapted than all others to inspire close study of human nature and broad generalizations upon national life, he has written of Mexico as one who has become, in the better sense, Mexicanized. The writer of the "Introduction" well says of him: "He has mingled with the people of all ranks and classes, from the president and his counselors to the provincial Indian in his rude hut. He has seen the Mexicans in their workday clothes and in their galaday garb, in their toils, their sorrows, and their joys, at their worship, in their festivities, and in their diversions. He has traveled extensively about the country, and is familiar with its topography, its antiquities, its vast resources, and its advancing improvements. Thus he had ample qualifications before he took occasion to lecture on Mexico." So far as the structure of these addresses goes, only words of approval need be spoken. In their chronological arrangement, they begin with the inquiry touching the origin of Mexican life, and follow down the line of history till the very present; in their wide range they discuss anthropology and the general progress of civilization; in their allegiance to the service of the great King, they consider not only secular matters but also questions of morality and religion. The different lectures are entitled: "Sources of Information," "Origin of the Mexicans," "Prehistoric Mexicans," "Early Mexicans and Their History," "The Moctezumas and the King David of Mexico," "The Arrival of the Spaniards," "Independence and the Constitution of 1857," "New Life in Mexico." As the successor of the elder Dr. Butler, who has himself written a valuable book on Mexico and has left an undying influence for good in that priest-ridden land, the son is a missionary reflecting high honor upon his distinguished father.

Rambles in the Old World. By MILTON S. TERRY, Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 342. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.

This book interjects itself like a prose poem into the homely and wearisome round of daily service. Although the publication of narrations of European travel has become as common as the journey itself to the Old World, yet there is enough that is unusual and winsome in Dr. Terry's story to lead to its cordial commendation. The purpose of his travel, as declared in his work, was not the study of human nature, foreign cus-

toms, commerce and arts, or the problems of labor and capital, but was rather to look upon "old things." "The chief inspiration of foreign travel," he remarks, "is a desire to come into local contact with the remaining vestiges of ancient times; to look on cities that represent the history of a thousand years; to tread the battlefields which have been the scenes of conflicts never to be lost from the world's memory. Old castles; old cathedrals; monuments gray with age or falling into ruin; the masterpieces of human genius, wrought in stone and metal and on the canvas; the palaces and the prisons of past ages—these are what the foreign tourist looks for." In the fulfillment of this purpose the traveler swept over the continent as far east as Greece and north as far as Norway. He observed as a scholar and a philosopher, and in his charming description suggests many important lessons for other Old World ramblers.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Biographers of Christ. By EMERSON K. YOUNG, D.D. Introduction by Bishop JOHN F. HURST, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 117. Philadelphia: C. R. Parish & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The personality and the work of the biographers of our Lord are deservedly brought into new prominence by this volume of Dr. Young. While he has trodden upon ground long since explored by Christian scholars, there is so much of independence in his new venture as to commend his labor. It was the mission of Matthew, by his showing, to "bridge the gulf between the dispensations" and to set forth Jesus as the Jewish Messiah; Mark wrote of the human Christ; Luke was a Gentile, and his book was "the only contribution from the Gentile world to the New Testament history;" John wrote a supplemental and a doctrinal Gospel. The vigor and clearness of Dr. Young's work commend it to notice. Whoever wishes information in a compact form concerning the evangelists cannot do better than avail himself of this handbook.

Literary and Social Silhouettes. By H. H. BOYESEN. 16mo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

Professor Boyesen is a Scandinavian naturalized in American life and literature. He is a writer of delicate taste and fine critical faculty, rather than an original and productive author. The thirteen chapters of this small volume are entitled, "Types of American Women," "German and American Women," "The American Novelist and his Public," "The Progressive Realism of American Fiction," "The Hero in Fiction," "American Literary Criticism," "America in European Literature," "The Ethics of Robert Browning," "Mars *versus* Apollo," "Philistinism," "Some Stray Notes on Alphonse Daudet," "My Lost Self," and "The Meridian of Life." In a degree the author aims to enable us Americans to "see oursels as ithers see us."

Romanism versus Protestantism. By Rev. R. C. ARMSTRONG, B.D. 12mo, pp. 125. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 25 cents; cloth, 50 cents.

This book of eight chapters is by a member of the Northwest Texas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who notes

with anxiety the aggressions of Roman Catholicism in the region under his observation. He asserts that Romanism is unchanged, having altered neither her creed, her methods, nor her spirit. In his opinion she is intolerant, avaricious, tricky, corrupt; she perverts history, enslaves the intellect, promotes immorality by the celibacy of priests and nuns, seeks political supremacy, aims at destruction of the public schools, plunders public treasuries, threatens civil liberty, and endangers the safety and stability of the Republic. Wherefore, he describes her as one of the great public enemies, rum, demagogy, debauched legislatures, and a venal press being some of the others. For information and corroboration he draws on Father Chiniquy, Rev. O. M. Owen, and Rev. L. L. Picket.

Pembroke. By MARY E. WILKINS, Author of *A Humble Romance, and Other Stories; A New England Nun, and Other Stories*, etc. 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

Miss Wilkins's stories picture New England, as Cable's the Southern Creoles, as Bret Harte's the rough, wild West, as Kipling's India, and Parker's northern Canada. She is a true literary artist. The life she has seen and paints has never been more clearly seen and could not be better painted. She is also a true woman, with all that feminine sympathy, deep insight, delicate sensibility, and gift of tender handling which once a woman put into *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and so moved the heart of the world. She makes us feel the depth and height and sacredness of the homeliest human life. Whoever does that helps to sanctify and dignify the world. In *Pembroke* there is no flagging of the author's power. Her tide is at the full.

The Deaconess and Her Vocation. By BISHOP THOBURN. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The Lamb of God. Expositions in the Writings of St. John. By W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., Author of *The Incarnate Saviour*, etc. 12mo, pp. 124. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Thoughts on God and Man. Selections from the Works of FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERTSON, "of Brighton." Edited by JOSEPH B. BURROUGHS, M.D. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

Good Night Thoughts about God; or, Evening Readings for the Young. By EVA TRAVERS EVERED POOLE. 12mo, pp. 137. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

Gist. A Handbook of Missionary Information. Preeminently for Use in Young Women's Circles. Compiled and edited by LILLY RYDER GRACEY. 16mo, pp. 208. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Of the above volumes the first is written in Bishop Thoburn's interesting and instructive style. The third book is charming in selection and typography. The last is full of suggestions for missionary addresses or concerts.

The Expert Waitress. A Manual for the Pantry, Kitchen, and Dining Room. By ANNIE FRANCES SPRINGSTEAD. 16mo, pp. 131. New York: Harper and Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

The title of this little work is its own interpreter. Because of the variation of tastes and opinions, the author has designed her papers

"rather as a working model than as a set of rules from which there is no appeal." They abound in wholesome advice.

The Exiles, and Other Stories. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. 12mo, pp. 221. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The titles of the "other stories" are "The Writing on the Wall," "The Right of Way," "His Bad Angel," "The Boy Orator of Zepata City," "The Romance in the Life of Hefty Burke," and "An Anonymous Letter."

With Edged Tools. By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN, Author of *From One Generation to Another.* 12mo, pp. 340. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

This book is by an author who has ideas, knowledge of human life, and a serious purpose, as well as skill and power in portrayal.

Ideas of Truth. By JOHN RUSKIN. 32mo, pp. 75.

Conversation. An essay. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. 32mo, pp. 71.

She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. 32mo, pp. 134.

The Eve of St. Agnes, and Sonnets. By JOHN KEATS. 32mo, pp. 84.

The Study of Poetry. An Essay. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. 32mo, pp. 74.

The House of Life. A Sonnet—Sequence. By DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. 32mo, pp. 106.

The authorship of these booklets more than justifies their issue; their convenient and beautiful form make them a charm for all readers. They constitute the fifth set in the attractive series of "Literary Gems" published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Paul's Ideal Church and People. A Popular Commentary on First Timothy. By ALFRED ROWLAND, LL.B., B.A. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 12mo, pp. 287. $1.

The title is fully descriptive of the book. Thirty-one pages are given to expository notes on the epistle, which is here taken in the Revised Version. Then follow forty sermonettes on the epistle as a whole. For instance, these five are on Chapter II: Intercessory Prayer; The Atonement; On Prayer; Woman's True Dignity; The Position of Woman. The sermonettes are simple, spiritual, and suggestive. They can but be helpful. The book is one which will fit into the heart and thought of many a Sunday school teacher. It will teach one how to read an epistle at a sitting and so grasp it as a whole. Reading of this sort is needed on the part of Bible scholars and teachers to-day.

Our Home Pets. How to Keep Them Well and Happy. Illustrated. By OLIVE THORN MILLER. 16mo, pp. 273. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The sentimental aspect of the care of pets is prominently presented in this handbook. The author is evidently one who finds enjoyment in the singing of household birds and the affection of four-footed animals. At the same time her volume is not altogether one random sentiment. But it is also a practical and helpful treatise on the caging, feeding, and care of birds; the relative worth of large, middle-sized, and small dogs; the merits of the cat, which she calls "the most generally misunderstood creature in the world;" and the keeping of other household pets.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1894.

ART. I.—DOGMA AND OPINION WITHIN ROMAN BOUNDS.

THE author once remarked to a learned and orthodox Roman Catholic clergyman of our country that the boundaries between dogma and free opinion in his Church seemed extremely uncertain, and one might suppose that even great Catholic divines would be sometimes puzzled to fix them. He laughed, and replied: "You might have omitted the 'sometimes.'" This state of things may receive some illustration from the present condition of American Presbyterianism in its principal branch. Here the great majority insist that various points are obligatory on belief, at least within their bounds, which the minority insist are not involved by any necessity of interpretation within the terms of the Confession of Faith and, therefore, ought to be left to free discussion.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, being so much older, so much vaster, and spread over so many more various regions than is a particular Protestant Church of a particular country, may be expected to be at once much broader and much more bigoted in its theology than any local denomination—much broader, as having been taught, by the experience of so many ages and of so many lands, how much that at this or that time may have appeared essential to the substance of the Christian message has turned out to be really only a part of its varying form; much more bigoted, because, whenever a particular theological tendency may have gained reigning force within the Church, it can break its way with so tremendous a strength

of numbers over the resistance of minorities. Two Protestant students of the Roman Catholic system, therefore, or the same student at different times, may enlarge with equal justice, now on the remarkable and benignant liberality of her theology, now on its relentless narrowness and severity. Whenever Rome has a strong and permanent interest in pressing certain interpretations of doctrines, then she may be expected to be as severe as the dread of an incurable schism will allow, if she even suffers such a dread to stay her hand. On the contrary, she may be expected to be carelessly magnanimous as to all that vast range of theological speculation, much of it of great intrinsic moment, which hangs but loosely on the central trunk. In such a case it is almost *quot homines, tot sententiæ*. The various schools or various theologians may belabor each other lustily, and may hurl mutual accusations of heterodoxy with small respect to consequences, precisely after our Protestant fashion; but Rome sits calmly by, perhaps even laughing in her sleeve at the humors of the fray, and only interposing now and then to remind the contestants not to be too free with imputations of heresy where the Church has not spoken. These exhortations are sometimes heeded, and perhaps much more frequently evaded. A theological teacher, for instance, belonging, say, to one of the two great Thomist schools (of whose distinctive tenets we may remark that we are blissfully ignorant) will sometimes observe to his pupils: "The pope has forbidden us to call the other side heretics; but if the facts call them heretics, I am not responsible for the facts." The long contest between the Dominicans and Franciscans over the Immaculate Conception affords a notable instance of these recriminations. For centuries, all papal prohibitions to the contrary notwithstanding, great numbers of the Franciscans, in their zeal for the honor of Mary, appear to have treated the whole Dominican order, that bulwark of orthodoxy and of the Inquisition, as itself little better than a school and synagogue of heretics. They persevered in this temper until, at last, with the help of the rising order of the Jesuits, they conquered the courage of the Dominicans to contend for the original corruption of the whole race except the Redeemer. In our own time they have harshly coerced the *Ordo Prædicatorum* and celebrated, in this particular, their final triumph over the doctrine and disciples of St. Thomas.

Rome, we may remark, plays in these disputes very much the part of the crown in England—in theory the ultimate authority, yet in fact rather embodying the reigning tendency than itself originating it. Yet the supremacy of Rome is so far a fact as this—that, on the whole, the Italian temper has principally determined the complexion of Roman Catholicism, and that, almost in proportion as the rights of nationality have developed themselves in a Catholic country in the civil and intellectual spheres, they have been more and more circumscribed by Italian jealousy within the religious sphere. Of this process of gradual subjugation, as we know, the Jesuits have been the main agents. Inheriting Spanish bigotry and Italian formalism, yet having a far keener instinct of the new era than the elder orders, as being themselves the children of it, they have finally brought it to pass that a papal decision of doctrine seems very commonly to be little more than an official ratification of what it pleases the all-powerful Society to decree.

In speaking of Roman Catholicism, we have to do as astronomers do about the fixed stars, whose light is so long in reaching us that when we use the present tense we really mean the past. Time was, and lasted for some six or seven generations after the Reformation, when Roman Catholic internal controversies were almost as open and virulent as Catholic controversies with Protestantism. At last, however, the decline of specific theological interest, and the guardianship assumed by the Jesuits over what remained, brought the old temper of virile courage and frankness to an end. The dying agony may be described as having lasted from 1801 till 1870. In the old times of Molinism and Jansenism, a Protestant found it about as easy as a Catholic to keep *au fait* of the dispute; but now that theological variance, though perhaps as deep as ever, has been so largely reduced to undertones, we may have to watch long for the outward complexion of the Church to change sufficiently to give us note of what has been going on within.

Will the present doctrinal predominance of Jesuitism in the Roman Catholic Church be permanent? That is something which no one, above all, no Protestant, can decide. The current of Jesuit influence is strong; but we do not know what deeper currents may be flowing beneath, soon to come to the surface, reversing it or absorbing it. The most encouraging

symptom is the unquestionable and perhaps permanent discomfiture of Jesuitism in the conduct of the apostolic delegation in our country; in the marked papal favor shown to the Archbishop of St. Paul; in the energy with which the inauguration of the Washington University, so distasteful to the Jesuits, has been accomplished; and in the vehemence and, we may say, virulence with which we sometimes see the Jesuits attacked in some of those Catholic papers which have been most graciously complimented by authority—as, for instance, in the *Western Watchman*. These symptoms of revolt, it is true, are local; but, should they find a succession of popes to encourage them, they might soon overthrow the Jesuit control in Catholicism at large. American contagion is beginning to spread even to the center of the Church; though it is true that the bondage of thought seems rather to deepen than remit.

Assuming, therefore, that it is possible and, perhaps, probable that the Roman Catholicism of the future, without losing its continuity of doctrine or administration, may be keyed on a very different note from that of the present, it is interesting to inquire how large a range of doctrine is left as yet undecided. Examination, I think, will surprise us. The flippant confidence with which so many popular lecturers undertake to determine what is essential to Roman Catholic doctrine is discreditable to them and misleading to the public. It is reflected, indeed, from the similar and less excusable behavior of many Roman Catholic divines, who, as the learned Recollet Franciscan Chrismann scornfully remarks, have a perfect mania for fettering the consciences of the faithful by making out all sorts of opinions to be essential to the faith which, whether true or false, are established neither by Scripture, nor early tradition, nor universal consent of the fathers, and therefore lack every criterion to be applied to articles of faith. This book of Chrismann, printed at Würzburg in 1854 and entitled, *Regula Fidei et Collectio Dogmatum Credendorum*, is at the foundation of this paper, although he is not to be understood as responsible for all that we may say.

The ultimate theorem, assumed by all Roman Catholics without dispute, evaded by the Vatican Council, but not contradicted even by that, is this: Nothing can be established as a part of the Catholic faith which is not included in the apostolic

message as a fact or truth divinely revealed. Many positions are universally accepted among Roman Catholics—and many of these as of great theological importance, so that the whole present system of the Church would be sadly shaken if they were discredited—which, nevertheless, are confessed to be incapable of definition as articles of faith. For instance, says Chrismann, all Catholics believe that St. Peter was for a number of years bishop of Rome, and left the primacy of the Church to his successors in the bishopric. Yet neither fact is any part of the apostolic message, whether written or oral. It is known only by human historical report, and therefore can never be an article of faith. That Peter had the primacy, and that this is permanent in the Church, are positions deduced, in some way or other, from the Scriptures, and are at present enforced as of faith; but that the Roman bishop must always be the primate is not of faith.

It is not denied by many Roman Catholics, if by any, that revelations may have been repeatedly made by God to holy men and women, living long after the apostles, concerning spiritual truths of high importance—as, for instance, the nature or degree of celestial or infernal awards, or of purgatorial pains, or concerning certain courses of conduct, or perhaps certain devout observances, as being peculiarly helpful to salvation, or concerning various points of ecclesiastical policy, or the future fortunes of the Church. Some of these supposed visions or revelations may have been officially sanctioned by Rome or assumed as true in the acts of great councils, and may have regulated belief and practice during many ages. We speak hypothetically, yet not without considerable support of fact. Think how powerful the Virgin of Lourdes now is in the Church! Yet it is allowed that these revelations can never be defined as of faith, nor those who reject them excommunicated as heretics. The pressure of public opinion might make the lives of such skeptics a burden to them, but could not well drive them out of the Church. We cannot answer for what extravagant superstition may yet accomplish; but so far it has not accomplished this. Should such beliefs decline, or finally be given up universally, Catholic opinion and practice in various regions would be greatly modified; yet the essence of the faith would not have been touched, nor the doctrinal infallibility of

the Church discredited, since it is not as yet claimed by the Church that the gift of infallibility has been bestowed upon her for any other end than to unfold the truths divinely revealed through the prophets and apostles.

How far does Roman Catholicism claim unchangeableness for the Church, and how far does she admit the Church to be changeable? She claims unchangeableness in the following particulars: (1) That body of Christians adhering to Rome has never been suffered to deny any truth divinely revealed, or permanently to accept as of faith anything except what has been divinely revealed through apostles or prophets, received in early tradition, and accepted with substantial unanimity by the fathers. (2) The Church as above defined has never failed of a valid and legitimate episcopate and priesthood, gathered under a legitimate primacy. The episcopate, being incapable of renewal if lost, can never be interrupted; the primacy, being a jurisdiction, not an order, may be interrupted or confused, but has always, after such interruption or confusion, been recovered and authentically determined. (3) In matters of discipline and policy, which are not matters of faith, the Church, though depressed by human infirmity and often deeply stained by human sin, has, on the whole, been so guided as to advance the ends of the kingdom of God.

In all other particulars, such as the precise form and measure of ordinary papal jurisdiction, the methods of papal and episcopal election, the varying rank and authority of different bishoprics, the historical privileges of national Churches, the marriage or celibacy of the clergy, the communion in one or both species, the language to be used in divine worship, the particular forms of ritual, the greater or less veneration given to saints or images, the relative authority of local tradition, the greater or less emphasis laid on monastic seclusion and vows, the varying relations of the Church to the State, and many other matters, it is acknowledged that the Church may, and often should, change from age to age, from country to country, nay, often from diocese to diocese. In all these secondary matters, not imagined to be fixed by any institution of Christ, Rome is so far from priding herself on being unchangeable that she claims a flexibility far beyond that which she exemplifies in fact. In other words, on the unvarying foundation of faith,

tradition, and hierarchical succession, she claims an almost illimitable liberty of varying the superstructure of the Church, so that it may correspond with all the infinite varieties of the human race. Had Rome allowed as wide a range of liberty as she claims the right to allow, it is possible that there might never have been a break in either the East or the West. There are strenuous Roman Catholics who, while esteeming the East schismatical and the Protestant West heretical, seem not ill-inclined to put the main blame for both divisions on the Vatican itself.

There are two profoundly different tendencies in defining apostolic tradition. The elder view, and certainly much the more obvious, is this: Whatever doctrine is not found in the writings of any Church father down, say, to Gregory the Great, in the year 600, and in the East to John of Damascus, a century or two later, or, being found, is rejected by a part of those that are acknowledged as Fathers, cannot have been a part of the apostolic message. Therefore, even if reasonable, probable, or conducing to doctrinal completeness, nay, even if morally certain, it can never be defined as an article of faith. One who denies it may be very unreasonable, but he can never be heretical. On the other hand, in the course of the ages a great many opinions have gained prevalence in the Latin Church and become an integral part of its concrete Catholicism which are not found in the Scriptures, and which are either wholly absent from the fathers or only mentioned as speculative tenets, to be accepted or rejected at discretion. Now those that are especially devoted to these opinions not unnaturally, however unjustifiably, like to have them put under the shield of full ecclesiastical authorization and defined as articles of faith. This has resulted in the invention, in our own day, of the doctrine of "latent tradition." It assumes that the doctrines in question are wrapped up in some texts of Scripture which certainly do not appear to contain them, or have been buried in obscure nooks of the Church, or it may be in dark corners of some Roman basilica, and that it is competent for the gathered episcopate or for the pope to bring them out of this latency and to define them as binding on faith.

Here, as we see, we have two incompatible tendencies and principles. The former is the regulation of dogma by history.

The latter is the triumph of dogma over history, as it has been styled by its passionate champion, Cardinal Manning. In its final form it is embodied in the reply made by Pius IX to Cardinal Guidi, when the latter urged that separate papal infallibility had no support from tradition: "*La tradizione son io*" —"I am tradition." In other words, evidence is not to govern the establishment of doctrine, but irresponsible will. This principle of despotic lawlessness prevailed completely at the Vatican Council, which has been rightly called the "Vatican Mockery"—*ludibrium Vaticanum*. But it raised such a storm of indignation throughout the Christian world as frightened even the victors, and the next year Bishop Fessler, secretary of the pretended council, impelled, it is understood, by Pius himself, published an explanation which evacuates it of a great deal of its force.

We, of course, would fain assume, so long as it is possible, that manliness, independence, love of truth, knowledge, and the power of drawing from undoubted facts their necessary deductions have not finally perished out of the Roman Catholic Church, even under the nightmare of the Vatican Council, with its combination of idolatrous slavishness in the majority and blasphemous arrogance in its Roman lord. We should be glad to believe that this vast company of Christian churches, in which, as Luther says of it in his day, "many and mighty saints have remained under the pope," has not been providentially meant to sink into hopeless ignorance and servility, nor yet to break up into a number of warring schisms. Allowing this, what weapons are yet left in the Roman Catholic system of doctrines of which a more independent and evangelical temper may possibly avail itself to break down the present reign of curialistic despotism? We cannot well expect that at present the ecumenical character of the Vatican Council can be successfully called in question. The machinery of repression and suppression is too completely in the hands of its friends for this. Nevertheless, what is not possible to-day is sometimes accomplished to-morrow. Assuming, not as a fact, nor even as a brilliant probability, but as an abstract possibility, that, under a happy pontificate, there may yet appear sufficient resilient force in the Church to break the present yoke of terrorism and of pure subjective idolatry of the pope, what posi-

tions remain yet unforbidden which the better spirit can lay hold of to accomplish this result?

It can never be of faith that any particular council is ecumenical, since every council is an event occurring long after the apostles. Papal ratification cannot make it ecumenical, since the question is one of fact—contingent, not contained in original tradition, and therefore out of the range of even the pope's professed infallibility. If, as can be proved of the *Vaticanum* by all manner of evidence, a council is made up of voting members a large part of whom have no certain right to vote, while others have certainly no right to vote; if it is gathered in a hall in which four fifths of the members cannot understand the speeches; if its order of business and choice of officers are both withdrawn from its competence; if free discussion, by all manner of restrictive rules, is made impossible to it; if it is sternly refused access to the acts of a great preceding council, lest it should learn the full extent of its own prerogatives; if a great proportion of its members are so completely dependent on the *curia* as to be compelled by the argument of hunger to vote as this wills; if the civil authority, blended with the ecclesiastical, exerts a constant coercive power upon it; if the right, inherent in every governing bishop, to give witness to the tradition of his particular church is abridged; if the right of the council to consult with the most learned theologians of the Church is essentially hampered; if an independent minority is continually browbeaten by violent invectives of the pope and by an incessant succession of inflammatory popular agitations encouraged by him; if all the precedents of the great uncontested councils are set at naught; and if the free testimony of Catholic Christendom as to the real character of the council is intercepted by threats of excommunication against everyone who dares to state the facts as they are—then, by principles which Roman Catholicism itself has not yet ventured to deny in theory, however much it may belie them in practice, the Vatican Council has no right to be called ecumenical. Of course, if the Vatican Council should eventually be rejected (and councils whose formal claims are greatly superior in almost everything but numbers have been disowned by the Church) the doctrinal infallibility of the pope would go with it and would be hopelessly discredited. Pius

IX might then be anathematized for heresy, blasphemy, and intolerable tyranny, as Honorius I has been anathematized for simple heresy. Or, if a milder time spares his person, there will certainly be no occasion to spare his policy.

Indeed, even on Roman Catholic premises it is not certain that any Western councils have ecumenical claims. That haughtiest of the popes, Boniface VIII, did not profess to call more than seven councils ecumenical—those that had been acknowledged before the great breach of East and West in 1054. If the ultramontanes should urge that the East by obstinate schism has ceased to be a part of the universal Church, and that its bishops have thereby lost their right to sit in a universal council, it can be shown by a redundance of testimony that the earlier Church knew nothing of any such test of unity. Whether a bishop was at peace or at feud with Rome, he had equally a right to sit in a general council. The president of the first Council of Constantinople, Meletius of Antioch, was at the time out of communion with Rome; yet no one disputed his right to preside. Dying during the council, he was immediately canonized, and has for nearly fifteen hundred years stood alike in the Greek and in the Roman calendars. St. Chrysostom, as Father Puller points out, until his fifty-first year had never been for a day in communion with Rome; yet neither in his own estimation nor in that of the East had he ever lapsed from the unity of the Catholic Church. When already Bishop of Constantinople he at length made up the quarrel, yet by no submission, nor with any acknowldgment of wrong. Indeed, Rome, in spite of herself, cannot make thorough work of her assertion that the Greeks are out of the Catholic Church. She does not call them heretics; she has never dreamed of denying their orders; she has not denied that their bishops are legitimate pastors, having the power of the keys. Even lately she has sent formal congratulations to the Patriarch of Constantinople on his accession. The Greeks receive no Western councils and reject the *Vaticanum* with scorn; yet even now Rome does not venture to impugn their orthodoxy. She feels the consciousness of a common Catholicism. As Dr. Schaff says, pride, in the breast of Rome, has been often baffled in its aims by doctrinal conscientiousness and by the instincts of brotherhood.

On the other hand, the Greeks are perfectly ready to acknowledge that the Bishop of Rome is the primate of the universal Church. They do not acknowledge this preeminence as of divine right; but they accept it as an ancient and venerable historical development, having a significant connection even with Peter's primacy. As they represent especially orthodoxy, so they admit that Rome represents especially unity. They allow the inconveniences of being out of union with the central Church, and the advantages for energy of Christian action of being conjoined with it. If Anglicanism, for instance, should divide into several great contending masses we can see that the churches adhering to Canterbury would hold their heads the highest, especially if they were half the whole body. Yet Canterbury claims no divine right of presidency. Thus the Greeks do not dispute the grievousness of the breach with Rome. Yet they put the blame where it mainly belongs—on her intolerable haughtiness and untenable pretensions.

Supposing now that the historical spirit should at length get control in the Church, could it finally cast down these pretensions without destroying the sense of ecclesiastical identity? It could not, certainly, without destroying the Roman Catholic denomination. But that is a late thing. It really does not antedate the Council of Trent. The decisions of Trent, it is easy to see, are from beginning to end reactionary. Reaction against new views is not always unsound. It is often highly necessary in order to preserve deep truths and important traditions. The Reformation was not at all points wise or true. It let free the imprisoned evangelical consciousness of the North to blessed ends of freedom and faith and widening works of good. It let free also, of necessity, all manner of tumultuous unripeness of opinion and action, threatening forces of disintegration and anarchy. The doctrinal decisions of Trent, for a vast part of the world, have served essentially to keep Christianity from volatilizing itself into an impotent cloud. Yet unhappily the council fell under the prevailing control of the narrow-minded and frightened element, not of the large-minded and courageous. How very different the results might have been had the council been guided by men like Pole and Contarini, or even like Cajetan! There were men adhering

to Rome and high in ecclesiastical or civil trust who were well disposed to throw overboard the whole mass of mediæval rubbish and to give doctrinal explanations which, while distinctly Catholic, should allow a large range to theories that were shut out by the frightened fathers of Trent. Pole and Contarini, for instance, while decisively rejecting much of Luther's extravagance (polemical rather than strictly doctrinal), would have been glad to establish the doctrine of justification by faith in very much such a form as it appears under in the *Pauline Theology* of Professor Stevens. So deep were the divisions as to this great article that the bishops actually came to blows over it. Yet the Spaniards and Italians carried the day, and set up a mechanical and semipharisaical theory which neither the scriptural nor the spiritual apprehensions of Protestantism could possibly accept.

So as to purgatory. Rome favors the prevalent Protestant belief that the elect are made perfect at death, that the last remains of sin are purged away with the parting breath. Yet she has not prescribed this opinion as of faith; nor has Lutheranism or Anglicanism. The opinion, therefore, that even in the regenerate moral imperfection may often survive death, and may need in some form the providential discipline of pain for its extinction, is not really a point at issue between the Reformation as a whole and Catholicism. On the other hand, Rome prescribes as of faith that the departed elect, though now sinless, even in impulse, may be held for varying terms to meet the penal consequences of even forgiven sin. No one disputes this as to earthly life, and Rome maintains that in this the conditions of earthly life may survive the grave, though not the final judgment. This latter view Protestantism has rejected almost unanimously, yet less by logical necessity than by disgust at the coarse and hard legalism of its form. Nor is the belief that the communion of saints implies a benefit to the faithful departed from the intercessions of the living either involved in Protestantism or opposed to it. It lies outside the range of its essential principle. The question whether an unconverted soul can be regenerated after death is answered by Rome with an emphatic negative. What is known as the Andover view she repels as a deep error. She admits future expiation, but utterly rejects future probation. Trent has es-

tablished the doctrine of purgatory in mild and general terms, defining neither the nature and extent and duration of its pains, nor the mode or degree of certainty with which the intercessions of the Church avail for the mitigation of them. It also deprecates popular superstitions on the subject. But if it had been under a bolder control it would have laid the ax to the root of these superstitions, by abrogating or rigorously restricting private masses, by reintroducing the ancient usage of one eucharist for one day in one church, by abolishing all stipends for masses, and by declaring to all the Church that neither masses nor indulgences avail for the holy dead except so far as God, in his hidden wisdom, may see fit to regard them. This is the actual doctrine of Rome, but it needs an enlightening energy of proclamation to work against the magical superstitions of the untutored multitudes. All this Trent has failed to do. Happily, however, she did not set up doctrinal barriers against the possibility that it may be done by a future council truly ecumenical.

On one great point Trent, if not positively, was at least negatively, independent. Rome could not prevail on the council to set forth any theory of the papacy, or even to declare it of divine right. The fathers of the council deal with it as an august and ancient fact, and stop there. They declare that they do not mean to encroach upon the rights of the holy see, but they do not define these nor declare them invariable or even perpetual. The papacy, notwithstanding the great and, indeed, excessive awe with which it is regarded by the fathers of Trent, is evidently no more an absolutely substantial part of their Catholicism than it had been in that of the fathers of Constance.

Suppose, now, that the spirit of historical candor, which is really the plenary consciousness of Christ prevailing over the imperfect and partial apprehensions of his disciples (as admirably set forth of late by Principal Fairbairn), should gain control in the Roman Catholic Church. It is evidently making way within it, as it is throughout Christendom. What would be the result if it should become supreme? The result would evidently be to send Vaticanism and a great part of Tridentinism into the limbo of outworn and forgotten pretensions, along with the donation of Constantine, the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, the fable of Pope Joan, Adrian the Fourth's compact

with the devil, and a thousand other fictions, some advancing, others disparaging, the papacy. The disappearance of all these errors, some of gradual growth, others violently obtruded upon the Church, would not interrupt the continuity of Catholicism, nor even of Roman Catholicism, regarded, not as a sect, but as the strongest exponent of tendency in the Christian Church. It would simply break up the artificial sectarian exaggeration of Romanism under which the latter has subsisted for the last three centuries. The majesty of the genuine Christian tradition would come out of this purifying process with new resplendency.

Meanwhile, in waiting for this good hour, what points of importance are still left open to free discussion, even since the *Vaticanum?* We mention some, as adduced by the Franciscan Chrismann. We give them as they occur in his book, without undertaking to classify them in the order of importance:

1. All postapostolic doctrines and miracles, and all postapostolic doctrines confirmed by miracles, however illustrious, merit at most only a human and variable faith.

2. The inferences from an article of faith, however clear, are not themselves articles of faith, unless the prior proposition is unintelligible without them.

3. A papal or conciliar definition of doctrine, even when legitimate and authoritative, is not irreversible, unless it sets forth a truth divinely revealed through the apostles and unanimously held in the early Church.

4. The Vulgate is, for all essential ends of doctrine, authentic, but, as Pope Leo XIII remarks in his recent encyclical, not in the sense that it is always an accurate translation of the originals.

5. Neither an individual man nor a plurality, even though all of them be fathers, canonized saints, and doctors of the Church, can establish any proposition as of faith unless supported by the universal consent of the early Church.

6. The Church is not infallible in teaching truths deduced only from reason, not from revelation.

7. The Church is not infallible in pronouncing any man a heretic, since she may have misunderstood his meaning.

8. The Church is not infallible in the enactment of merely ecclesiastical laws or ceremonies.

9. No particular council, diocesan, provincial, or national,

even if approved by the pope, is infallible, although a subsequent reception by the whole Church may make its decisions binding on faith.

10. Even an ecumenical council is not promised infallible assistance if negligent or precipitate in its action. The same reservation naturally applies to the pope.

11. The reasonings and allegations of a council or pope in defense of a doctrine are not a part of the doctrine and do not bind faith.

12. It is lawful to invoke the intercession of departed saints, but not obligatory; nor is it certain that this invocation of their intercession has any religious character, more than a similar request addressed to the living.

13. It is not a certainty of faith that the saints hear our prayers, still less that they infallibly secure the objects desired.

14. Veneration paid to images of Christ and the saints is lawful, but not obligatory.

15. Those who hold it unlawful to portray the Father, the Spirit, or the Trinity, do not sin against faith.

16. The veneration of relics is lawful, but not obligatory, and has no certainly religious value.

17. It is of faith that Christ has instituted all the seven sacraments, but not that he has instituted them all in his immediate earthly presence.

18. The indelible character of baptism, confirmation, and orders is not certainly a modification of the soul. It may only be an indefeasible right to the benefits contained in these sacraments, under due conditions.

19. It is lawful to believe that a sacrament is valid where the due rites are observed, with the purpose of an exterior celebration, even though the inward volition of the minister should wickedly contradict his outward act, so that the faithful are not dependent on the chances of his sincerity.

20. It is not of faith that the sacrifice of the eucharist is propitiatory in the same sense as that of the cross, nor that Christ's presence in it is local.

21. Although contrary to prevailing opinion, it is still lawful to maintain that he whose hatred of sin proceeds only from the fear of hell, and not from the love of God, cannot receive a valid absolution.

22. It is of faith that the Church, through indulgences, can remit arrears of canonical penance due to herself, but not that she can remit arrears of temporal punishment, on earth or in purgatory, due to God. And if she can it is not of faith that she can do this otherwise than *per modum suffragii*, that is, in the way of intercession, efficacious so far as God's infinite wisdom may decide.

23. It is not even rash to maintain that the inferior orders, from subdeacon down, are nonsacramental. It is rash, but not heretical, to maintain that the diaconate is nonsacramental. It is heretical to deny that the priesthood is sacramental.

24. It is probable, but not certain, that at least every believer has a guardian angel assigned him by God.

25. It is commonly, but not necessarily, believed that each soul undergoes a particular judgment immediately after death.

26. The place, severity, and duration of purgatorial pains are matters of free opinion.

27. It is not of faith to hold that there is literal fire in purgatory.

28. The coercive physical power of the Church is not an article of faith.

The notorious syllabus and accompanying encyclical are a later thing. It seems never to have been settled, even in the mind of Pius himself, whether they are to be viewed as binding on faith. John Henry Newman decidedly denies this. After publishing this view he was raised to the purple by Leo XIII. It appears, therefore, that Leo does not hold it as heretical to deny the conclusive force of the syllabus and encyclical. The Jesuitizing school goes much further than Chrismann, but its opinions are thus far not binding on faith.

Charles C. Tarbox

Art. II.—RECIPROCITY OF ART AND RELIGION.

The art sentiment, like the religious instinct, is as universal as human intelligence. Savagery cannot sink below it, nor can civilization rise above it. No condition of ignorance or of education can eliminate it from the life and nature of men. The untutored savage who fantastically decorates his body, paints his tent, dyes with various colors his garments, gives grotesque fashion to his idol, or adds adornment to the tombs of his dead is as truly endowed with the universal art-feeling as the genius that creates a Parthenon, frescoes a Sistine, or paints a "Transfiguration." There is in man's nature something to which art makes an irresistible appeal. We have mental, if not moral, demands which art alone can meet, just as there is within our human intelligence that to which only poetry, music, or religion can appeal and minister. Truth is essentially one, though multiform. Science, nature, music, poetry, art, and religion are but different keys of the infinite organ of truth. A prayer, a psalm, a flower, a picture is each a partial expression, revelation, or interpretation of something even greater than itself, of something greater than ourselves—even the true, the beautiful, the perfect, the ideal, the divine.

Art, as a form of truth, an interpretation of the beautiful, or a symbolization of the spiritual and the divine, has always had a place and power among men. The art of a people, no less than their literature, science, law, and ethics, is an index of their culture, since it is a sincere expression of their taste and aspiration, the embodiment of their ideal. Moreover, as art is an index and manifestation of a people's aesthetic instinct and development, so it is also one of the most effectual mediums of enlightenment, one of the most powerful promoters of refined taste, elevated thought, and elegant manners. The art of Greece, no less than her literature; the works of Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles, no less than the epics of Homer, the dialogues of Plato, and the tragedies of Æschylus, were the measure of the greatness and splendor of Grecian civilization. Whether we study the progressive development of ancient or of modern peoples—of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, or of the Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, Dutch,

and English—we shall find their art forever indicating their mental and moral, and even their social and political, tendencies as clearly and positively as do their science, their laws, and their letters.

The power of art is the power of the beautiful; but the philosophy of the power of the beautiful is not easily understood. Poets and artists, musicians and naturalists, prophets and sages have been the faithful apostles and exponents of the beautiful without fully comprehending its nature, as men have preached God the Infinite without knowing him to perfection. The world's philosophers, however, have given us some very worthy and inspiring ideas of the nature and mission of beauty. Ruskin (and, if we may claim that Plato's "absolute beauty" was spiritual and personal, then the "divine" Plato, with Ruskin) makes all beauty typical of divine attributes, an emanation of spiritual beauty, a symbol and expression of it. Hegel puts an "idea" into every form, and makes beauty to be the shining forth of that "idea" through a sensuous medium. Kant taught that the highest meaning of beauty is the symbolization of moral good. Socrates also taught that nothing is beautiful which is not good, and nothing good but what is at the same time beautiful. He further taught that what is good and beautiful must necessarily be useful. Herder and, before him, Plato advanced the doctrine that the beautiful carries with it the idea of perfection, the absolute, and the ideal. These theories all seem to have a rich measure of meaning for us in a consideration of the reciprocal relations of art and religion. If we claim that art is an interpretation of nature, we do not find ourselves in conflict with Goethe's statement, that beauty is both the final principle and the highest aim of art, since art, indeed, interprets nature for no other purpose than to more fully open our eyes to what is therein beautiful, perfect, and thus most adequately symbolic of the divine.

In its æsthetic ministry art has come to serve religion; and therein it attempts to interpret, not only nature, but also the supernatural in the ever-fascinating formularies of the beautiful. Art has found its loftiest themes, its holiest inspirations, and its most sympathetic encouragement in religion. Trace the history of art to as remote a period as we will, wherever we find it in those earliest endeavorings, in those first aspirings

and promises, it will be related to and dependent upon the prevailing religion. Whether it be the rude art of the Pueblo-, Toltec-, or Aztec- of ancient and prehistoric America, or the first crude expressions of art feeling and taste in Egypt, Greece, or Babylonia, it will have a distinct and an entirely religious character. Religion, art, and music seem to have had so remote an origin in human history that the student fails to discover the time when they did not exist and flourish. From their earliest development to the present time they have been inseparable, reciprocal in their benign ministrations and sympathies, and cooperative in their ennobling mission to mankind. One may very easily trace the sciences to their beginnings. Astronomy, geology, philology, ethnology, mathematics, and logic, as formulated sciences, all have a clearly defined origin. Literature, likewise, and political government belong within the limits of comparatively well-known dates of history. But religion and art have a history back of history, and their beginnings are too remote for definite date. It can only be said that with man began religion, and with religion began art.

Our only reliable source of information regarding the religions of the prehistoric races of America is the art which still remains in the ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru. The ancient architecture, pottery, and sculpture to be found there all bear the impress of a religious origin, and all have a religious meaning. Even their idols, which remind us of the idols of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and at times of those of the Chinese and Japanese, are, like all idols, a union of art and religion—art in its crudity and religion in its crudity. There is in them an imperfect taste, an imperfect worship, and an incomplete and inadequate, if not wholly false, expression of truth. But even the idol represents a people's religious and artistic endeavorings. It tells of the mind's groping after the light of truth and God, and seeking, the best way it knew, the solution of the mysterious problem of human destiny. While the art of vanished races gives us a knowledge of their religion, we see therein that their religion inspired their art, and thus became the power which, above all others, perpetuated their names.

The religious sentiment, however, has inspired higher forms of art, even the highest. The rude altar by the wayside where

migratory tribes have offered an evening or morning sacrifice is an expression of both art and religion—religion creating the art, and art aiding religion and stimulating the spirit of worship in kindly, almost inspired, reciprocity. When the tribes combine, cease their wanderings, and settle into a social and political community in some genial clime and fertile locality, the altar becomes more permanent and more artistic. About it rises the temple, and the temple grows in beauty and grandeur, becoming in its turn more and more artistic. Taste for the beautiful in form and proportion develops with the development of the material symbols of worship, which have been created from desire to express the heart's religious sentiments in forms, altars, temples, and ceremonies presumably most attractive and acceptable to the eyes of the Creator of nature's beauty. From this center of artistic expression radiates an æsthetic influence, until all the departments of human life seek the ministry of art, which thus becomes an evangel of universal refinement, culture, and purity. When we advance to a consideration of the art of which the highest civilizations have been able to boast, it will be found that religion is still its creative life, and that the most perfect development of art becomes, not only a school of taste, but even more conspicuously a school of ethics and worship.

It is significant that atheism never created, never inspired, a single great form or expression of the sublime and beautiful for the refinement of human taste, the encouragement of human life, the promotion of human happiness, and the development of human righteousness. Atheism has not inspired a single one of the greatest poems, orations, constitutions, or masterpieces of art. These superlative achievements in literature, music, law, and art would have been forever impossible but for the creative and inspiring influence of religion. Heine one day stood before the cathedral of Amiens with a friend, who, after studying the imposing structure with awe and wonder, turned and asked the poet why we were not able to build such edifices in our day. Heine replied: "My dear Alphonse, men in those olden days had convictions. We moderns have only opinions, and something more than a mere opinion is necessary to the erection of such a Gothic cathedral." It has taken something more than mere opinions to write the great songs, com-

pose the great oratorios, found the great constitutions, fight the great battles, make the great discoveries, and create the glorious art which have promoted freedom and civilization. It has taken convictions—strong, wise, authoritative, and religious convictions.

That art has been degraded to ignoble uses of vice and superstition will not be denied; but like degrading uses have been made of literature, music, science, and even religion. And, if a vicious abuse of art on the part of the base and sensual would justify the pure and good in repudiating its ministry and denying its refining, elevating character, then on the same ground must the righteous of this earth repudiate literature, science, music, and religion itself. We speak of high art—art high in its purpose and aim, sincere, expressive of the best in the mind and life of the peoples producing it. In all such art we find religion as its very soul and life.

When we study the art of the *Renaissance* in the sculpture, painting, and architecture of Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, in the works of Brunelleschi, Angelo, Bramante, Raphael, and Da Vinci, behold, it is all intensely religious. The religious feeling made it possible, developed it, nourished it, glorified it. But the Parthenon at Athens had as religious an origin as St. Peter's of Rome, nay, as theological, as sectarian, an origin. It was to the Greek religion what St. Peter's is to the Roman Catholic religion. What meanings, moreover, have these statues of classic art-creation—Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Jupiter? These are the gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon or the deified heroes and heroines of the Greek mythology. They are as religious in origin and meaning as the statues of Moses and David created by Angelo. It is quite remarkable that men should ever denounce the religiousness, the theology, of the art of the *Renaissance*—the art of Angelo, Raphael, Angelico, Titian, and Da Vinci—and praise what they call classic art, when there is no art in existence more completely religious and theological than classic art. Phidias, Apelles, and Praxiteles expressed their ideas of the gods in quite as narrow and sectarian a spirit as did ever Angelico express his ideas of singing angels, or Raphael his idea of the Madonna, or Angelo his conception of Christ upon the judgment throne. The same is true in literature. Hesiod is

There is no art-in existence more completely religious than classic art.

as theological in the "Theogony" as Moses in Genesis. Homer is as theological in the "Iliad" as Dante in the "Divine Comedy." Callimachus is as theological in the "Hymns" as David in the Psalms. And thus religion has dominated the highest poetry as well as the highest art.

We need not limit our survey to any single age or race in studying the reciprocity of religion and art, but shall find that in all ages and among all peoples they have been very intimately related. The stone lions or pumas of New Mexico, carved more than ten centuries ago by the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians and still worshiped; the temple of serpent-shaped pillars at Tula, the pyramid of the sun, and the sculptured images of the sun god, rain god, and god of air and wisdom, the work of the Toltecs who settled at Tula as early as the sixth century, and tradition says the second; the ruins of the holy city of Palenque and of Aké, Izamal, and Chichen-Itza, with the well-preserved remains of statues and of temples, tombs, and palaces, adorned with bas-relief of a high order of workmanship, whose age has been variously estimated at from one to two thousand years—all show the relation of art to religion in the early barbarisms of America.

If we study the art remains of Babylonia and Assyria of thirty centuries ago we shall find the religions of those ancient peoples—the worship of Bel, the sun god, in particular—preserved on tile and stone, indicating that their art and religion had a common origin and a reciprocal relation one to the other. In the awe-inspiring art of old Egypt we find art the helpmeet of religion. Unearth her buried glory, contemplate the imposing relics of her vanished greatness, translate the significance of those stately columns and huge statues that stand to tell the ages of the ancient grandeur of the Nile. In these is the record of Egypt's God-seeking history. Here are her sighs and hopes and fears and prayers, her faith and aspirations and character, preserved in magnificent artistic expression. Those mighty temples and enduring pyramids cannot be interpreted except from a religious standpoint. They could have had no other origin than the people's notions of life and death, destiny and God. Let those pyramids be recognized as only magnificent tombs; yet it will appear that the old Egyptian ideas of death and of the future state gave rise, not only to their elabo-

rate funeral rites and their careful preparation of the dead for burial, but also to the artistic decorations of mummy cases and sarcophagi and the stupendous magnitude of the tombs of their great kings. The temples of Abu-Simbel, Edfoo, and El Karnak speak even in their splendid ruins of the ancient reciprocity and cooperation of art and religion. Egyptian religion, whether polytheistic or monotheistic, and in both her Theban and Memphite systems, gave origin to Egyptian art; and that art set forth to her own people, and even to all coming ages, the faith that was held by that mighty and mysterious race.

Turn to the spot where ancient culture reached its perfection and beauty attained its highest and noblest expression in sculpture, painting, and architecture. The history of art in Greece begins with the history of Athens. There, too, art had a religious origin. Whether introduced by Cecrops or Erechtheus, the worship of Minerva, or Athene, gave the city its name; and as early as B. C. 1400 a statue of Minerva was there erected as an object of worship. In Homer's time, say B. C. 900, art must have advanced to a very high state of perfection. The poet's description of the shield of Achilles, in the eighteenth book of the "Iliad," would certainly indicate a knowledge of sculpture, engraving, and enameling in various colored metals, if not of painting. That architecture was carried to great magnificence in building may be learned from the poet's description of the palace of Priam:

> Raised on arch'd columns of stupendous frame—
> O'er these a range of marble structure runs,
> The rich pavilions of his fifty sons,
> In fifty chambers lodg'd; and rooms of state
> Oppos'd to those, where Priam's daughters sate.
> Twelve domes for them and their loved spouses shone,
> Of equal beauty, and of polish'd stone.

Paris also has his palace:

> Himself the mansion rais'd, from ev'ry part
> Assembling architects of matchless art.

If Homer is not guilty of an inexcusable anachronism, then the shield of Achilles and the palaces of Priam and Paris were possible creations of Greek art in the thirteenth, or even the fifteenth, century B. C. Homer is coming to be recognized as the founder of the composite Olympian religion. In his

epic the gods of the Greek Pantheon are familiar with art; and from his day, if not from some day far more remote, art was inseparable from the Olympian system. By Homer's teaching the handicrafts and arts were the gifts of the gods. The progress, no less than the genesis, of art in Greece was religious; and when it reached its climax of perfection in Athens, Phidias consecrated his genius to the gods—that is, to religion, as he understood it. The noblest productions of this incomparable artist were his statues of Jupiter and Minerva and his unrivaled sculptures in the Parthenon, dedicated to Minerva, the patron goddess of Athens. Apelles, too, the Raphael of Greece, consecrated his genius to the gods and made his glowing pencil teach the faith of the elegant Greeks.

We can understand Saracenic art only from the standpoint of Mohammedanism. That art takes character from the religion of the Koran, even in its very limitations. Beautiful and often imposing as was the architecture with which the Moors embellished Spain, reaching its climax in the chaste elegance of the Alhambra, noble as were the mosques which shrined the symbols of their faith, the Saracens could not be great sculptors and painters, for they were forbidden to represent in art the form of any living being. Mohammedan architecture, however, is a very significant illustration of our theme, since it sets forth all that the Moslem religion can do for art and all that art can do for the Moslem religion. The limitations of the Mohammedan religion determine the limitations of Saracenic art. What we have said relative to the reciprocity of religion and art in Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, Mohammedan Europe and Asia, and ancient America, will apply to India, China, Japan, and ancient Palestine, where forms of religion have originated and given birth and character to forms of art.

Modern art found its origin in religion, if not in theology. It was not the offspring of superstition. It was born of faith in the Infinite, of a hope of immortality, of a sincere struggling of the human soul toward God. As soon as Christianity became a creative, regenerative, and formative power in society new literatures, new laws, new sciences, and a new art began to appear and to develop toward perfection. With the decline and fall of the Roman empire, if not much earlier, say, with the Roman subjugation of the artistic Greeks, came not

only the decline, but the almost total annihilation, of original art; and for a thousand years or more the world was deprived of enlightenment. Not a great song was sung, not a great philosophy was propounded, not a great work of art was created. Letters, art, and ethics all seemed to have become barbarianized. Ignorance and superstition prevailed where once had triumphed civilizations splendid with laws and letters, poetry and philosophy, art and arms.

There came, however, a morning to break the intellectual gloom of the Dark Ages—a morning of freedom, of emancipation. The star that heralded the coming day was Dante's wondrous song. Almost simultaneously with that poetic genius awoke the beautiful genius of art in the soul of Giotto. Giotto was perhaps the first to break away from the barbarism of Byzantine art. He was the disciple of Dante; and thus religion, through its noblest exponent in the fourteenth century, gave inspiration to the soul of him who was to become the herald, if not the founder, of modern art. Giotto was the forerunner of that generation of mighty geniuses whose creations in sculpture, architecture, and painting raised modern art to a rivalry with the noblest triumphs of the classic ages.

What is the leading characteristic of this art of the *Renaissance*, this art of Cimabue, Giotto, Brunelleschi, Bramante, and Michael Angelo, this art of Raphael, Titian, Correggio, and Da Vinci? It is religious; it is Christian. Christianity creates it, develops it, patronizes and supports it. It was the highest ambition of the old masters to make art the handmaid of religion; hence the religious character of their great works. Fra Angelico goes to his work in the spirit of a saint and prays for divine inspiration. The tears roll down his cheeks while he paints angelic forms on gloomy walls. Michael Angelo gives seventeen years of his time to building St. Peter's Cathedral, refusing all financial remuneration, and toiling on with his splendid genius to glorify God in the achievements of his art. The frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, which inaugurated a new era in the history of art, drew their inspiration from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. They tell the Mosaic story of the creation and of the antediluvian world, portray the majestic figures of the Hebrew prophets, and then move forward to the end of time and depict the grandeur and solemnity of the

last judgment. The Sistine Chapel is full of the spirit of Christianity, glorified with scriptural truth. Angelo was a devout disciple of Savonarola, the reformer of the *Renaissance*, and a student of Dante, whose genius, character, and teachings were his inspiration in art. Angelo gave character to the art of the *Renaissance*, which thus became lofty, sublime, and Christian. Raphael caught his highest inspirations from Angelo and consecrated his matchless genius to religious uses. It must be admitted that the art of that time set forth in some instances what have come to be looked upon as errors, if not superstitions. But the religion of that time, while containing the sublimest truths of Christianity, also tolerated and taught many unverified traditions and fables. Art could not be nobler than the religion which gave it life. What is true in religion inspires what is true in art, and what is false in art comes from what is false in the religion which inspires it.

As Christianity has inspired art, so Christian art has glorified Christianity. It has set forth her doctrines, portrayed her saints, and even her very God and Saviour. Limited only by the necessary restrictions of her powers, art has been a teacher of things divine. It has robed religion in loveliness and crowned her white brow with jewels of beauty. It has reared the noblest structures that adorn the earth to her honor and service. Not to science, not to letters, not to philosophy, not to liberty, not to nature, not to art itself, but to religion has art dedicated its most glorious achievements, whether in painting, in sculpture, or in architecture.

While we might instructively study the reciprocity of art and science, or art and philosophy, or art and poetry, yet we shall not be able to find that close relationship, that intimate, enduring, eternal interaction that we find universally existing between art and religion. It is not remarkable that a people of artistic tastes and genius should possess the poetical spirit. There is poetry in all true art, as there is art in all true poetry. Both are largely the offspring of the religious feeling and of a love of the beautiful, and they both minister to the æsthetic, the imaginative, and the moral in man. It could hardly be that an unpoetical people should ever become distinguished for their art tastes or art productions, and it may easily be imagined that a race capable of producing a "Laocoön" could produce an

"Ædipus," and a race that could write an "Iliad" could build a Parthenon. It may be said that a nation's art will equal its poetry, and its poetry its art. This may be seen in a comparison of Greek art with Greek poetry, of Latin art with Latin poetry, and of Italian art with Italian poetry. Homer and Phidias belong to the same race, as do Dante and Michael Angelo, Petrarch and Raphael, Shakespeare and Turner, Goethe and Dürer, Molière and Millet.

It is singular, however, and worthy of notice, that while a people capable of great art are capable of great poetry, the great art and great poetry rarely come together. The chisel and the lyre are not heard at the same time. The Parthenon and the "Iliad" are not twin-born of genius; neither were the "Divine Comedy" and the "Last Judgment," nor "Lear" and "The Slave Ship." Homer, Æschylus, and Pindar were through singing before Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles produced their masterpieces. While Dante and Petrarch were still vocal there was as yet no high Italian art; and while England was glorious with Sidney, Spenser, Jonson, Shakespeare, and Milton her art genius was still slumbering. Dürer, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck painted without a highly poetical accompaniment. We admit, indeed, an exception in France, where Molière was contemporaneous with Claude Lorrain; but not in Spain, for Cervantes passes away ere "Murillo paints the crescent underneath Madonna's feet." But it will be found that religion and art never part company. Art declines with religion, and with it revives. They are companions in all their trials and triumphs, encouraging one another, ministering to one another, upbuilding and inspiring one another, and together giving light and hope and truth to men.

Nothing in the entire range of art history is more suggestive and interesting than the reciprocal relations of art and Christianity. It will not satisfy the thoughtful mind to simply recognize the influence of art upon pagan religion and the reciprocal influence of pagan religion upon art. The most spiritual of all religions, the inspired, the heavenly, the divine religion, has employed art as one of the most efficient mediums for the communication of divine truth to the hearts of men. The first developments of the Christian religion were allied with the first developments of Christian art. Why should not

God reveal himself through inspired art as well as through inspired oratory and literature? Art has given an element of influential power to all sacred symbolism. The beautiful has taught men of the true and divine. If God has constructed the universe on scientific and mathematical principles, has he not also fashioned and adorned it on artistic principles of symmetry, grace, and beauty? If nature tells us that the Infinite mind is rational it also tells us that it is æsthetic; if mathematical, then also artistic. If science so interprets nature that we conceive a more worthy idea of the divine intelligence, is it not the mission of art, in its interpretation of nature, to also increase our knowledge and our love of God?

The Infinite wisdom employed art in setting forth a revelation of his promises and his will to mankind through his chosen people. Nothing remains to us of the art of the Hebrews. They had but little. In the development of the monotheistic idea God saw fit to separate worship as far as possible from all art that had been associated with idolatry or that might tempt an uncultured people into the worship of images. But as the Hebrews advanced in civilization, after they had passed beyond the formative state and had come to be a nation, with a system of laws and government, with a literature, and with tastes for beauty, they were permitted to employ art as a religious teacher. All the art the Hebrews ever did employ, whether native or foreign, was devoted to the service of religion, and in it, as in Hebrew poetry and prophecy, the saving hope of the world was set forth. It was Messianic in its significance. The tabernacle in the wilderness, the ark of the covenant, the golden cherubim were all artistic symbols of spiritual things. All the art displayed in the ark of the covenant, that instrument of storied beauty and of untold value, was consecrated to the preservation of a providential history and to the prefiguration of the promised Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ. In that memorial and prophecy in gold the world has been more deeply interested than in all the bronze or marble or ivory forms that have given immortal fame to Egypt or to Greece.

But we find the perfection of Hebrew art in the temple that stood on Zion, the house of cedar and gold, "beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth." Like every great triumph in architecture which has graced the globe, that temple was

the embodiment of a religious sentiment and the center of a religious system. In one respect, that is, as a production of art, it was to the Jews what the temple of El Karnak was to the old Egyptians, what the temple of Diana was to the Ephesians, what the Parthenon was to Athenians, and what the Pantheon was to the Romans—the nation's greatest architectural achievement, and that for which they will longest be remembered in the history of art. It must be kept in mind that all these structures were religious. It may be doubted whether any other sentiment in man has been strong enough or authoritative enough to make possible the existence of such beautiful and costly temples. The love of philosophy has never inspired such artistic conceptions nor prompted men to the liberality and self-sacrifice necessary to the construction of a Parthenon or a Solomon's temple. The love of letters, of science, or of worldly amusements never found expression in edifices so costly and noble; nay, even the love of law, of country, or of art itself never created, never built, such piles of marble, grace, and grandeur. These edifices are the visible expression of man's prayers and confessions, his faith, his hope, his awe of death and longing for immortality, his ideas of eternity and his need of God. They are the deepest and loftiest, the most pathetic and commanding, the gentlest and boldest, the most beautiful and sublime thoughts that have moved the hearts of men and controlled the history of races. They are in cedar and gold, in marble and ivory, with graceful and majestic columns, with sculptured frieze and swelling dome. They are beautiful symbols of national religion.

The temple of Solomon stood on Zion, gleaming with prophecy. All its glory and costliness, all the pomp and splendor of its services spake of Messiah as prophet had never spoken, as poet had never sung. The ages speed by. The fullness of time ushers in the fulfillment of the old prophecies. The Christ appears, the flowering culmination of prophetic Judaism. Paganism falls to ruin. Out of the *débris* rises a new order of things, a new heaven and a new earth. When, after a transitional age of long duration, art once more rises to fill the world with forms of beauty, new ideals take the place of the old. Egyptian art, Greek art, Roman art, Hebrew art, Assyrian art, give way to the new art—to Christian art. And now art, which

in the old Greek days had been a speculation, in the old Egyptian days a mystery, in the old Hebrew days a prophecy, becomes in these new days an evangel. It is consecrated to Christ. It begins to preach. It preaches from the frescoes of convent and chapel, from the glowing canvas and the breathing stone, from bronze gate and marble *campanile*, from lofty spire and swelling dome. It preaches the story of Bethlehem from the canvas of Correggio; it preaches of the Holy Child and of the transfiguration from the easel of Raphael; it preaches of the last supper from the brush of Leonardo; it preaches of the crucifixion from the pictures of Guido Reni and Albert Dürer; it preaches of the resurrection and the final judgment from the magnificent frescoes of Michael Angelo. Poetry, music, and art have all contributed beautiful expression to the teachings of divine truth. What David sings in the Psalms Solomon builds into the temple; what Dante expresses in a great poem Angelo expresses in a great fresco; what Raphael sets forth in a glorious painting Handel sets forth in a glorious oratorio; what Milton celebrates in a sublime epic Sir Christopher Wren immortalizes in a grand cathedral. And the supreme homage of what is beautiful in them all is paid to "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Son of man."

The classical age was dominated by mythological inspiration, the *Renaissance* by theological, or Christian and scriptural, inspiration. But in the development of the art feeling true artists came to see the demand existing for an interpretation not only of gods and goddesses, angels, saints, martyrs, and divinities, but also of common men and common life, of the physical realities of nature, as well as the spiritual idealities of the supernatural. They came to see that the events of history, the sports and pastimes, the sorrows and burdens of daily life, the beauty of woman, the toil of man, and the sweetness of childhood were all susceptible of artistic interpretation. So there came to the easel such masters as Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Velasquez, Holbein, and Reynolds, who gave us wonderful interpretations of the human face. Paulus Potter, Troyon, Van Marcke, Jacque, and Rosa Bonheur find something for art to interpret in sheep and pastures where they graze. Landscape assumes beauty and glory in the eyes of Claude, Turner, Constable, Dupré, Rousseau, Daubigny, and Corot. For a time the angels,

saints, and martyrs of theological art are forgotten, and we see divinity in the trees and lakes, in the skies and woods and fields. A spiritual voice is ever saying to us, "Behold the fowls of the air," "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow;" and we catch the devout spirit of Him who walked by the sea and through the cornfields, who sat by the well, and who went up into the mountain to pray.

The least artistic objects apparently in the world, the poor man without an ornament, humbly clad, and at his toil, the peasant woman without a jewel, the peasant child without a ribbon, the peasant cottage without a picture, all at once begin to call upon art for interpretation; and Millet paints the pathos of the working life, the poetry of toil, the saints of the field, the madonnas of the cottage, the angels of industry. Jozef Israels finds the same path and gives to a humble Dutch interior, where a woman bends at her sewing, with a little child exulting in a new rag doll or a fresh slice of bread, a fascination beyond the silks and satins of a Watteau or the waxen finish and sensuous beauty of a Bouguereau. Jules Bréton, too, belongs to this class, in whom the honest and industrious peasantry of this world find just and sympathetic friends. These artists show us the humanity, nay, the divinity of toil, the sacredness of life, and the struggle, pathos, endurance, and grandeur of it.

The artists of the last fifty years have been moving away from the classical and theological ideals, and have been more generally than ever before seeking their inspiration from natural, historical, and common life sources. But that does not mean that art is becoming irreligious, that it is losing sight of the divine. It is simply finding more divinity, more truth and beauty, more love and life in this world than ever, and in a greater variety of form and revelation. We must insist that the truth of art, the truth of nature, the truth of life, and the truth of religion are still in perfect harmony, and forever must be. It is not necessary to paint simply angels, madonnas, saints, martyrs, and crucifixions to be religious in spirit. He who, in song or picture or statue, shows the divine meanings of nature and the profound, sincere, godlike workings of human mind and heart; he who makes the lily tell its white mystery; he who sets the stars singing of the worlds above; he who hides mightier philosophies than Plato's in the trees of the forest,

and the harvests of the summer, and the waves of the ocean, and the dimples of a child's sweet face, and the wrinkles on industry's honest brow, and the light that comes through the hollyhocks into the poor widow's cottage window, has as much religion to teach as those old masters who peopled the ceilings of stately cathedrals with martyrs and angels, prophets and madonnas. Millet preaches as religiously as Correggio; and Raphael's "Transfiguration" has not more of the true religious sentiment and the Christ spirit than Millet's "Gleaners" or "Sower" or "Angelus." This master genius of Barbazon acknowledged that he drew his inspiration from the Bible. "I find in it all that I do," said he to his old teacher, the village priest. The spirit of the Bible, of the Christ, sent him to paint the pathos of honest poverty and the virtue of patient toil. We find modern art going where the Nazarene went for inspiration—first to the Scriptures, full of the love of God; then to the mountains, lakes, fields, to the homes of men, to the places where manhood struggles forth into heroism, where convictions become great duties, and where purposes become noble achievements. Never was there more truth in man's religion, never more religion in art.

We may look for a higher, nobler art than ever as men cultivate a purer, more spiritual religion, a religion that consists in love for truth, love for beauty, love for perfection, love for purity, love for humanity, love for God. No great art is possible to a mind that is closed to the sublime truths of religion. How narrow are the limitations of the mind that has no God, no immortality, no outlook beyond horizons and stars, no aspirations beyond a grave! How grand are the possibilities of genius strong-eyed and genuine enough to see far into the everlasting depth of the skies, and find glorious destinies beyond what seems to be in the infinite all that must be and that is! It was Daubigny, when dying, who said, "I am going to see if Corot has found any new motif for a landscape." His art must be immortal who looks so far beyond. There was religion in the thought that immortality still encourages the art genius; and love of art made the hope of immortality sublime.

F. M. Bristol.

Art. III.—THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN HER RELATION TO THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH.

Incident upon the emancipation of January 1, 1863, there were turned out upon this country four million human beings who were afterward accorded all the rights and privileges of citizenship, with not so much as the remotest qualification for their exercise. They were mostly homeless, destitute, forsaken, ignorant, immoral. In a republic, as in no other form of government, is such a condition of its citizens to be deplored. In a monarchy the power is vested in one person, and from him, as from a common center, it proceeds to all that are beyond. Whatever be his intellectual and moral attainments, they will materially determine the character of the government over which he rules. But in a republic the whole order is changed. Instead of power proceeding from the center to the circumference, it proceeds from the circumference to the center, the outward manifestations which we perceive being but the rebound of that power. Such a government is "of the people, for the people, and by the people." To elevate it it is necessary, not merely to elevate a favored individual or class, but to elevate the masses, from whom representatives are chosen and with whom rests the sole and absolute power of the ballot.

It, therefore, became an early and interesting question, upon the emancipation of such multitudes of slaves, what should be done with them. Some proposed that they be colonized in some State or Territory of our own land, where, in a community by themselves, they might enact and execute their own laws, educate and Christianize their own people, labor and save, rule and be ruled, to their hearts' content. But to this it was objected that the South could not spare them. Having depended upon their labor so long, it could not immediately, if ever, adapt itself to a new situation. An evidence of the force of this objection was seen a few years ago in the panic caused in Mississippi by the attempted exodus of the negroes to Kansas, the whites being compelled to stand in arms upon the banks of their streams to drive them back. It was objected further that the negroes could not do without the South. Having been so long under the care and guidance of their masters, they

had become improvident and dependent. Besides, the climate of the South was better suited to them than that of any other region suggested. Indeed, to have colonized them anywhere would have been prejudicial to their interests and to ours.

Others proposed that they should be summarily shipped to Africa, the land from which they came. But this, besides being unprincipled and presumptuous, would have been exceedingly expensive. It would have been unprincipled in that it would have been in express violation of the golden rule. It would have been an attempt to impose upon another continent what we believed to be a menace to ours. It would have been presumptuous in that we did not own a foot of Africa, and yet presumed to land four million people there, who have since increased to eight million. But even had it been right and proper we should have found the cost of transportation to be immense. If we should send out each day for a year a ship bearing a burden of five hundred souls we should still fall short of the present natural increase of the negroes. We should find that the expenses accruing from the loss of the labor of even these 182,500, the number so transported, the feeding of them before and during their passage, as well as the caring for them immediately upon their arrival in Africa, the payment of agents to supervise the work at home and abroad, the chartering and managing of so many vessels, together with other incidentals, to say nothing of frauds, would require an immense outlay of money. So that, in whatever light we view the question of the forcible removal of the colored man, we find such removal to be impracticable.

The only thing that can be done with the negro that is at once both feasible and humane is to educate and Christianize him at home. Such a view was early entertained by those who, independent of all prejudice, properly conceived of the necessities of the case and were willing to adapt themselves to their new, though unpleasant, surroundings. But in the way of this there has stood :

1. The illiteracy of the South. Though she represents but one third of our entire population she contains two thirds of all our illiteracy. Of the two million voters in the entire country that can neither read nor write one million and a third are in the South. An exclusively physical labor and the want

of intellectual advantages have conduced to illiteracy among the blacks, while physical inactivity and a consequent mental sluggishness have conduced to the same result among the Southern whites.

2. The prejudice that grew out of that illiteracy. The Southerners believed the African to be an inferior order of being, by nature doomed to servitude, and that, if educated, he would refuse to labor and be generally intractable. Hence, they opposed his education and illtreated those who sought to advance it. While they rejoiced over the work of Moffat, Livingstone, and others in Africa, some refused beef in their shambles, bread in their bakeries, groceries, fuel, and clothing in their stores to the humble missionary to the negro of the South, who did the work of their fields and kitchens or was their bosom companion in the nursery and playground.

3. The poverty of the South. By the emancipation of their slaves the Southern people lost at least $2,000,000,000. In the support of their army they lost $2,000,000,000 more. They also lost immense amounts by the destruction of their property. In addition to this, upon their readmission into the Union they were equally taxed with us for the liquidation of our national war debt. So that, however educated, unprejudiced, and willing they might have been, they were financially unable to assume the work themselves of uplifting the negro, or even to assist in it to any appreciable extent.

Whence, then, has come the support of this movement? It has come almost exclusively from the North. The Christian Churches of the North, through their Freedmen's Aid Commission, dispensed charities, opened schools, employed teachers, manned pulpits, and did other work of lasting honor to the cause they jointly represented. Though we, as Methodists, have to-day a purely sectarian organization, it must be remembered that our society was not formed because we had ceased to be fraternal, for as late as 1864, when other Churches were withdrawing, our General Conference, unwilling to follow their example, officially approved the undenominational movement. But, believing that the time had come when the different branches of the Christian Church, following their own methods and working in their own interests, could do more apart than together, the wisdom of which belief we have since seen, the Churches

continued to withdraw from the Commission until we were compelled to follow. And thus, of necessity, and not by choice, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the city of Cincinnati, August 6, 1866.

Of the work of this society during the twenty-seven years of its existence we have every cause to be justly proud. No other Church has met with such persistent opposition in the South. The ill feeling begotten by the memorable action of the General Conference of 1844, whereby Bishop Andrew, a slaveholder by marriage, was suspended from the further exercise of episcopal functions in our Church, which action resulted in the immediate withdrawal of the whole Southern slaveholding membership from us, grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength, so that in 1866, when we attempted to reenter its territory, the opposition we encountered was determined and universal. But opposition is no real obstacle to progress. When the Christian Church was persecuted most she flourished best. "Off with their heads," cried Cæsar; "we will soon put an end to Christianity." Governors and proconsuls hastened to obey his orders; and, as if afraid that simple decapitation would not suffice, the most cruel and revolting tortures were invented. Saints were dragged at the feet of wild horses, were sawn asunder, were flayed alive, were burned at the stake, and were even encased in skins and daubed with pitch and set afire to light up cruel Nero's gardens. They were left to rot in dungeons, and were made a public spectacle to all men in the amphitheater. Bears crushed them to death, lions tore them to pieces, and angry bulls tossed them aloft upon their horns. And yet Christianity continued to spread. Men even pressed to the judgment seat and asked the privilege and honor of being permitted to die for Christ. Religious experience was never stronger. As frankincense must be crushed before it will emit perfume, so the Church must be attacked before it will develop strength or manifest its graces.

As in the early, so in the latter days of Christianity opposition has shown itself to be favorable to progress. Had it not been for the opposition we encountered we might have been to-day, so many are the demands upon us, a Church of minor importance in the South. But we early found that to succeed there at all we must increase our facilities and concentrate our ener-

gies. The Church Extension Society, therefore, began to erect buildings, the Missionary Society to supply pulpits, the Book Concern, the Sunday School Union, the Bible and the Tract Societies to furnish literature and aid, until we stand unrivaled for our work among the freedmen in a territory from which for more than twenty years we were practically excluded, having largely outlived persecution and commanded respect.

The contributions of these various societies, including, of course, the Freedmen's Aid, aggregates $6,551,393.47. As a result much successful work has been accomplished. When freedom came in 1864 we had 18,139 negro members, principally in Maryland, Delaware, and the adjacent territory. We have now 247,439. Our white membership has grown on what was slave territory from 87,804 in 1866 to 265,188 in 1892. Altogether, about one fifth of our entire membership, which is at present 2,524,053, is in the South. In addition, we have 23 schools of high and secondary grades among the colored people. In these there are 217 regular and 140 practice teachers, 5,396 students, and a property investment of $1,183,000. At least 125 teachers on an average, who are scarcely less distinguished as missionaries than as instructors, have been sustained in the field during these twenty-seven years. One hundred thousand pupils, according to the best estimates, have been taught in our schools of various grades since we entered upon this work for the freedmen. It is estimated that one million children in the South have been taught by our teachers or by pupils, educated at our schools, who have engaged in teaching, so far-reaching and reproductive are the results of our work for the elevation of this race and the salvation of the world. The General Conference of 1880 committed to the Freedmen's Aid Society the supervision of its educational work in the South, instructing it to aid the schools for whites as much as it could without embarrassment to its other work; and in 1888 its name was changed from the Freedmen's Aid to the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society. Twenty-one white schools are owned or aided by the society. These schools have 136 regular and 25 practice teachers, 3,716 pupils, and property amounting to $625,800.

In the aggregate, therefore, among both colored and white, we have 44 schools, 353 regular and 165 practice teachers, or 518 teachers in all, 9,112 students, and property amounting to

$1,808,800. Of the students 167 are in college classes, 8,072 in college preparatory, normal, English, and special courses, 265 are preparing for the ministry, 254 are studying medicine, 7 dentistry, 21 pharmacy, 2,338 music, 43 art, 323 are preparing for commercial and 2,082 for industrial life. There were 482 conversions last year. The amount expended from the beginning by this society alone has reached the magnificent sum of $3,303,548.30. Says Dr. Hartzell:

> Eternity alone will reveal the far-reaching and gracious results already achieved. From these schools Christian ministers, teachers, physicians, and intelligent citizens have gone forth to be leaders in the development of Christian manhood and womanhood throughout the South, in its homes, in commerce, in politics, and in the Church. When the Hebrew children were being divinely led from Egyptian bondage Jethro said to Moses, "Thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt show them the way wherein they must walk and the work that they must do." These were the words of a philanthropist and philosopher. They suggest instruction in religious duties, in moral conduct, and in industrial training. So in the elevation of any people from the bondage of ignorance, poverty, and superstition, no matter what their race, a true education will include moral law, right conduct, and preparation for the practical duties of life. The schools under the direction of this society are Christian schools. Every chapel is a temple of worship to the living God. The Bible is a text-book in schools of every grade. Religious instruction is given in every class room, and in our schools of industry we seek to dignify labor and give such practical instruction as will prepare young men and women for industrious and successful lives.

Such, then, is the noble work which this society, assisted by others, has, through the providence of God, been enabled to accomplish. As an institution of our own forming it has special claims upon us for support which we should meet for consistency's sake, if for nothing else. The first Church that officially recognized the Constitution of the United States and pledged it her support was the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first Church that sounded the keynote of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and that among their "inalienable rights" are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," was the Methodist Episcopal Church. In uncompromising devotion to her heaven-born convictions she suffered herself to be rent in twain, believing that that "light affliction" which was "but for a moment" would work out for her "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of

glory." To do other, then, than to care for the wants of the freedmen, whose emancipation she labored so long and so well to accomplish and whose enfranchisement she so heartily approved, would be inexcusably and rashly inconsistent.

We do not hesitate at all to say that the greatest question before this country to-day is the negro question—a question that is greater even than the temperance question, about which so much is said and so little done. We will probably survive as a nation even if we continue our present policy with reference to this latter question, though we will compromise every principle of Christian integrity and honor in so doing. Be it far from us to utter one word against the speedy removal of this incubus from our body politic. But we affirm it to be as absolutely certain as any future event can be, if we accredit the alarming statistics we are about to submit, that unless the colored people of this country are better qualified for citizenship than they are now we will be among the republics that were in less than two centuries to come. Professor Gilliam, in an article appearing in the *Popular Science Monthly* for February, 1883, entitled "The African in the United States," says:

The white population, increasing at the rate of twenty per cent in ten years, or two per cent per annum, doubles itself every thirty-five years. The black, increasing at the rate of thirty-five per cent in ten years, or three and a half per cent per annum, doubles itself in twenty years. Hence we find:

Whites in United States in 1880 (in round numbers)	42,000,000
" " " " " 1915 " " "	84,000,000
" " " " " 1950 " " "	168,000,000
" " " " " 1985 " " "	336,000,000
Northern whites in 1880	30,000,000
" " " 1915	60,000,000
" " " 1950	120,000,000
" " " 1985	240,000,000
Southern whites in 1880	12,000,000
" " " 1915	24,000,000
" " " 1950	48,000,000
" " " 1985	96,000,000
Blacks in Southern States in 1880	6,000,000
" " " " " 1900	12,000,000
" " " " " 1920	24,000,000
" " " " " 1940	48,000,000
" " " " " 1960	96,000,000
" " " " " 1980	192,000,000

Had it not been that he was endeavoring to show the excess of blacks over the whites of the South in a given time—which

excess in 1985 he finds to be 96,000,000, a significant fact when we remember that 159 of the 223 electoral votes now necessary to elect a president are cast in that section—he might have continued his calculations on the general population as follows:

Whites in the United States in 2020	672,000,000
Blacks " " " " " 2000	384,000,000
" " " " " " 2020	768,000,000

This means that in the entire United States the excess of the blacks over the whites, but thirty-five years later than the time when his estimates cease, would be also 96,000,000. These figures are essentially corroborated by M. Simonin's calculation in the *Bulletin* of the Geographical Society of Paris, to which reference was made by Dr. Abel Stevens in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for July, 1883, and January, 1884. M. Simonin says that the census of 1880 showed that the blacks increase at a rate greater than the general population. They were then "in round numbers 6,500,000, and equal to all our foreign-born population." The *Bulletin* is surprised at that. "The Africans," it says, "were, in 1870, only 4,880,000, but in 1880 they were 6,577,151. . . . This is a phenomenon curious and truly new; it is the first time, we believe, that a fact of the kind has been witnessed in statistical geography." Professor Freeman, the English historian, believed this fact to be "one of the gravest perils of our future." What, we would ask, is to become of us in 2020, if these alarming statistics prove to be true—if in one hundred and twenty-six years from now the negroes outnumber us by any such, or even less, increase?

This question becomes all the more alarming when we view it in the light of the frequent and terrible outrages which occur in the South. Dr. E. E. Hoss and Bishop Haygood affirm that three hundred Southern white women were in three months brutally assaulted by colored men. The Southern people are taking the law in their own hand, much to the exasperation of even the more intelligent and better-thinking blacks. These, while they denounce the conduct of their race, claim that they are as much entitled to a fair and impartial trial, before a jury of their countrymen, as are the criminal classes among the whites. The situation is alarming, too, in view of the arrogant and insolent treatment of whites where ignorant blacks predominate, as at Pine Bluff, Ark., where the blacks outnumber the whites

three to one, one wealthy negro alone by his influence preventing a conflict. Similar trouble exists at Tallahassee and Fernandina, Fla., where the colored population far outnumber the whites, the large hotel at the latter place, built by Northern men, being forsaken by white guests because of it. In the coast region of North Carolina, where there are ten times as many colored people as whites, the former are in constant mutiny against their landlords, the State militia frequently being called on to enforce the law. Ought we not, if from no other motive than simple self-defense, to do everything we can to educate and Christianize these people?

When we shall have attained our growth the excess of our population will seek refuge somewhere, as others have sought refuge here. Statesmen are pointing to Africa as that place of future emigration. The nations of Europe are already interesting themselves in its exploration and development. They have found it to be rich in its resources, comparatively healthy in the interior, and wonderfully susceptible to improvement. In the words of another:

> Is not America to share at least this new interest for Africa? We who have millions of people the best adapted to its climate—to be its sailors, pioneers, merchants, and missionaries—are we to be idle spectators of the general movement? Are our growing millions of its children, rising daily in intellectual and moral improvement, to take no part in its redemption? With the immense prospective growth of our colored population will doubtless come considerable development of its business talent and wealth, in spite of its social disadvantages. Can its fatherland fail then to attract its enterprise in commerce, in religion, and civilization generally? It is not improbable, therefore, that the coming colored American hosts may look thitherward with an interest such as few of us dream of. And if European emigration is hereafter to tend toward it is it chimerical to suppose that the Americano-African race, with its scores of millions, will neglect the inviting field—its ancestral home?

If this should come to pass—and future improved facilities for travel will materially aid in bringing it about—and if the negroes should be educated and Christianized up to the full measure of their capacity, what a missionary force we should have in that "Dark Continent" so much in need of light! As Dr. Blyden, the president of Liberia College, affirms, "The Gospel, to be successfully carried into Africa, must be carried by Africans. To a man of Ethiopia must be intrusted the message to

Ethiopians." The Mohammedans have acted on this principle from the beginning. They have had a university for nine hundred years at Cairo, in Egypt, where ten thousand students have been daily taught the Moslem faith; where "two acres of turbans," as one expresses it, greet the eye, and a hum of voices, reciting the Koran, greets the ear. When their education is completed they start as missionaries and, joining caravans, cross the desert and are soon lost in the interior of Africa, where they become effective propagators of their faith. The Roman Catholic Church is agitating the same thing. The *Dublin Review* has recently said:

> We are convinced that the only hopeful, promising, and effective way of procedure in respect to Africa is that which may be summed up in these words, "The conversion of Africa by Africans." Christian black settlements ought to be attempted all over Africa, even, if need be, as among the Mohammedans, after the difficult and costly manner followed by Monsignore Comboni. The task is full of hardship, but no other system will avail. Whether it will be practically possible to organize bands of the Catholic Africano-Americans for the settlement and conversion of Africa, as their Protestant brethren, who sail to Liberia in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred, are organized for that very purpose, remains to be proved.

The Roman Catholic Church has its native black priests in Africa already, and a community of over thirty sisters on the western coast. It will be noticed that the author of the above quotation accords to us success in that, as Protestants, we are annually sending to Liberia organized bands of Christian negroes. If this, which we are conducting on so small a scale, be a success, what will it be if we continue to educate and Christianize the blacks until we send them forth, not "in numbers varying annually from two hundred to five hundred," but in millions and tens of millions?

The susceptibility of the negro to mental improvement, and even to high attainments in scholarship, is fully established:

> Thirty years ago it was unlawful in a large part of the United States to teach a colored person to read. Four millions of them can read the Bible to-day. One million negro children and youths are in schools of all grades, universities not excepted. Thirty years ago very few negroes owned their own bodies. They have accumulated $300,000,000 of real and personal property. They own five million acres of land. They edit and manage two hundred newspapers in this country. Harvard and

Cornell Universities, by choice of the students, have elected colored men as representative orators. Most of our missionary boards have colored representatives upon the foreign fields. Ten United States ministers have been colored men. Chairs in universities are ably filled by colored men. Only a few positions of honor which have not already been worthily occupied by colored men! There is no parallel in all history.

Their religious propensities as a race are also proverbially exceptional. It was Africa that afforded Jesus shelter when he was driven from his native land, and African hands that ministered to Joseph and to Mary. It was Simon the Cyrenian, a Hellenistic Jewish colonist of Africa, who took up the fainting Saviour's cross where he was about to drop it, and bore it to Golgotha's summit. It was the eunuch of great authority under Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, who in his chariot in the desert characteristically opened his heart, as does his race ever, to the teachings of God's messenger, and believed and was baptized then and there. Shall the woman who anointed Christ's body unto its burial be mentioned wherever the Gospel is preached, and shall these kind deeds of Africa's children be forgotten? In gratitude let them be not only remembered but reciprocated in the uplifting of her sons. And let this be done for the sake of Christ, that the glorious prophecies respecting him may speedily be fulfilled. Said a Chinese convert, in contrasting Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity:

Buddhism is like the man who, coming to a pit into which another had fallen, looks down and says, "Poor fellow, I am sorry for you. How did you fall down there? My advice is, if you ever do get out, never fall down again." Confucianism is like the man who not only pities but wants to help, and offers to do so, provided he will come far enough up, so he can reach him. But Christianity is like the man who not only pities and wants to help, but is able and willing to do it, and, with his long, strong arm, reaches down to the bottom of the pit, seizes the sufferer, lifts him out, dresses his wounds, cares for his wants, and sends him on his way rejoicing.

Just such a manifestation of Christian charity is what is needed now among the colored people of the South, for they are, though black, our neighbors and our brothers.

W. W. W. Wilson.

Art. IV.—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

In the late summer of 1856 the writer, then a probationer of one year's standing in the California Conference, was sent to Vallejo. Whatever importance belonged to the village at that time grew out of the fact that there the men lived who were employed as laborers in the United States Navy Yard situated on Mare Island, separated from Vallejo by a narrow arm of the bay known as Napa Creek. There were two small churches in Vallejo, of such denominations as may be expected where only two are found—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The latter was a cheap structure, capable of seating about one hundred and fifty people, innocent of paint either on the outside or inside, and with no fence to protect it from becoming a shelter from the sunshine for the numberless cattle that roamed over the neighboring hills. But humble as that church was it enjoyed a distinction not shared by any other church in America. The president of its board of five trustees was David Glascoe Farragut, the greatest naval commander of his age—possibly of any age. The navy yard already alluded to had been constructed under his supervision, and he was then its commanding officer. He was a very regular attendant upon the services of the church; indeed, always present except when kept away by sickness, absence from home, or very bad weather. It was the custom of the commodore, as he was then called, to ask the pastor home to dinner almost every Sabbath; and as the pastor was unmarried he almost invariably accepted the invitation. The long, pleasant conversations held with Farragut on these and other occasions led to a thorough acquaintance with his character, probably more thorough than could have been obtained by a man more nearly on the same plane with himself, officially or socially. Many things learned in this way it would have been improper to give to the public while Farragut lived; but as they are, on the whole, creditable to him, there can be no reason for longer withholding them.

Mrs. Farragut must come in for a share of consideration in any estimate we may make of the character of the great

admiral. Some men are great in spite of their wives; some men are great because their wives made them so; some never are great who might have been so but for their wives. Farragut had a greatness all his own; but he was a better man than he ever would have been otherwise because he had wedded one of the best of women. He was twice married. His first wife was an invalid. Once he secured release from the duties of his office that he might give his whole time to caring for her. After her death he remained single for several years, then married her sister, Miss Virginia Loyall, of Norfolk. She was beautiful, educated, accomplished; but, above all, she was devotedly and consistently pious. Her grandmother had been a Methodist, and she herself, though an Episcopalian, was thoroughly Methodistic in doctrine and spirit. She communed with the Methodists on every occasion, and for a long time was superintendent of their Sunday school, only resigning the position when she thought a man had been found who could do the work better. Never was a man blessed with a happier home than Admiral Farragut. Only one child blessed their union, Loyall Farragut, who yet survives.

In forming a proper estimate of the characteristics which gave Farragut his great success in life several things must be noted. This remark is no doubt true of all great men; for who ever achieved greatness on one stray virtue or excellence? Washington was eminently an "all round" man. So was Lincoln; and so was Farragut. He was by nature a manly man, a noble man. In the popular sense he was not educated. He was born in Tennessee, near the beginning of the century—a place and time very unfavorable to educational facilities—and while a mere lad, not yet in his teens, became a cabin boy for Captain David Porter. But for the determined purpose he ever cherished to make something of himself he might never have risen much higher than this humble position. As it is, he stands before the nation as an example of those self-made men who are really well-made, and who are consequently an inspiration to ambitious youths who start life with few advantages for thorough preparation. True greatness showed itself in the entire frankness with which he spoke of his early lack of educational privileges. He never forgot "the hole whence he was digged." He said that he once unintentionally offended a

British nobleman, whose father had won a title from his sovereign by his skill in running a cotton factory, by congratulating him on having achieved a distinguished title through merit rather than through the accident of a long line of ancestry. What a true American would be proud to confess an Englishman is often careful to conceal. Farragut was an American, and no man more richly deserved the name. He used his native tongue with great accuracy. He could also make himself understood in French, but was glad to use his wife's superior skill in communicating with those to whom the French language was a necessity. His knowledge of classical lore may be readily inferred from the fact that he was twice heard to say, when speaking of the political corruption that so fearfully abounded before the war, that he often thought of the passage of Scripture, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

In science he was better posted; but even there he showed the defects which must ever cling to one who gathers his knowledge while intently engaged in the active pursuits of life. Strange to say, he utterly refused to believe that the moon governed the tides. It would seem that his very occupation would have corrected so great a mistake. He was an original subscriber to the *Types of Mankind*, and whetted the writer's taste for ethnology by loaning him his copy. He was thoroughly committed to the doctrine of the diversity of origin of the several races of mankind. Some one has described a truly educated man as one "who knows something of everything, and everything of something." Certainly Farragut knew everything of his profession.

It has been said that he would hardly have known how to handle one of our present ironclads; but had he lived until now he would have made himself thoroughly conversant with every new invention, for he had learned to adapt himself to all changes that occurred in naval construction during his life. He often said that the skill of a naval officer was never so taxed as when handling the old ships that depended entirely upon the wind and their sails for the power to move upon the waters. Farragut attended to every branch of his profession. He was acquainted with every vessel in the navy, and knew its tonnage, its length, its beam, its depth in the water, its height above it, its rate of speed, and all its

peculiarities. He knew every navy officer, and was wonderfully skillful in reading character. This ability to look after details, large and small, showed itself in his management of the navy yard, and indeed in his acquaintance with everybody and everything in the town of Vallejo while he was commandant there. At that time there was a little schooner which the government had bought for the use of the navy yard, and which Farragut had named, in honor of a favorite author, the *Fenimore Cooper*. The writer took many trips on this schooner with the commodore. She would outstrip the steamer in a fair race to the city. If everything was not in exact order, the quick eye of Farragut would see it, and a few words, quietly but quickly spoken to the master, would put our little craft in condition to make speed to the utmost of her possibilities.

Farragut was essentially religious. He did not belong to any Church, but had a profound regard for all Churches, and generously contributed to their support. He always attended Christian worship, wherever he might be in the world, unless it was conducted in a language he could not understand. For this reason he did not attend the Roman Catholic church unless upon some rare occasion. He asked a blessing at his own table when others than his own family were not present. He certainly never lost an opportunity to speak well of the Christian faith. It is true that he sometimes under excitement used expressions that were inconsistent with a Christian profession; but he could not be said to be, in the ordinary sense, a profane man. On this point a little incident will be appropriate. One day his son Loyall, then a lad of nine or ten years, while with his father in some part of the navy yard, uttered certain words having some semblance to profanity, though the name of God was not mentioned. Farragut turned and rebuked his son severely. But Loyall replied, "Why, papa, I heard you say the same thing yesterday!" This brought explanations from the father that he had gone to sea when a small boy, had always afterward been associated with rough men, never had had the help of a pious mother, and never could go to Sunday school and church as his son could; and he finally closed with the charge that the boy should go right to the house, and in his own room pray God to forgive him for saying such a naughty thing. "And," said he, "when you have done that, ask God to forgive your father for say-

ing such bad words sometimes!" Had Loyall simply done as directed, this touching little event would never have been given to the world. But he went first and told his mother all that had occurred, and it was from her lips that the writer received it. She told her son to go and do as his father had charged him; and she herself soon followed him, curious to know just what he would do. The door was ajar, and the boy was praying aloud. He had finished his prayer for himself, and was interceding for his father: "O Lord, you must forgive my papa for saying bad words sometimes. You know he went to sea when he was a little boy, never had a pious mother to teach him, couldn't go to church and Sunday school as I do, and—and, Lord, you must forgive my papa, for you know he don't mean anything." She dared not stay to hear more. Let him sneer who thinks this an evidence of littleness in the great admiral; but to the true judge of human nature it will appear as another evidence of that simplicity of soul that always belongs to an extraordinary character.

The intellectual faith of Farragut was not up to the orthodox standard. He several times expressed his doubts as to the divine origin of the Old Testament. But far more frequently he expressed his confidence in the evangelical history and his warmest admiration for Jesus Christ. The sufferings of Christ often affected him to tears, and many times he bowed his head upon the seat in front of him to hide his emotion. It may be proper here to add that he sometimes exhibited that proof of great courage—the tenderness of a woman. Though he never went to the sacramental altar he sat an intensely interested beholder, with a look of sadness that indicated deep sympathy with what was being done.

On the subject of slavery he held somewhat modified Southern views. On one occasion the writer read in the public congregation the General Rules of the Church. In commenting on the rule on slavery, which then simply forbade the buying or selling of slaves, it was pointed out how this, at least, would prevent the separation of families by refusing to admit that the souls of men were to be considered as ordinary merchandise. On reaching home Farragut called up the subject of those rules and expressed himself well pleased with them. On the subject of slavery he was emphatic in his condemnation of the

division of families. He believed that the law ought to forbid the separation of husbands and wives or the taking of children from their parents before they had reached a mature age. His idea, expressed briefly, was that the slaves should be held in a kind of serfdom inseparable from the lands where they had their homes. He lived, no doubt, to see the whole subject in a very different light.

Farragut was not a total abstainer; at least he was not in the days which we are now considering. He never entered a saloon to drink. In the popular sense he never treated or received a treat. He had only words of severe condemnation for the drinking habits of the time. When he had company at his table he drank wine with them. When he had no company, or company that did not drink, he put about a tablespoonful of whisky into a common goblet, filled it with cold water, and drank it instead of tea or coffee at the dinner hour, and only then. The first time the writer dined with him he was asked if he would take a glass of wine, and when he refused the offer was never repeated. Whenever other company was present that drank wine he always said, after they were served, "Mr. Anthony, I do not offer wine to you because I know you never drink"—a manifestation of real politeness rarely seen among drinking men. On one occasion the theme of the morning discourse in the little church was taken from the words of Paul, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." The text was presented in its natural bearing upon the drinking habits of the time. It was claimed that every man's duty required him to abstain from that which would injure a weak brother. It was expressly urged that these rules were more binding upon those who occupied high places, and thus set an example which others would follow, than upon anybody else. Farragut had a large number of friends with him in church that morning, and for the first and only time in a whole year did not ask the writer home with him to dinner. The inference was natural that he was displeased, and a suspense of many days followed. The next Sabbath was very stormy, and no one came over from the navy yard. As soon as the weather permitted the writer went to his office. Farragut was standing at his

desk alone. He instantly stepped forward and greeted him substantially in the words following: "Glad to see you. It seems a long time since I saw you last. We did not get over to church on Sunday. It was too stormy for the ladies, and we men had not the courage to go alone. By the way, did you see that man who sat with his wife in our pew the last Sunday we were out? Well, that was the captain of Queen Victoria's bodyguard. He is traveling for his health, and spent two weeks with us. He was disappointed in not hearing you again. And that reminds me I have a feather for your cap. As we were leaving the church he said to me, 'Farragut, that is the kind of preaching the world needs.' I will not tell you what I said, but it would not make you sorry if I did. That's right, Mr. Anthony. When you stand in the pulpit do your duty, whoever is pleased or offended. Of course you will go up to the house and take dinner with us, and we will have a good time." And we did. While it would be better for any man to do what he is willing to admit is right, yet next to that it is certainly a token of a noble nature when he is not offended at faithful words that condemn his conduct.

When Farragut left Mare Island, late in the summer of 1858, crowds gathered to see him off. Work for the time was suspended, and all sought to give honor to the man who never felt himself too great to speak to them, and whose kind heart ever felt a warm personal interest in their welfare. As he stepped upon the deck of the steamer that was to bear him to San Francisco cheer after cheer arose from the men who so really loved him. He attempted to speak, but public speaking was never one of his gifts. Emotion checked his utterance, and he hurriedly withdrew from sight. Twelve years passed. What eventful years! The commodore had become the great admiral. He was again in Vallejo. The little church had been altered and enlarged. Other churches had been built, among them one belonging to the Episcopalians, the denomination of which Mrs. Farragut was a member. But they came to the Methodist church, and the writer was privileged again to address them. He had traveled more than a hundred miles for that purpose. The next morning at the Springs, three miles away, we breakfasted together. Mrs. Farragut was indisposed, and our breakfast was taken alone. For well-nigh two hours

we sat in the large dining room talking. The memory of that hour is among the most interesting of a lifetime.

At the remark made by the writer that he had seen with immense satisfaction the position that Farragut had taken in favor of the Union and the valuable service he had rendered his country, the admiral seemed almost annoyed. Why should anybody think that he would have done any differently? What right had anybody to question his loyalty? Still, he admitted that he had been the subject of suspicion on both sides. He lived in Norfolk, surrounded by the friends of many years. Yet they did not confide in him and said little to him until a committee of citizens waited upon him and demanded an answer to the plain question, where he stood in relation to the subject that so greatly agitated the whole nation. His answer was brief but decisive: "I stand an officer of the United States Navy, sworn to the defense of my country. I am awaiting orders. When I get them I shall most certainly obey them." Their reply was in curt and cutting words, giving him only until four o'clock that afternoon to take himself out of Norfolk; nor would they be answerable for consequences if he tarried beyond that hour. Fortunately, communication between Norfolk and New York was not yet cut off. A steamer sailed for the latter port that afternoon, and on that steamer he must go. Not a word had yet passed between himself and wife in regard to his future course. Her people were all secessionists. What if she should side with them? But her position was soon ascertained. She proved true to her country and worthy of the hero she had wedded. Going from the interview with the citizens to his own house and opening his front door, he saw his wife at the head of the stairs and called out: "Virginia, pack your trunk; we leave for New York at four o'clock." There were no words, no explanations, some tears, perhaps; but the trunks were packed and they set off for the North, with whose destinies theirs should be so nobly linked forever.

Even in New York they were regarded with suspicion. Farragut scorned to use any public means to remove this feeling. He said, "Why should a man that has never said anything or done anything that was not in the highest sense in keeping with loyalty to his country be required by special pleadings to assert himself worthy of confidence?" That he finally

secured recognition in the navy he attributed to Commodore David D. Porter. With Porter's father Farragut had made his first voyage. They had always been like brothers, and so remained until a question of discipline separated them. Said the admiral: "I have to thank a man for that New Orleans command who will not now speak to me, unless in official duty. He once failed to obey orders, and I reported him. I should have done it if he had been my own father. But at that time he was my friend, and did me a service for which I shall always feel grateful to him. It was he that induced the administration to give me a chance with the other two of equal rank that at the time were highest in the navy." It was determined to consult these officers as to the practicability of taking New Orleans. A letter was sent to each, stating the great advantage which would accrue to the Union cause if New Orleans could be secured as a base of supplies and of operations in the South, and the question was asked whether it was thought that the thing could be done if the proper measures were employed. As soon as Farragut read the letter he took his pen and dashed off this reply: "I am astonished at your question. I had always supposed that any place accessible to a fleet could be taken by a navy engagement if the proper means were employed." The answer contained no more than this, except date and signature. In due time another letter came, this time asking him whether he would undertake the reduction of New Orleans if such means as he might require were placed at his disposal. Again he dashed off his laconic answer: "I am astonished at your question. I await orders." And again there was nothing added but date and signature. The next letter he received from Washington was as brief as he could have penned it: "Come to Washington."

For the first time in his life he stood before Abraham Lincoln. The cabinet was in session. After introductions, the president informed Farragut that they had already decided upon giving him the charge of what they considered the greatest enterprise yet undertaken during the war. They were ready to grant him anything he asked that lay within their power, if he would only make it a success. He was ready at once to tell them what men and ships he wanted. They told him he could have them and twenty gunboats besides. Farragut declared

that even then he was certain he should have to run past Forts Jackson and St. Philip. The gunboats in that case would be in the way. So he said, "I do not want the gunboats." But they asked with evident surprise, "How will you reduce the forts?" He saw that if he told them all that was in his mind he would stand a fine chance of not getting the command; and so he hastily answered, "All right, send the gunboats." He said he thought it better to sink twenty gunboats in the Mississippi than to fail to take New Orleans. The facts of that great victory, one of the most important ones on the Union side, are sufficiently familiar without their being recorded here. One little episode at the mouth of the river, just before the attack, brings out the decision of this great commander in a way that warrants its repetition. A British officer who had watched their preparations with closest scrutiny came aboard the morning they were getting under way. In greeting Farragut he said, "I like you, I believe in you; but I fear for you. I think you are planning to run those forts. Allow me frankly to say, I do not believe it can be done." The answer was quickly made: "Many thanks for your interest, which I accept as a token of personal good feeling and reciprocate; but I am very busy and have not time to be civil. I can only say, sir, that these vessels go to New Orleans or to the bottom of the Mississippi."

We take space for one more historical reference. He laughed at the idea that he was fastened in the maintop when they entered Mobile Bay. He said it was no doubt well meant, but why should he want himself tied anywhere? Was he afraid he would run away? When asked how the story came to be told, he said all he knew about it was that he was trying to keep above the smoke, which was settling like a dense fog over the whole face of the water. In order to give directions intelligently, he went up the shrouds, rising as the smoke rose, until he said he was well up to the maintop; but he was not in the maintop, much less tied there. It is probable that he forgot at that moment what it is credibly reported he afterward admitted. A sailor was sent up by the officer on deck to place a rope over him, making it fast on each side in order to prevent his falling so great a distance in case of being wounded. When Farragut found what the sailor was doing he objected; but, finding it was in obedience to orders, he suffered it.

At the remark that war was a terrible business, a shade of sadness passed over his countenance that betokened memories of carnage most painful for his kind heart to contemplate. This was substantially his answer: "Yes, indeed, a terrible thing is war; but sometimes we must go to war or more terrible things will follow. You remember what you told us yesterday, that every man was fitted by nature and by circumstances to fill some important place in the world where he could glorify God and serve his generation. Now I believe that, and I believe I have adaptations for my position in the navy, and that in filling it the best I knew how I have served God as well as my country. And now I will tell you what I am sure you will be glad to know. I never went into an engagement in my life that I did not first go on my knees in prayer before God, asking his protection and help, believing I was doing in that particular what was right in his sight." After a brief pause he added, "I have gone through greater dangers than any living man, and I have never received a scratch." Then, as if suddenly remembering something, he added: "Well, yes, once in an action I felt something running down my cheek, and putting up my hand I found it was blood. Tracing it to its origin, I found my cap was gone, and whatever had taken it off had also taken off a small piece of my bald scalp!" No doubt we may safely conclude that when he came to meet the last enemy, death, he triumphed through the presence and power of that Saviour in whom he sincerely believed.

C. V. Anthony

Art. V.—OUR MEN AND WOMEN: ACTIONS AND REACTIONS PRIOR TO MAY, 1892—AN IRENICON.

In the following pages we purpose to prepare the way for a new constitutional ordinance, by the adoption of which the Church may easily settle the relations of men and women to our ecclesiastical government, in a manner entirely consistent with the principles and views of all moderate and candid minds in both the parties now so long and so unhappily arrayed against each other. We do not write to augment or to diminish the privileges or rights of either sex, but to secure on the part of both a better understanding of scriptural and legal principles. We do not intend to attack any past measure or to champion any. Our aim is simply to help the reader to understand what has been done, in order that he may understand what ought to be done. Of course no one historian or critic can suit all tastes or judgments in all particulars; but, so far as we shall deal with historic or actual facts, we shall endeavor with all diligence to satisfy the just demands of the one party as fully as those of the other. As we have often said and written, we firmly believe that each party has been contending for principles essentially true, and that thus far it would have been a misfortune had either triumphed. Especially do we wish it understood from the outset that we have no desire whatever to see women introduced into the General Conference by the action of 1892, or by any outright judicial ruling of the General Conference of 1896. Neither of these methods would bring out into due prominence the true scriptural solution of the question, as given by us elsewhere, or clarify and tranquillize the mind of the Church, long confused and excited by unintelligent and unedifying controversy.

As an exceedingly brief historical introduction we presume the following facts will be admitted by all parties as true and pertinent: (1) That from the beginnings of American Methodism all duly appointed class leaders have impliedly been entitled to membership in their appropriate Quarterly Conferences, with full right to vote on all business transacted by the Quarterly Conference; (2) That, nevertheless, during the first half century or more of the history of the Church female class

leaders very rarely used their undenied right to a place and part in the Quarterly Conference, and were only sporadically encouraged to attend; (3) That in the history of American Methodism duly appointed female class leaders are found at least as far back as January 6, 1773, on which date, only thirteen days after the first Quarterly Conference of which we have any historic notice, Francis Asbury is known to have appointed one; (4) That in England at an early date women were made leaders, not only of women's classes, but also of classes including both sexes, "especially when the members were young;" (5) That in 1855 a woman, Mrs. Eliza Clark Garrett, gave to the Church its first endowed school of theology; (6) That in 1866 and the years contiguous thereto the women of the Church, by united effort in their Centennial Association and in the McClintock Association, created Heck Hall in Evanston, raised some $20,000 for the School of Theology in Boston, and an even larger sum for the one in Madison; (7) That the Church has never denied or proposed to deny to women any theological instruction provided in these institutions; (8) That in 1868, the limiting word "male" having been inserted in the motion to submit the question of lay delegation to the laity for their vote (as in the previous plebiscite on the same subject), the General Conference, before adopting it, voted more than two to one to strike out the qualifying word, thus conceding to the men and women of the Church an equal right of suffrage in a matter of supreme constitutional importance; (9) That in 1869 the women of the Church founded their Foreign Missionary Society, an organization whose breadth of operation, steadiness of purpose, vigor of administration, and educative power over the Church have excited admiration on every continent; (10) That in the seventies, if not before, various women of gifts, graces, and usefulness were formally licensed as local preachers, and that in many places women were also found serving at the call of the local authorities in the capacity of stewards, trustees, and Sunday school superintendents; (11) That in some of the first Lay Electoral Conferences ever held, those of 1871 and 1872, regularly elected women delegates sat and voted, unchallenged by any authority, and with no suspicion of illegality; (12) That in an important report, adopted in 1872, the General Conference declared:

"The time has gone by when persons should be excluded from church offices on account of . . . sex;" (13) That the action of the General Conference in 1880 on the meaning of the "pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him*, when used in the Discipline with reference to stewards, class leaders, and Sunday school superintendents," was not a legislative creation of new rights, but in form and force a judicial interpretation of existing law touching existing rights; (14) That in 1880 the General Conference refused to authorize the licensing of women as local preachers and declared against the ordination of women—an action which in 1884 the Conference deemed it "inexpedient" to change; (15) That in 1880 the women of the Church founded their Home Missionary Society, an association whose services for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom in our great cities, on the frontier, among the freedmen, among our foreign populations, and among the Indian tribes have been of incalculable value; (16) That three women were elected reserve delegates and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1880, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of the body; (17) That no action implying so much as a question of the perfect legality of the elections was asked for by the bishops or taken by the General Conference; (18) That four years later two reserve delegates were elected and given regular credentials to the General Conference of 1884, which credentials were accepted by the officers of the Conference as entitling them to a place on the officially published, and only officially published, roll of the reserve delegates of that body; (19) That neither the bishops nor the General Conference presented at that time the slightest objection to the enrollment and official recognition of these delegates or of those of 1880; (20) That in 1887 duly elected lay delegates to the "Central Mission Conference of India" who were women were, in accordance with a formal episcopal ruling, admitted to membership and full participation in the business, and that the transactions of the Conference, on recommendation of the Standing Committee on the Itinerancy, were officially approved by the General Conference of 1888; (21) That in the West, a little prior to the meeting of the General Conference of 1888, a move-

ment was set on foot by certain ardent advocates of "woman suffrage" and related ideas—said advocates being by no means all of one sex or of one religious denomination—with a view to the placing of as many women as possible in the approaching General Conference; (22) That, mainly as a result, five women were elected regular delegates from various Electoral Conferences, and seventeen others reserve delegates; (23) That, chiefly as a consequence of this somewhat alarming development of ecclesiastical and other politics, a protest was lodged with the bishops, in which their authority as presidents of the General Conference was invoked against the seating of the elected women; (24) Finally, that, pursuant to the prayer of the signers of the protest, the elected women were formally challenged by the bishops, and their claims referred by the Conference to a special committee of seventeen appointed by the bishops.

Now, in order that the complicated, unprecedented, and very peculiar action then taken by the General Conference may be clearly understood, let us examine it, stage by stage, with all the circumspection of a thorough legal inquisition by question and answer.

1. What, and what only, was referred to the Committee of Seventeen? "The election of the delegates to this Conference who are women."

2. In the instruction as to the time of reporting how did the Conference designate its committee? "The Committee on the Eligibility of the Women."

3. Who were "the women?" The five against whose seating protest had been entered.

4. What did the committee report touching the eligibility of the five women? It recommended the adoption of two resolutions, numbered two and three, which were as follows:

> (2) That the protest referred to this committee against the seating of [here were given the names of the women] is supported by the Discipline, and therefore they cannot regularly be admitted to seats. (3) That the Secretary of the General Conference shall notify the regularly elected reserve delegates from these Conferences that the seats herein referred to are vacant.

5. What would the adoption of resolutions two and three have settled? That all elections of women as delegates up to that moment lacked due warrant in the law.

6. What unconditioned and universal judgment did the committee recommend the Conference to adopt? "That under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference."

7. What would the adoption of this judgment, with or without resolutions two and three, have settled? The ineligibility of women thenceforward, so long as the existing law and this authoritative judicial interpretation thereof remained unchanged.

8. Was this report of the committee adopted? No, it was not even submitted to vote.

9. What was done with it? First, by a vote of 249 to 173, it was qualified by an amendment.

10. What reason did the General Conference give for this action? The Conference said that in such an important matter "the Church generally should be consulted."

11. How was it proposed to consult the Church? By submitting to the Annual Conference membership and to the next General Conference an amendment to the second restrictive rule, adding these words: "And said delegates may be men or women."

12. After this qualification of the report, what was adopted as expressing the mind and will of the Conference touching the general principle of woman's eligibility? This:

> Under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference; but since there is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter; therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposal to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, "And said delegates may be men or women," after the words, "Two lay delegates for an Annual Conference," so that it will read, "Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women."

13. By what vote was it passed? By one so close that the change of one layman from "aye" to "no" would have defeated the measure.

14. Was the vote adopting the amended report one, or more than one? It was one integral act, completed, so far as the

General Conference was concerned, in one and the same indivisible moment of time.

15. Is it correct to say, "The General Conference first declared the meaning of the law, and then gave the Church a chance to change it?" No. On the contrary, the Conference first attached the provision for an appeal to the Church to the committee's proposed determination and declaration of the existing law, and then, by one indivisible vote, determined and declared the force of the law, qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church, (*a*) as it bore upon past elections, and (*b*) as it bore on elections yet in the future.

16. What, then, was the force of the provision for an amendment of the second restrictive rule? It was a provision for ascertaining the sentiments of the about-to-be-consulted Church, and so reaching a determination of the whole matter which should have final and absolute validity.

17. According to the determination of the one integral and all-decisive vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the proposed appeal to the Church) as it bore upon past elections? It could not be known until the result of the appeal to the Church was known.

18. In the meantime, what was the legal status of the five women? They were not entitled to their seats.

19. On what grounds? Simply and solely because their rights under the existing law had not yet been finally and absolutely determined.

20. Did not the third resolution, by declaring the five seats vacant, necessitate the inference that an absolute and final judgment had been given? No.

21. Why not? Because, as the elected women were as yet neither entitled nor non-entitled to their seats, the seats were in fact vacant, and the notification ordered gave the delegations or delegates concerned freedom to use their discretion as to filling the vacancies with unchallenged reserves.

22. Why is it impossible to consider the amended resolutions one, two, and three an unconditional and, for the time, final declaration of the ineligibility of women? Because to assert it is to assert that the General Conference officially and solemnly declared that the personal rights in question ought not to be allowed or denied without "consulting the Church gener-

ally," and yet in the self-same indivisible moment of time, on its own sole authority, officially and solemnly denied those same rights absolutely and, for the time, finally.

23. What must one further show in order to maintain that the General Conference of 1888 pronounced an unqualified and, for the time, final judicial declaration of the ineligibility of women? One must show that a report, that based the full acknowledgment or the absolute denial of the constitutional rights of two thirds of the members of the Church upon the issue of a proposed judicial vote of that General Conference, was absolutely unaffected in meaning or force by an accepted, embodied, and adopted amendment, whose sole expressed purpose was to base the acknowledgment or denial of these rights upon the issue of a proposed vote of the traveling preachers and of the next General Conference.

24. According to the determination and declaration of the one integral vote, what was the force of the law (as qualified by the appeal to the Church) as it bore upon future elections? It could not be known until after the consulted Church had made its response.

25. What, then, was the status of women from the time of the vote, May 6, 1888, until the moment when, in the spring of 1892, one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers had voted against the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule? They were neither legally eligible nor legally ineligible.

26. What, then, first absolutely and unconditionally determined the force of the term "lay delegates" in a sense that excluded women? The failure of the Neely amendment to the second restrictive rule.

27. What important peculiarity of the act of 1888 has been unnoticed in our public discussions? Its irrevocableness by the body that passed it.

28. Why was it irrevocable? Because it was an unfinished act, in which the two parties to the suit were bound by a conditioned consummation dependent on the will of third parties, namely, the Annual Conference membership and their representatives in the next General Conference—*actus inceptus cujus perfectio pendet ex voluntate partium revocari potest; si autem pendet ex voluntate tertiæ personæ, vel ex contingenti, revocari non potest.*

29. What follows from this? Something of interest to both the original parties, namely, that if, a few days after the vote, the minority had rallied or won over the few men necessary to constitute themselves a majority, and then by reconsideration attempted to reverse the first resolution or any other clause of the one undivided act, the attempt would have been unlawful; and for the reason that every sentence and materially significant word was an inseparable part of one indivisible and irrevocable *actus inceptus*, whose process was not as yet complete.

30. Would, then, this reasoning have been just as cogent had the opposite party prevailed? Certainly.

31. Can we imagine a parallel case? Readily. Suppose that in 1880, in view of the actual election of three women as reserve delegates to that General Conference, conservatives had raised the same challenge that they did eight years later. Suppose that then, as a settlement of the matter, the General Conference had adopted *verbatim* the amended Moore resolution of 1892, inserting for the sake of a less abrupt transition the word "but" at the beginning of the Hamilton amendment, and omitting the final resolution as to the eventual construction of the term "lay delegates." Suppose that then, some days after the completion of this parallel to the situation after the vote in 1888, in consequence of the illness and retirement of a delegate, the Conference had been asked to seat a reserve who was a woman, and this on the ground that some days before the Conference had judicially decided and declared that "in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' ought to be understood, and must of right be understood, to include all members of the Church who are not members or presidents of the Annual Conferences." Could she have been seated? By no means, and for the good reason that the alleged judicial declaration would not as yet have received the full, permanent, and unconditional force of law. Whatever their sentiments touching the admission of women at the proper time and in the proposed way, all good judges of law would have had to say, "The woman cannot now be seated."

32. Why is it unfitting, not to say unfair, in an opponent of eligibility to claim that the General Conference gave an

unqualified judicial declaration? Because at a time when, for the express purpose of obtaining for the Conference a chance to give such a declaration, a well-known friend of eligibility had moved to divide the amended paper, an equally well-known opponent of the women's cause, with his friends, promptly laid the motion for a division on the table. This procedure certainly seemed to show that the party opposing eligibility was unwilling to allow a vote to be taken on the proposed unqualified judicial declaration.

33. What further infelicity attended this tabling of the motion for a division? It manifestly, though doubtless without intended unfairness, placed the supporters of Dr. Queal's motion in the unamiable attitude of saying to their brethren on the other side, "We will give you a chance to make women eligible, if you can, in the hardest possible way; but we will not first give you a chance to know whether, under the existing constitution and laws, they are not already eligible."

34. Why was the tabling of the call for a division unfair to some members of Dr. Queal's own party? Because it practically disfranchised every man who firmly and conscientiously believed the participation of women in General Conference legislation to be a form of womanly authority over men prohibited by the word of God. Such a man could not conscientiously vote against the undivided act, for that would be to throw his influence with the advocates of women's eligibility. On the other hand, he could not conscientiously vote for it, for this would be to promise to women a divinely forbidden authority, provided only that the Church would vote it by sufficiently high consecutive majorities.

35. Was this wholly unprecedented "consulting of the Church generally," by providing for the vote of the Annual Conference members in the giving of a judicial decision, "unconstitutional?" Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that no provision in our written or unwritten constitution at the time required or contemplated such a thing; no, in the sense that under our peculiar system of government every act of the General Conference considered constitutional by the Conference itself is so.

36. Was the act, because uncontemplated by any provision of our existing constitution at the time of its proposal, on that

account void? No, for the reason that no act of the General Conference can be void until pronounced so by the General Conference.*

37. Why was the total action of 1888, however interpreted, an unfortunate precedent? Because it inaugurated an original form of procedure, in following which a majority of "two," or even of one, in any General Conference can so condition a proposed construction of the constitution and laws upon an invited verdict of the Church that the vote of one fourth of the members of the Annual Conferences, plus one, shall outweigh and, in legal effect, completely neutralize the vote of three fourths of the Annual Conference members, minus one, touching the same question.

38. Is this novel procedure applicable to the general rules, as well as the General Conference charter? Certainly. In case a barest majority of any General Conference desires to see dancing, card-playing, and theater-going made lawful, all it needs to do is, first, to prepare a paper like the following:

Resolved, That the practice of dancing, etc., as existing in other Christian communions, is not inconsistent with the general rules of our Church touching the taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; but, since there is great interest in this question and since the Church generally should be consulted in such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, that we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the general rule, so that it shall read, "The taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus, such as dancing, card-playing, and theater-going."

Let, then, the dance-loving majority of one adopt the paper "and persuade one more than one fourth of the traveling preachers to vote against the proposed amendment," and, *presto*, the desired end is attained! Precisely so in any similar case. But to see all the possibilities of this procedure one must remember that in the above case, or in any similar one, it is not at all necessary that the majority of the General Conference present and voting favor the proposed construction of the rule, but only that a majority favor submitting the question in this form to the Church. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, as two thirds of the body is a legal quorum and one more

* Or by the secular courts, in the case of parties who outlaw themselves from the Church and refuse to recognize the authority of the General Conference. See Warren's *Constitutional Law Questions*, pp. 51-56.

than one half of this number a legal majority, one more than one third of the General Conference, with one more than one fourth of the traveling elders, could in a conceivable case effectually settle the force of our constitution and laws and general rules according to their own mind, however opposed thereto the Church at large might be.

39. In what situation did the action of 1888 leave every member of the Annual Conferences who conscientiously believed that the true legal meaning of the terms "laity" and "lay delegate" was inclusive of women? He could only say, with a revered "Observer" on a later occasion:

> Herein is the queerness of the situation. If I want the law to remain unchanged I must vote for a change. If I want the law changed I must vote against any change. In order to keep the law as it is there must be a vote of three fourths in favor of putting in new words and retaining the old meaning; while to keep the old words and obtain new meaning only a vote of one fourth is required. A vote for a change is a vote for the law as it has been.

40. What other words of the same writer would have, at the time, expressed the feelings of many? The following:

> Whether this strange situation has been brought about regularly, with a full knowledge and consent of the General Conference, or not, it is a situation which is sufficiently absurd to merit the indignation of the Church. It lays Methodism open to the ridicule of all who love straightforwardness and abhor indirection in serious legislation.

The foregoing questions and answers present a number of points in a fresh light. They show that many previous writers on both sides of the controversy have assumed or asserted things that do not accord with the facts or with any just inferences from the facts. We have been careful, however, not to name or to criticise any previous writer, and have kept far aloof from all personal and partisan polemics. In another article we hope with due impartiality briefly to set forth the curiously similar and curiously dissimilar action of the year 1892, and then to propose and advocate a new and so much needed constitutional amendment in which both parties, without sacrifice of principle, can heartily unite.

William F. Warren.

Art. VI.—LESSING'S UNFAIRNESS IN "NATHAN THE WISE."

That *Nathan the Wise* is one of the loftiest peaks in the mountain range of German literature will be readily conceded. There are probably not half a dozen German dramas better known or more admired than this child of Lessing's old age. Yet, in spite of all this, no production in the language has been more criticised. As a work of art it is not without many and serious defects, for Lessing, though a great poet, was, *par excellence*, a critic. He was more a Mars than an Apollo. His ardent nature, combative spirit, and restless activities disqualified him from dwelling at peace in the sacred groves of the muses. His life was one of turmoil, not of rest; of action, not of contemplation. No wonder Goethe styled him the Achilles, and not the Homer, of German literature!

The biography of this great man is too well known that it should be necessary to enter into the details of his life or works. Consequently, this paper will be limited to the consideration of some facts that are often, if not entirely, overlooked, or are but slightly touched upon. Some reasons will be assigned which may throw light upon his lifelong opposition to positive religion. It will be generally conceded that the teachings in Lessing's controversial writings, especially emphasized in his *Nathan*, are, on the whole, quite unfriendly to every form of revealed religion. While saying this, it may be added that no German author has been more helpful and suggestive to the writer than Lessing.

It may be said, at the beginning of this paper, that Lessing's life was not a life of happiness, but rather one of friction, of bitter disappointment, and in many regards one of utter failure and of galling poverty; or, as Scherer puts it: "He passed through many varied experiences, many illusions and disappointments, and was a roaming seafarer, gathering treasures from all countries, but finding no fixed habitation anywhere." Lessing was born in a parsonage. The words "parsonage" and "poverty" are not necessarily synonymous; but the house of Lessing's father and the vicarage at Wakefield were not the only two ministers' homes which had to battle hard to keep the

wolf from the door, or felt the inconvenience of meager incomes when it was necessary to keep up the forms of respectability. Notwithstanding limited incomes and various other drawbacks, the parsonage has furnished its full share of illustrious men for every field of activity, be it literature, art, science, theology, the marts of trade, or the great industries of the world. In spite, however, of the refining influences, the religious atmosphere, and the most careful training, it has often happened that no class of men have so completely shaken off all restraints as the sons of ministers. The Lord be praised that the number is not large! The rigid discipline and the forced economy have proved too much. No class of children suffer more from the inconveniences of poverty than those of many ministers, who, as a rule, are the peers of their fellows in intellectual and natural endowments, but who forever feel cramped for means to secure the highest culture demanded by the society in which they are expected to shine. It is difficult for them to realize the truth of the beatitude which says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," and still more difficult to harmonize an empty purse with a state of bliss.

Poverty met Lessing at the very threshold of life, and continued to stare him in the face till well-nigh the close of his earthly pilgrimage. One of twelve children, if he is educated at all, it must be at the expense of some kind-hearted patron or public institution. When a student's expenses are thus defrayed there are, generally, at least, two limitations: first, the allowance, in the very nature of the case, must be meager; and, secondly, no society or organization will educate those openly hostile to its principles or such as are likely to become so. Thus, at an early age, young Lessing refuses to remain a beneficiary at the University of Leipsic and gives up the stipends voted him by his native town. It has been said that he regarded this aid as altogether too small, and utterly inadequate for the support of a gentleman. Be that as it may, he throws off this yoke and begins the battle of life upon his own responsibility. He now devotes himself to private enterprises, such as translation and writing for the local press.

Then, much more than now, literary men, without some private income or stated salary, did not fare sumptuously, but had to fight even for the scantiest livelihood. Thus it was with

Lessing. He had to fight for bread in the most literal sense of the word, no less than for truth and freedom. Poverty, unless sweetened by the consolations of religion or rendered bearable by the highest philosophy, is not a means of grace such as will aid in the cultivation of a genial disposition, unbounded charity, and cheerful magnanimity. We cannot say of Lessing that "chill penury" repressed his "noble rage;" but we may assert that poverty did freeze "the genial current of the soul." How often has poverty embittered the possessors of great intellects and transformed great minds into carping cynics, especially when a sect or a clique has stood like a stone wall between the victim and the coveted success! No one can understand Lessing's spiritual or religious nature without recognizing this fact, which so severely interfered with the symmetrical development of his soul. Poverty continued, as a thorn in his flesh, almost to the verge of the grave. His own pugnacious nature and restless temperament and incessant warfare upon those who differed from him, even in small things, served only to sharpen this thorn and give deeper pain to its keen touch.

Poverty is not the only inconvenience imposed by a life at a parsonage. There is a certain standard of morality and orthodoxy required of the preacher and his family which is not insisted upon in other circles. Hence the oft-repeated and unjust slander against ministers' children. Orthodoxy and even morality are variable quantities, and should never be considered apart from chronology and geography. The age of Lessing might have demanded more of the one and less of the other than our own age. So in what follows the standard adopted in the middle of the eighteenth century, rather than at the close of the nineteenth, must be applied. We can easily imagine the anxious care with which Lessing's parents endeavored to instill correct principles, no less than right ideas, into the mind of their child, who, they hoped, "would be a real man of God" and would prepare himself to fill the sacred office held by his father. In spite of parental solicitude, we find young Lessing's mind, at the early age of twelve, greatly stirred up on the subject of the theater. The rector of the public school at Kamenz had written an essay entitled "The Stage a School of Eloquence." Lessing, Sr., and Lessing, Jr., took opposite sides. While the father attacked the essay from the pulpit the son

summoned all the logic and rhetoric at his command in its defense. Young Lessing's mind could not be changed. He stubbornly refused to yield. Consequently, he was withdrawn from the school of his native village and sent to Meissen. He changed schools, but not his opinion, for his love for the stage remained undiminished; yea, more, it rapidly grew into a passion, increasing from day to day until Lessing became the acknowledged leader, and, indeed, we might say the founder, of the purely German drama.

Father and son continued to cherish different views, and, much to the grief of the father, mother, and sister, the son and brother became more and more attached to the stage, and naturally the more hostile to the Church; for then, as now, the pulpit and the theater were sworn enemies. Lessing believed that he could popularize the drama and make it the greatest moral element in the education of the nation. The Protestant clergy, for the most part, convinced that the stage could not exert a wholesome influence upon the morals of the people, opposed him in this. Controversy became bitter on both sides. The more orthodox and evangelical the minister, the less liberal was he in his views regarding the influence of the theater. This, again, served to widen the gap between Lessing and the orthodox theologians, as well as to bring him into closer union with the freethinkers of his times. It was about this period that he became very intimate with Moses Mendelssohn, one of a race hated and persecuted by the German people. Whatever may be said of the possibilities of the stage, one thing is established beyond controversy; that is, that the majority of actors and actresses are not models of conduct regarded from an ethical standpoint. Thus, it need not surprise us if Lessing's fondness for the stage and his intimacy with this class of people did not prove conducive to the development of a high and lofty moral character. One of Lessing's most intimate friends was one Mylius, a former schoolmate, who had been embittered against the Church—not without some cause, since he had been fined and imprisoned for having written a poem in which several distinguished dignitaries had been unmercifully lampooned. Mylius was a man of brilliant intellect, but utterly devoid of moral sense or perception, very coarse, and entirely wanting in refinement. He was not only very heterodox, but very dissolute.

Voltaire's influence upon Lessing's character had been, if not positively pernicious, yet far from beneficial. In their disinclination to positive religion and in their demand for religious toleration they were both of one mind, and Lessing's clear, unadorned prose, which fits every *nuance* of thought, might have been acquired from Voltaire had it not been natural to himself. His alienation from the teachings of the Lutheran Church and his departure from the admonitions of his parents, together with the low standard of morality prevalent among his intimate associates, were not without dangerous results. As Scherer says, "His orthodoxy was put to the test and succumbed;" and he might have added, without danger of contradiction, that his morals also received a severe shock. Hostility to creed is often a mere plea for greater indulgence in doubtful practices, an endeavor to lower the standard of morality, as taught in the New Testament, to the level of the carnal mind and unsanctified affections. The source of such hostilities are oftener in the heart than in the head. Christian ethics require the purest morals and the most unselfish life. If measured by this standard we are afraid that Lessing falls very far short.

He struggled all his life with poverty, but he obtained only a partial victory, and that very late in life. How to live within his income was a lesson he never fully mastered. He had the faculty, not only of contracting, but also of remaining in, debt. In this regard he differed widely from Spinoza, with whom he had so many traits in common. In the commercial world nothing militates against a person's success more than a disinclination or even disability to meet all financial obligations. Wherever this habit becomes chronic failure is imminent and genuine happiness entirely out of the question. Even the fact that Lessing was a very liberal man and altogether too indulgent to those depending upon him does not wholly exonerate him. Nor is it possible to explain away the fact that he was inordinately fond of gambling, not merely for recreation, but for gain as well. Miss Frothingham claims that there is no evidence for this. It is, however, a matter of history that he "played for such high stakes that even General Tauentzien expostulated with him." Lessing himself justifies this habit by saying that the eager attention which he gave to the faro

table set his clogged machine in motion and brought the stagnant juices into circulation. Goethe refers to his gambling in the following words:

> Lessing was fond of casting off personal dignity because he was confident that he could resume it at any time; and he delighted at that period to lead a dissipated life in taverns and society, since he needed constantly a counterpoise to his powerfully laborious soul.

Again, applying our high standard of morality, it would be perhaps impossible, however charitably disposed we might be to do so, to explain away Dessing's relations to Frau König, who within a reasonable time after the death of her husband became his wife. Inordinate affection for the wife of an intimate friend is in keeping neither with lofty philosophy nor with common decency. "There is," says a recent writer, "reason to believe that he had to smother a feeling toward the wife of his friend, which, as it appeared hopeless, made him desirous of leaving the city of Hamburg." These facts are mentioned, not for the purpose of degrading a great man, but to show that the evangelical clergy of his time and country were fighting no more for orthodoxy in opposing him than for a high standard of morality.

Lessing was a professional critic, and a destructive one at that. Wit and satire were his native elements. Even as a schoolboy he was dreaded as the most sarcastic of all his fellow-pupils. He cultivated a taste for satirical criticism. Two reasons may be assigned for this: first, that as he was thrown entirely upon his own resources it might be said that no species of writing would afford him more remuneration; and, secondly, that there could be no finer field for him wherein to display his mighty genius and great learning. Many a German has achieved glory and renown, like Colonel Robert Ingersoll and other lesser lights in this country, not because of any special originality, but owing to a reckless daring which terrified many a grander intellect. We would not for a moment degrade Lessing by comparing him with Ingersoll; nevertheless, both have some traits in common. Lessing manifested a genuine fondness for controversy. It was a part of his business. No subject was either too trifling or too sacred for his vigorous pen. Now we find him criticising the method of teaching in vogue in the public schools and universities of his country;

now a poor pastor of Halle who had produced a faulty translation of Horace is made to smart under his whip; now Gottsched and other admirers of the French drama are held up to ridicule. Klopstock is too full of feeling; Wieland is too extravagantly fanciful. Voltaire, his natural enemy, is unmercifully tortured and humiliated; and even Winckelmann did not escape his pungent wit. As to Professor Klotz, he and all his followers are struck down with one fell blow, never to rise again.

In short, Lessing was a free lance, a regular Ishmaelite. The wonder is that he possessed such strength in so many varied fields. He seemed equally at home in art, literature, theology, philology, philosophy, and archæology, and that in all their branches. Having, however, suffered most from the orthodox theologian and those at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, it is but natural that he turned his heaviest batteries upon them. Thus, the most bitter and acrid, certainly the most noted, of all his controversies is that with Pastor Goeze, of Hamburg. This is so inseparably connected with *Nathan the Wise*, his admirers and defenders to the contrary notwithstanding, that it will be well to give a short account of its origin. The anti-Goeze letters were occasioned by the publication of what are known as the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*. These were seven papers issued by Lessing from a manuscript left by the late Professor Reimarus, of Hamburg, entitled, *A Vindication of the Natural Worship of God*. Though Lessing sympathized with the views expressed in these papers as a whole, yet he disagreed in some minor points. Bishop Hurst has given such an excellent summary of these papers that we could do no better than reproduce it here. Says Bishop Hurst:

> The *Fragments* published by Lessing contain the gist of his [Reimarus's] entire work, and contributed far more to the growth of skepticism than a larger production would probably have done. The historical evidences of Christianity and of the doctrine of inspiration, according to the *Fragments*, are clad in such a garb of superstition that they do not merit the credence of sensible men. The confessions framed at different periods of the history of the Church have savored far more of human weakness than of divine knowledge. They bear but slight traces of biblical truth. The Trinity is incomprehensible, and the heart should not feel bound to lean upon what reason cannot fathom. Nearly all the Old Testament history is a string of legends and myths which an advanced age should indignantly reject. Christ never really intended to

establish a permanent religion; the work of his apostles was something unanticipated by himself. His design was to restore Judaism to its former state, throw off the Roman yoke, and declare himself king. His public entry into Jerusalem was designed to be his installation as a temporal king; but he failed in his dependence upon popular support, and, instead of attaining a throne, he died on the cross. Belief in scriptural records is perfectly natural to the Christian, for he has imbibed it from education and training. Reason is forestalled in the ordinary education of children. They are baptized before they are old enough to exercise their own reasoning faculties. Faith in Scripture testimony is really of no greater value than the belief of the Mohammedan or Jew in their oracles, unless reason be permitted to occupy the seat of judgment.

No sooner were these radical views published than the entire theological world of Germany was in uproar. The controversy raged violently for some time, but was suddenly stopped. Lessing was compelled to withdraw in dishonor, not because he was necessarily wrong, but because the enemy were more numerous and powerful than he. The Consistory of Brunswick prevailed upon the civil government to interfere, the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* were confiscated, and Lessing was forbidden henceforth to publish anything, anywhere, on theological subjects, without first having submitted the manuscript to the censors and having obtained permission from the authorities. This, as might be expected, served only to fan the flame, and the smoldering ashes are made to burn again. Lessing now defiantly turns about and attacks his most insolent enemy, Goeze, from another quarter. If the use of the press is forbidden him he will turn the stage into the battlefield, from which he may challenge his enemies with impunity. He says, "I must see if they will let me preach undisturbed in my old pulpit, the theater."

There are those who disclaim that *Nathan the Wise* is in any way connected with the controversy occasioned by the *Fragments*. This, however, is positively wrong, and needs no refutation. The fact that he had planned such a drama some time before the controversy arose proves nothing. Even Kuno Fischer, though denying that *Nathan* owed its genesis to the anti-Goeze letters, yet admits that Lessing's poetical works stand in very close connection with his critical prose writings. He says, "The *Literaturbriefe* are followed by *Minna von Barnhelm*, the *Dramaturgie* by *Emilia Galotti*,

and the anti-Goeze writings by *Nathan*." While it is possible that the idea of this great drama was suggested by the works of Cardan and Boccaccio, it is evident that the work as we have it is a culmination of the above-mentioned controversy. *Nathan* was commenced in the very year the Brunswick government forbade the publication of Lessing's theological papers. The subjects discussed in the poem are virtually the same as those in the *Fragments*. Both were written in the interest of religious toleration, and to show that the higher type of religion was possible even outside of the Christian Church. Lessing maintained that "all creeds, if sincere and accompanied by benevolence, are to be honored because, although each cannot be the true creed, yet each will in that way fulfill the object of all religion." Lessing, like Voltaire, advocated religious toleration; but, as Hagenbach has profoundly observed, "There is a toleration of shallowness, of cowardice, of religious indecision, of religious indifference—a toleration that easily and finally degenerates into intolerance, which is the hatred of everyone who wishes to hold and profess a firm and positive religion." This language may be too strong if applied to Lessing; yet his ruthless criticisms in the various fields of learning are far from breathing the highest type of toleration.

The unfairness of Lessing in his *Nathan* is manifest in the selection of his characters. The lay brother, Daja, the templar, and the patriarch are Christians; Saladin, Sittah, and possibly the dervish represent the Mohammedan religion; while Nathan is a Jew, and Recha, the flower of the drama, if anything, is a freethinker. We are aware that there are those who firmly maintain that Lessing did not intend to make these characters representatives of their religions, much less to present Christianity in the very poorest light. The question is, however, quite germane, why he selected such unworthy persons from among the Christians. Why should Nathan, the Jew, be the paragon of virtue, and why should the Patriarch of Jerusalem be the embodiment of all that is heartless, bigoted, and hypocritical? The latter is a man so utterly lost to virtue as to think his wickedness pleasing to God. No fair-minded man would so caricature Christians and so seek to enhance the virtues of Saladin or Nathan at the risk of degrading

the religion of his fathers. The world has rarely seen a more perfect type of manhood than Lessing's Nathan. It is possible, but not probable, that Jews like him might be found outside the realm of imagination. Judaism, however, as such, is not good soil for the production of such perfect characters. Be that as it may, no one will deny that better types of Christians than are found in this drama were very abundant in Lessing's day, while worse specimens could not have been found anywhere in the whole world. Vain will it be to say that Lessing wished to show that the most atrocious persons might profess the most tolerant of all religions and yet be without one spark of true cosmopolitan charity; while, on the other hand, "a member of the most exclusive religion might, like Nathan, raise himself above the religious notions in which he had been brought up."

The story of the three rings, beautiful though it be, is yet misleading. It assumes that one religion is as good as another, or, what amounts to the same, that no religion is true; and, further, that, if at any time there was a true religion, it was so long ago that now, after the lapse of millenniums, no one can divine what it was. Religion is compared to a ring:

> In gray antiquity there lived a man,
> In Eastern lands, who had received a ring
> Of priceless worth from a beloved hand.

This ring was handed down from father to son for many ages. For a time all went well; but finally the true ring became confounded with other counterfeited rings, so that each of three sons sincerely believed he had the genuine one:

> Questioning then ensues,
> Strife, and appeal to law; but all in vain.
> The genuine ring was not to be distinguished—
> As indistinguishable as, with us,
> The true religion.

Now, what is Lessing's natural conclusion? It is that there is no true religion, or if there be that no one has the power to tell which it is. Thus, the toleration preached in this drama is the natural outcome of hostility to all forms of positive religion, a tolerance which has its origin in doubt and "in skepticism as to the possibility of man's ever attaining absolute truth." If we

are to believe Lessing's own words, he did not care for the attainment of the truth. Said he on one occasion:

> If God should hold in his right hand all truth, and in his left the everlasting impulse and love of search after truth, although accompanied with the condition that I should ever err, and should say, "Choose!" I would choose the left with humility and say, "Give, Father! Pure truth belongs to thee alone!"

The admission that truth cannot be found or the conclusion arrived at in *Nathan the Wise* tends to weaken a longing for the truth, to indulge a willingness to remain in the dark and an inclination to skepticism—all of which are calculated to destroy the reader's respect for revealed religion. If toleration is taught at all in the drama it is simply in that we feel ourselves plunged into an abyss of error, from which we have no hope of ever emerging. Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* has helped as much as any book written in any language to unchristianize the German people. It has been one of the most potent factors in spreading agnosticism over Europe. Lessing did well in advocating the greatest liberty in matters of faith and conscience, in emphasizing good works and brotherly love. Hatred, bigotry, and intolerance cannot promote any religion. But, after all, were there many in Lessing's days who were more intolerant than he himself? Though he praised St. John for his lovable spirit and godlike disposition, did he himself at any period of his life imitate the beloved disciple? Was his spirit of controversy the natural fruit of Johannean love? Were those merciless castigations inflicted upon Pastor Lange, or the barbed darts fired at Goeze, or even the savage strictures upon Winckelmann the best that any religion could offer?

> Unless a love of virtue light the flame,
> Satire is, more than those he brands, to blame.
> He hides behind a magisterial air
> His own offenses, and strips others bare.

As Kuno Fischer says:

> There is a toleration which the world commends and which most men practice, priding themselves upon it as virtue, though it is the easiest thing in the world. It requires us only to be indifferent to the belief of others. When we have once thrown religion upon that heap of things we characterize as "trash" it is very easy not to concern ourselves about it in

other people, especially as the reasoning faculty is thereby saved a great labor. I know not whether this so-called toleration is better than its opposite.

The unfairness of Lessing shows itself most plainly when we consider that he borrows the leading doctrines of Christianity without giving this blessed religion any credit for them. This is a grave fault, and one very common with skeptics in all lands. The truth is that the idea of religious toleration has never been emphasized by any great religious body except the Christians. Christianity, *par excellence*, preaches "the love which is identical with wisdom," the era of peace on earth and good will to men. The great task of the followers of Christ has been all through the ages to unite men—all men—in the bonds of love and purity. Professor Primer puts the case strongly, as follows:

Judaism did not extend the love of neighbor beyond its national boundary, and prayed for the destruction of the enemy. Islamism extended its neighborly love to all the races of its confession and put the others to fire and sword. Christianity broke down the barriers, and brought true humanity into the world, and extended the love of neighbor to the love of mankind in general. . . . This love we know is the touchstone of real religion. But Lessing, through *Nathan*, makes it the property of the Mohammedan, Jewish, and Christian religions, when it belongs to the Christian alone.

W. W. Davies.

Art. VII.—THE REFUGEE CHURCHES IN ENGLAND.

The situation of the island of Great Britain was peculiarly favorable to the Protestant fugitives from persecution on the Continent. England offered at times to the Huguenots of France a place of refuge even more advantageous than Holland or Switzerland, hospitable though these were. Holland, during the period of the persecutions of the sixteenth century, was engaged in a long and unceasing warfare to secure her own religious freedom, as well as her political independence. Moreover, the Dutch republic and Switzerland were comparatively small countries, and Switzerland, at least, was compelled by reason of its geographical position to stand upon its guard and always to exercise more or less circumspection, so as not too openly to defy the power of the French monarchs. The only wonder is that the independence both of the cantons and of the republic of Geneva was so well respected. It was a standing occasion of annoyance to the Roman Catholic rulers of France and of Savoy, that they had by their very doors a little city at the outlet of Lake Leman which, though scarcely more than a fair-sized town in population and in extent of dependent territory, dared to offer an asylum to those that were persecuted for righteousness' sake as heretics. The plots formed against Geneva from both quarters were numerous, but were providentially frustrated by events that aroused the astonishment even of unbelievers. In a few cases, however, the sanctity of neutral territory was violated, and men whom the French government was specially desirous of seizing were even kidnapped beyond the limits of the kingdom and, like poor Marcilly, captured on Swiss soil, were taken forcibly to France and executed there in defiance of all the principles of international law. More frequently, the French minister resident made remonstrances, and even threats, which even Berne and Geneva dared not altogether disregard. Thus it was that, with all their far-famed hospitality, Berne and Geneva were obliged occasionally to request the refugees to go farther from the French frontier. Thus it was also that when, in the eighteenth century, the proscribed Protestants of the "Desert" were desirous of establishing a training school or theological seminary, to prepare men

for the perilous work of preaching in the secret conventicles of the south of France, they were compelled to place it at Lausanne, because the Genevese did not covet the dangerous honor of having it in their city.

England, because of its strength and its insular character, was free from all such fears and from the necessity of such extreme caution. Besides this, it was far more accessible to the numerous Protestants of the western, and especially the northwestern, seaboard. A few hours' sail with a fair breeze would bring the Huguenot from Normandy to the southern shore of Kent; and, without utterly annihilating commerce (which no French monarch dared to do), it was impossible to prevent Protestants, and particularly Protestant sailors, from taking refuge on English soil until the storm of persecution should have passed. The story of the little seaport of Rye and its relations with Dieppe, three centuries ago the most commercial maritime city of France, is a curious one. The Protestants comprised probably the largest, and certainly by far the most industrious, part of the population of Dieppe. Accustomed as were the Dieppois to make long voyages—its navigators even claimed, though without good reason, that they had circumnavigated Africa before the Portuguese—they thought nothing, when threatened with religious persecution, of crossing the channel with their wives and children. As they took their pastors with them, and as their elders and deacons were of their number, the Huguenot churches were merely transferred from Dieppe to Rye and its neighbor, Winchelsea. There was little or no interruption of public worship, and on British soil the meetings of their consistory or session and the administration of discipline were as regular as on Norman ground. The migration and the return took place not once nor twice, but as often as severities increased or diminished. The ebb and flow between Dieppe and Rye continued for many years at irregular intervals, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. * In the words of Baron Schickler, the history of the refugee church of Rye is so closely bound to that of Dieppe that the former may properly be considered as an annex of the Norman parish.

* See that interesting chronicle of the seventeenth century first printed by the *Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles*, in 1878, under the title *Histoire de la Réformation à Dieppe*, 1557–1657, par Guillaume et Jean Daval.

The importance of the church at Rye was transient and fluctuating. It was otherwise with the French and Dutch churches of the interior, formed by fugitives who came, not with the view of returning at once to their native lands as soon as a return was practicable, but with the expectation of remaining long, if not permanently, and of whom great numbers helped, by the trades they introduced, to build up the manufactures of the country that became their new home.

The history of the refugee churches is an interesting one, but has not been written until lately. Mr. John Southerden Burn, it is true, brought out, years ago, a single volume of great merit—*The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (London, 1846). But, though full of curious and valuable antiquarian information, the limits of the book were too contracted for an adequate treatment. Rev. Dr. David C. A. Agnew's work on the *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, quite different in character, and even more valuable to the historical student, is preeminently biographical and genealogical. It is mainly, as the subtitle indicates, a study of "the Huguenot Refugees and their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland." Each of the editions, of which there were three, including the first publication of the book in 1866, and the last, issued, just before the lamented author's death, in 1877, marks a distinct step in the mastery of the subject. Nowhere else can the individual fortunes of such great leaders as the three Dukes of Schomberg, or the two Marquises of Ruvigny (the younger better known as the Earl of Galway), or the adventures of a host of other men that occupied less conspicuous places be read to better advantage.

But, without disparagement of the great value of the works of Burn and Agnew in their special departments, it may be said with truth that the connected history of the French and Walloon churches in England was never written until Baron Fernald de Schickler undertook to treat of it in the three handsome volumes which appeared in 1892.* The author, an enlightened and enthusiastic student of Huguenot history, has

* *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre.* Par le Baron F. de Schickler. 3 vols., royal 8vo. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1892.

devoted his time and contributed nobly of his means to the prosecution of his favorite branch of knowledge. In 1865 he succeeded in the presidency of the French Protestant Historical Society Mr. Charles Read, who is entitled more than any other man to be called the founder of that most important learned society. Under Baron Schickler's administration it has thriven wonderfully, and the monthly *Bulletin* published by it has become more and more indispensable to all investigators of the past of French Protestantism. In 1885 Mr. Schickler secured the permanence, and room for the future growth, of the now magnificent library of the society by the gift of a large and commodious building in the *Rue des Saints Pères*, in the city of Paris, where, thanks to the munificent contributions of books and manuscripts made by himself and other generous friends, there is a collection of works upon this special subject unrivaled elsewhere. The first fruits of Baron Schickler's careful researches were given to the world in a sketch of the refugee churches in all countries, contributed to Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, and subsequently printed as a separate monograph of about one hundred and twenty pages. Only a part was given to the refugee churches in England, which form the sole theme of his more recent work. The latter is a book of extensive, minute, and conscientious scholarship. The plan is excellent, the parts are woven into a connected and entertaining narrative, and the style, which is clear, forcible, and dignified, is not unworthy of the noble subject of which the work treats. Strictly speaking, the third volume lies outside of the narrative, being devoted exclusively to the documents (all of them either hitherto inedited or inaccessible to most readers because of their rarity) upon which the book is in great part built. A few chapters in the second volume also are taken up with the history of the reformed churches in the Channel Islands, or Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Aurigny, which, although close to the French coast, belong to Great Britain. Baron Schickler's researches only come down to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685; but a second work, in two or more volumes, will doubtless take up the story where the present volumes stop and carry it down to our own times. With this continuation we shall have a work which the author may well view with satis-

faction, as a noble fruit of his long and careful investigations and a notable contribution to our best historical literature.

The refugee churches do not necessarily date back of the reign of Edward VI, although the refugees began to make their way to England, in greater or less numbers, as early as the reign of Henry VIII. It is, indeed, among the singularities of Henry's conduct that he tolerated Protestant fugitives from the Continent at the very time that he proscribed the profession of the doctrines of Luther among his own subjects. In 1540 a number of Protestants and Roman Catholics were executed on one and the same occasion at the Tower of London, objects of the king's impartial detestation—the Roman Catholics being hung as rebels and the Protestants burned as heretics. Yet, so early as in 1537, Henry distinctly declined to extradite French refugees at the request of Francis I. Clearly, however, theirs could only have been a precarious existence in England, tolerated rather than protected. The few records of the naturalization of some of the number refer to them as French or Walloon workmen, but do not touch upon their religion.

The era of liberty was marked by the accession of Edward, in 1547; and the six years of his all too brief reign were so full of achievement and of promise as to leave undying regret that so good a prince was not spared to execute the glorious projects he had conceived, and to make of the Church of England a body in full touch and sympathy for all time with the reformed Churches of the Continent. In his plans and the plans of his broad-minded counselors the refugee churches were to play a part which has been too generally overlooked or misunderstood. The persecuted Protestants of every part of Europe were, indeed, welcomed for their own sake and for the sake of their common Christianity. As good, honest men and women, they were expected to add to the best elements of the population. As, in many cases, skilled artisans, they would, it was hoped, increase the manufactures, and so the wealth, of the country. But they were also members of Protestant communities that had enjoyed for some time the advantage of the training of the best reformed Churches of the Continent, of Churches organized and conducted by men who, to great piety and devotion, added the most scholarly attainments of the age. In this capacity they might serve as examples and their organizations as an

object lesson to the English churches just emerging from the darkness of subjection to a spiritual despotism that differed from the Roman chiefly by the substitution of the royal for the papal supremacy. So far as the great Protestant doctors were concerned who were invited from beyond the Channel and the North Sea, it is a fact that must not be lost sight of that they were brought to England by Edward VI, by Somerset, and by Cranmer, much less in order that there might be an opportunity of extending fraternal protection to them than for the purpose of securing their wise counsels and active assistance in the work of establishing and organizing the Church on a proper basis. Themselves much in doubt and wavering in their views as to the best method of procedure, quite aware of the difficulties confronting them in their arduous work, and particularly in dealing with a clergy which was but half reformed, the king's advisers looked eagerly abroad for help and guidance.*

Of the remarkable group of theologians whom Cranmer gathered about him at Lambeth Palace, Martin Bucer, of Strasburg, Paul Fagius, and Peter Martyr Vermigli were undoubtedly the most celebrated, and English Protestantism made good use of them by calling them to take theological chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, where they did much to further the spread of evangelical views among the clergy. There was plenty of room for their exertions and the exertions of men like them; for, as one of their number, Fagius, observed of the field of their labors in England, "Everything here is complete chaos." But, after all, it was a reformer less famous than either Bucer or Peter Martyr that, by his efforts at organization, seemed destined to exert the most direct influence upon the permanent constitution of the Church. This man was John à Lasco, a Polish nobleman, who, having been converted to the Gospel, devoted himself first to the evangelization of his own native land, but, failing to realize his hopes, subsequently labored with great success at Embden, in East Friesland. It was this success, which proved him to be a man possessed of remarkable abilities as an organizer, that led to his being invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates to come to their assistance in a critical emergency. Nor did he disappoint their expectations. Having come after reiterated invitations, he

*Schickler, vol. i, p. 9.

first made a short stay of six months (1548–1549), and a year later, being forced to leave Embden in consequence of the "Interim," he returned and remained for a longer period. His labors in connection with the organization of the little French churches of Protestant refugees at London would have little importance in themselves. They derive their great significance from a fact which à Lasco himself informs us of in the dedication of his book, *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum Peregrinarum in Anglia*, to King Sigismund of Poland in 1555. This fact is that Edward VI, who was inclined to reform the public worship of the Church as speedily as possible by the removal of certain remaining features of popery, concluded to do this gradually and only so far as the laws of the realm would permit, and meantime resolved to make a practical use of the churches which the strangers should be permitted to form, as nearly as possible upon apostolic models both in doctrine and practice. The king and his advisers, à Lasco included, "thought that, encouraged by this example, the English churches themselves would be unanimous throughout the kingdom in reverting to the apostolic worship in all its purity." * It must not be supposed that all the important concessions made to the French churches, of which we have not, unfortunately, room to speak, escaped opposition. The bishops, making the lord treasurer their mouthpiece, were instant in desiring that the foreigners should be required to conform to the ceremonies of the established Church of England. In fact, they made their influence so felt that a year or two elapsed after the refugees had been allowed to have preaching before they were permitted to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was really the firmness of the king himself that secured them this right in the end. The institution of such an office as the superintendency, it may be noticed, so far from being a concession to episcopacy, seems to have had its origin in a desire to have some one at the head of the foreign Church who might defend them against the assaults of the episcopal party.

King Edward in his grant had given to the foreigners the late church of the Augustinian Friars, and had ordained that it be henceforth designated as the Church of Jesus. Here both Flemings and French, or Walloons, worshiped, each in their own

* John à Lasco, in Schickler, vol. i, p. 32.

tongue. Within two years the congregations became too large for this double use of the one edifice, and the king gave to the French another building, the chapel belonging to the hospital of Saint Anthony, in Threadneedle Street. The ministers in their official acts uniformly styled this the French church; but the influx of Walloons, or of inhabitants of the Low Countries speaking the French language, was so great under the reign of Elizabeth that outsiders ordinarily called it the Walloon Church. Other churches arose at nearly the same time with the church at London. The Duke of Somerset invited a colony of French and Walloon weavers to settle upon his estates, twenty-five miles from Bath, at Glastonbury, the ruins of whose famous abbey, founded by St. Augustine, or Austin, in the seventh century, now form the chief or sole object of interest to the visitor. This Glastonbury church, too, had its liturgy, not modeled upon that of à Lasco, but fashioned after the Strasburg liturgy. It is of interest that this, like that of à Lasco, had a funeral service and a more extended prayer.

Queen Elizabeth by no means viewed the French Protestants with the favor which Edward had displayed to them. Mr. Froude has shown, and Douglass Campbell has recently emphasized in his remarkable history (*The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*), the insincerity and tergiversations that marked her dealings with foreign Protestants and Protestantism, all arising from the fact that never, until after the great Armada, did she lose the hope and the desire of reconciliation with the pope and the Roman Catholic Church. Against the Huguenots, as Presbyterians and as closely bound to Geneva, she had the strongest aversion. John Knox had written his famous treatise against the rule of women; and she held Calvin and Beza accountable for having approved, or at least not having openly disapproved, the Scottish reformer's views. Yet her reign was, upon the whole, by far the most prosperous period in the history of the refugee churches. The cruel butchery of the reformers by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands and the proscriptions and persecutions attending the civil wars in France drove greatly increased numbers of fugitives beyond the Channel. Hence a number of new congregations arose, the most interesting being that of Canterbury, for

which the attempt has been made to discover an origin in the reign of Edward. Everyone has heard of the church of Walloons which was domiciled by the hospitality of the English in the crypt beneath the great cathedral, and every traveler knows that the place where the French services continue even now to be held divides the interest of the visitor with the tomb of Thomas à Becket and with the spot where the archbishop was murdered by the knights of King Henry II. But not everybody knows that such was the compassion felt for the exiles for religion's sake, and such the anxiety of the English to domesticate the industries which the exiles had brought with them from their native homes, that they were not merely permitted to worship God after their own accustomed rites, but encouraged to hold their schools and even, for a while, to set up their looms and engage in weaving in the undercroft of the cathedral church of the primate of all England.

Among the great services which the young and flourishing Huguenot Society of London has rendered to the cause of historical research is the recent issue, in one of its "publications," of the hitherto inedited minutes of the meetings of the Presbyteries and Synods of the foreign refugee churches.* One of the articles of the fifteenth Colloquy, or Presbytery, which met in London, April 23–27, 1601, relates to the cases, apparently not at all rare, where the ministers were outvoted by the much more numerous elders. Consulted by the brethren at Canterbury, whether in such a contingency the ministers might not at least exercise a right to suspend the execution of the resolution which they disapproved until the next meeting of the Presbytery, the Colloquy of London declined to take any action that would seem to deny the parity of the eldership, to which, by the constitution drawn up by John à Lasco, the Church was committed, and confined itself to recommending mature deliberation and the avoidance of all precipitate action.† In the words of Baron Schickler:

> The article brings out prominently the preponderant influence of the elders, accruing to them by the great ecclesiastical part allotted to their functions in the Discipline of à Lasco. Each elder has the charge

* *Les Actes des Colloques des Églises Françaises et des Synodes des Églises Étrangères refugiées en Angleterre*, 1581–1654. Transcribed and edited by Adrian Charles Chamier. Lymington, 1890.

† *Ibid.*, p. 40.

of a certain number of souls. It is he that makes inquiry into their lives and morals. It is he who gives or withholds the token for the Lord's Supper. Hence come the appeals frequently carried up to the colloquies, and the annoyance of a number of pastors temporarily among the refugees, subjected to the supervision of the elder of their quarter, and treated by him in the same manner as the other members of the flock, without regard to their ministerial character.*

The real tribulations of the refugee churches began with the reign of Charles I, and particularly with the efforts of Archbishop Laud to secure absolute conformity. Thus far the resident French and Flemish Protestants had been able to make good their position as against the authority of the Anglican bishop: "We are in the diocese," said they, "but not of the diocese." Now the High Church party, of whom Laud was the foremost representative, made it one of their chief objects to curtail the privileges accorded to the foreign churches of the same reformed faith with the Church of England. Many readers of ecclesiastical history are probably unaware of the violent antipathy which Laud had conceived against the refugee churches, and of the disastrous results that antipathy wrought upon his own destiny. Even before his exaltation to the archiepiscopal see, but when, as Bishop of London, he already exercised a powerful influence upon the Privy Council, he presented a paper setting forth both the peril in which the State stood from the foreign Protestants and the cure for the evil. Mr. Schickler gives the document in a French translation. Mr. W. J. C. Moens published the original in the appendix of his book, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their History and Registers*, 1565-1832.† The title of this curious sketch, which betrays all too clearly the future archbishop's policy, is, "Report and Remedy concerning the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand in many parts of this Kingdom; First, the Danger, then, the Public Remedy." Admitting, in the first instance, that it was "honor and piety in this State" to welcome these churches "because at that time there was persecution upon them in their owne countreys, and the peace with which God then blessed this kingdom was their safety," the writer proceeded to observe that it was never the intention that the refugees

* *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, p. 339.

† In two parts, Lymington, 1887, 1888. Publication of the Huguenot Society of London.

should continue in England, marrying and many of them having "plentiful fortunes and lands," and "living like an absolute divided body from the Church of England established." This must needs work upon their affections, and alienate them from the State, "or at least make them ready for any innovation that may sort better with their humor." As they were now a Church within a Church, so in time they would grow to be "a kind of another commonwealth within this, and so ready for that which I hold not fit to express any farther." Living as they did "in all or most of the haven towns," especially such as lay "fittest for France and the Low Countreys," were occasion offered, "God knows what advantage they may make to themselves or make for others." This example, moreover, was injurious, "for many are confirmed in their stubborn ways of disobedience to the church government, seeing them so freely suffered in this great and populous city." Differing from the English in church discipline, these French and Dutch churches ought no more to be tolerated than the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England are tolerated beyond the seas. Such being the "danger," the "remedy" suggested consisted in first getting accurate information as to the number of the foreigners, and then, if they were to continue as a divided body from both Church and State, to treat them as strangers, and not as natives; that is, to compel them to pay double duties, as strangers are accustomed to do, and to deprive them of all special immunities, until such times as they would live as other subjects lived. He said further:

> When it shall be thought fit actually to reduce them to live as other subjects do, both in relation to Church and State, the way I conceive may be to have them fairly warned in an ecclesiastical way, for every man with his household (if he be not a newcomer, but a born subject) to repair to his parish church here, to conform himself to prayers, sacraments, etc.; and, if any receive not according to canon and law, then to excommunicate him or them. And by that time the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* hath been served upon some few, it may be the rest will yield themselves.

Here was a very pretty work of persecution laid out to be inflicted upon the offspring of the men and women who had crossed the British Channel for the purpose of avoiding persecution in their native countries. Laud had shown very clearly

what might be expected of him as soon as, by the favor of Charles I, he should obtain free scope for his intolerant action. So far as that action concerned the English Puritans, this is, of course, not the place for its discussion. We have only to do with the particular display of his malice against the French churches. On December 19, 1634, by the famous "Injunctions," issued in his name by Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar general, the foreign churches received the double order, that all their members born in England should attach themselves to the churches of the parishes in which they resided and there listen to the word of God and perform all the duties of parishioners; while those members of foreign birth might, indeed, attend the refugee churches, but must use, after March 1, 1635, the English liturgy faithfully translated into the French and Flemish tongues. The alarm felt by the Walloons and their associates at this order led to the assembling of what was really the first Synod of the foreign churches. There was good reason for alarm. The archbishop was not only deaf to all remonstrance, but he answered every appeal with hard and insulting terms. He accused the foreigners of sitting at the communion in their churches as they would sit at the tavern, said that these churches were nests which he intended to reduce to catholic obedience, and charged them with being the cause of the growth both of papacy and schism.* King Charles went even further, and refused to listen to the address of Marmet, deputy of the churches. Even the mayor and common council of Canterbury became alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, and protested against the damage their town would receive should the intolerance of the government lead to the loss of the industries brought by the refugees from France and the Netherlands. This question, they said, more nearly affected their city than any other that had been raised within the memory of man.

The arbitrary course of Archbishop Laud was the cause of his overthrow. In 1640 he was arrested, and shortly after he was put in the Tower of London, where he languished three years before being put to death. It is of particular interest to notice that the treatment to which he had subjected the foreign churches was one of the distinct charges preferred against him by the House of Commons. The twelfth article of his im-

*Schickler, vol. ii, p. 26.

peachment before the House of Lords, December 18, 1640, was in these words: *

> He hath traytorously endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed and abrogated the privilege and immunities which have been by his Majesty and his royal ancestors granted to the French and Dutch churches in this kingdom; and divers other ways hath expressed his malice and disaffection to these churches, that so by such disunion the papists might have more advantage for the overthrow and entirpation of both.

No wonder that the poor refugees at Norwich and elsewhere felt and testified great joy at the downfall of their oppressor, and said in their quaint phrase, "It is merry with the lambs when the wolfe is shut up." †

In 1641, a few months after Laud's overthrow, the foreign churches for the fourth time published their Ecclesiastical Discipline. The two most important points in this latest revision were, first, the removal of the last vestiges of the parity of the ministers and elders, on which the Discipline of John à Lasco had so strongly insisted; and, secondly, the erasure of all references to the office of superintendent, the late troubles having rendered episcopal authority, or anything in the least resembling it, peculiarly offensive. In contrasting this fourth Discipline (which, having never been officially abolished, may even be said still to be in force) with its predecessors, Baron Schickler remarks: ‡

> The first Discipline, that of à Lasco (1550), possesses the exuberant wealth of the first days of enthusiasm and faith; it is suited only to a Church strictly marked off and autonomous. The second, that of Des Gallars (1560), establishes the Calvinistic type with the circumspection necessary in the case of a Church placed under the supervision of a foreign ecclesiastical power. Applying to an assemblage of congregations that which was originally destined only to a single one, the third Discipline (1588, 1589) strengthens the authority of the consistory over the flock and, by the colloquies, hopes to furnish the churches a center of resistance against uprisings from within or oppression from without. It is to the preponderance of the action of these colloquies (presbyteries) that the fourth Discipline (1641) tends. It seeks to take advantage of a momentary eclipse of the Anglican Church, to free itself of the control of that Church and to secure to the working of the Presbyterian system its full independence and regularity.

* Moens, *The Walloons and their Church at Norwich*, vol. i, p. 96.
† *Ibid.*, *ubi supra.* ‡ Vol. ii, p. 76.

The establishment of the Commonwealth did not mark the permanent cessation of the annoyances to which the refugee churches were subjected. They recommenced with the accession of Charles II. This monarch returned from his exile with no kindly feelings toward the Presbyterians, whether of English or foreign extraction. It it true that during the years he spent in France he not infrequently attended service in the Huguenot churches of Caen and Rouen, in Normandy, and of La Rochelle. But he steadfastly refused to hear preaching in the great "temple" of Charenton, the place of worship of the Parisian Protestants. This refusal was due, perhaps, not so much to the fact that his Anglican advisers accused the Presbyterians of having contributed to bring about the death of his father, as to the circumstance that, had he attended the Huguenot church of Charenton, he would probably have seen Cromwell's envoys occupying the bench formerly set apart for the ambassadors of the King of England.* The new king soon had an opportunity to exhibit his disposition toward nonconformity, even among the foreign Protestants. There was a dispute between the authorities of the old Threadneedle Street Walloon Church and a congregation that had been gathered in Westminster. The former appealed to his majesty to close this new place of worship, the latter to recognize its continuance. Charles solved the difficulty by permitting as many of the Westminster congregation "as would conform to the Church of England" to take possession of a church which he placed at their disposal. This was the origin of the well-known Savoy Chapel, the first of the Conformist foreign churches, which subsequently became numerous.†

The famous Act of Uniformity (1662), so disastrous in the religious history of England, did not directly affect the refugee churches. If for no other reason, it was plainly impolitic to divert the stream of profitable immigration that brought to Great Britain skilled workmen, who might easily be compelled to take refuge in the more hospitable Netherlands. The bill itself contained a proviso that the penalties under the new law should not extend to the foreigners or aliens of the reformed churches authorized, or to be authorized, by the king's majesty,

* Maximilian de l'Angle, in Schickler, vol. ii, p. 205.
† Schickler, vol. ii, p. 218.

his heirs, and successors in England. Yet there was a wide door left open for annoyance: for the government had already, in a previous reign, shown a disposition to restrict the favor it might show the refugee churches to the first generation, and to compel the children of the foreigners to join the parish churches with all other native-born Englishmen.

Two difficulties seriously checked the flow of emigration from France to England in those dreary years in which the persecution under Louis XIV was assuming more and more severity, culminating in the formal revocation of the Edict of Nantes—years in which such Huguenots as could make their escape from the tyrant's dominions turned their eyes longingly to the Protestant land beyond the Channel. Those difficulties were the lack of any general naturalization law and the attitude of the established Church of England toward the churches of their brethren of the same reformed faith on the Continent.

Any one that will read the very entertaining Savile correspondence, published for the first time by the Camden Society,* will learn from the letters of the worthy brother of the Duke of Halifax how great was the damage sustained by England, through the supineness of Parliament or its actual opposition to the project of making it easy for a French Protestant refugee to obtain English citizenship. It was no fault of Henry Savile (nor indeed of Halifax) that the project miscarried. His letters were full of it. For example, he wrote to Halifax from Paris, June 5, 1679:†

> The Archbishop of Paris and the Père de la Chaise do all they can to prevail with this king to make him revenge the quarrel of the English Catholics upon the French Protestants, who tremble for fear of some violent persecution and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would by easy naturalization make it in the least easy to them.

And he promoted the emigration he desired also by his friendly intercourse with the French Protestants. On one occasion he wrote:

> I hear from England I shall be forced to keep a chaplain, which I never less needed, having never failed Charenton one Sunday since I came

* *Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy at Paris, and Vice Chamberlain to Charles II and James II.* London, 1858.

† *Savile Correspondence*, p. 93.

into France. How much more that is for the king's service you cannot imagine, unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is.*

And Halifax, though popularly accused (but certainly falsely accused †) of being an atheist, approved of his brother's course from motives of policy. "It hath ever been so much my principle," said he, referring to the encouragement of Huguenot emigration to England, "that I have often wondered at our neglecting a thing we ought to seek; and those that have not zeal enough to endeavor it for the preserving our religion might have wit enough to do it for the encreasing our trade." And he added: "You need not much fear the having a chaplain imposed upon you. . . . I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants, which I think the principal work of an English minister in France." ‡

Baron Schickler shows, perhaps more clearly than any previous writer, how much the High Church views that became rampant in the reign of Charles II interfered with the choice of England by fugitives from France as their future home. Even could they have obtained "easy naturalization," so as to be exempted from the disabilities and heavy taxes laid on aliens, there remained a prospect of enforced conformity, if not for themselves, for their children. For those fugitives that were ministers there was an additional impediment in the way of the reordination which had now come to be demanded. Early in the seventeenth century full recognition had been accorded to the orders of the reformed Churches:

In 1617 Bishop Morton refused to reordain a minister who had already been received into the ministry beyond the seas, declaring that he would not give reason for offense to the foreign Churches. Gilbert Primerose had been chaplain of the king and canon of Windsor without episcopal ordination. §

* *Savile Correspondence*, p. 94.

† Macaulay admits this, and asserts that, "though he sometimes gave scandal by the way in which he exerted his rare powers both of reasoning and ridicule on serious subjects, he seems to have been by no means unsusceptible of religious impressions." *History of England*, vol. i, p. 229.

‡ *Savile Correspondence*, p. 97. Halifax's customary raillery often appears in his letters to his brother. Shortly after this he writes him: "In meantime my credit with the French Protestants I owe chiefly to you; your zeal being so notorious that it throweth luster upon all your poor relations. It is enough to be akin to a man that goeth twice a day to Charenton. Heaven reward you for giving such countenance to the Gospel!"

§ Schickler, vol. ii, p. 249.

But now the English government and the English Church had taken an attitude that was nothing less than insulting to churches and theologians quite equal, if not, indeed, avowedly superior, to the English in learning and ability. As Baron Schickler remarks: *

> The Reformed learned, not without painful astonishment, that not merely was there expected of them an entrance *en masse* into the ranks of the Church of England, but that the adhesion to its forms was judged insufficient so long as the clergyman did not submit to episcopal ordination. To exact admission to deacon's and priest's orders of a venerable minister expelled from the pulpit in which he had, for nearly a half-century, led souls to God, or of the learned theological professor driven out of the Académie in which he had prepared the future leaders of the Church, was to confound them, as Claude said, "as though they were simply laymen," with the candidates their disciples or pupils. It was to undertake to rob them of their pastoral character, received by the laying on of hands of their peers. It was in their eyes, at least, to assail the value and the honor of their past career.

The great orator and writer to whom reference has just been made, Jean Claude, no unequal contestant with Bossuet in the field of controversy, being forced to leave France at an hour's notice when the Edict of Revocation was signed by Louis XIV, declined to go to England, and chose rather to end his life in Holland. The refugee churches of England thus lost the honor of the presence with them of the greatest Protestant of his age, because of the attitude assumed by the English clergy. Yet Claude was not unfriendly to the Church of England, which he had freely characterized as "an elder sister" of the Churches of the Continent. But when his conciliatory words were printed and misinterpreted he did not hesitate to express strongly his belief that, by insisting upon reordination, the English were inflicting irreparable injury upon the Reformation and, therefore, upon themselves; while, on the part of those who submitted to reordination, the concession was a dishonest and cowardly act, for which posterity would hold them responsible. † Jean Claude was not the only great Protestant preacher whom England thus lost the honor of welcoming. Pierre du Bosc, perhaps the only pastor for whose magnificent abilities Louis XIV was betrayed into expressing an almost

* Schickler, vol. ii, pp. 323, 324.

† "Pour nos ministres c'est une lâcheté et une prévarication que la postérité leur reprochera." Jean Claude to Abram Tessereau, Feb. 2, 1684, in Schickler, vol. ii, p. 327.

unbounded admiration, was deterred from crossing the Channel from the same motives that influenced Claude.

We close our view of the refugee churches with the approach of the great Revolution that expelled the Stuarts and inaugurated an era of better things for English liberties. Baron Schickler's book closes at this point. We sincerely hope that he may carry out his purpose of giving to the world in another work the story of the foreign movement in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Meanwhile we congratulate him upon the great interest and value of his researches so far as published.

Henry M. Baird.

Art. VIII.—JEAN LAILLIER, THE FICKLE REFORMER —A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE FRENCH REFORMATION.

Ullmann, in the Preface to his *Reformers before the Reformation*, says:

> Is it possible that Luther and his confederates, or that Zwingli and his, or that the men whom we see taking the field for the pure evangelical doctrine on the banks of the Rhine downward to the Netherlands should have dropped as reformers from heaven or received their impulse and insight from a foreign land? No, certainly. Even the law of historical continuity would require us to suppose corresponding intermediate links —laborers who prepared this particular soil.*

This is also the truth in regard to the beginning of the French Reformation. We generally speak of the Reformation in France in a slighting manner, for the reason that to-day France is not Protestant. We forget the fact that France, in its refugees, contributed much to the stability of England and America and gave Calvin and his system to the world. Many have studied the beginnings of this Reformation, and much interesting information has been collected regarding its period. Men who were bold enough to stand alone and differ from all their associates, and that, too, when toleration was not even a theory, inspire us with the spectacle of their zeal and their display of heroism in righting wrong.

Jean Laillier, or Lellier, as the name is sometimes printed, seems to be either a forgotten or a slighted reformer. He is mentioned by Bernard Picard in connection with Huss, Wyclif, Calvin, and other reformers.† Mr. Henry C. Lea is the only writer in the English language, as far as is known at the present writing, who makes any reference to him.‡ But the original source for what is known of Laillier is the *Register* of the University of Paris. This is copied almost entirely by Fleury in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique.*§

Jean Laillier was a priest of Paris, a graduate of the univer-

* Vol. i, p. xiii.

† *Histoire Générale des Cérémonies, Mœurs et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les Peuples du Monde.* 8 vols., folio. Paris, 1741. Vol. iii, p. 338.

‡ *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 294; vol. ii, p. 143.

§ Vol. xxiv, pp. 23, *ff.*, Brussels, 1726. This, of course, does not appear in the English abridgment. See also Dupin, *Bibliothèque*, tom. xii, p. 149.

sity, and a licentiate in theology in the year 1484, the year following Luther's birth. In July, 1485, he presented ten radical propositions, some of which were aimed at the most vital doctrines of the Church:

I. "St. Peter received from Christ neither power over the apostles nor primacy."

II. "All those who compose the ecclesiastical hierarchy have received equal power from Jesus Christ, so that the priests are equal in power and jurisdiction in the government of the Church."

III. "The pope cannot remit all punishment by plenary indulgence, even though granted justly and with reason."

IV. "Abbots and priors do not give absolution in virtue of the keys, but by custom only. Therefore confession is not a divine ordinance."

V. "If you ask about the pope, the less said the better."

VI. "The simple priests are useless."

VII. "Those who confess to mendicant monks, even by the prescribed rule, are not absolved, but must confess the same to their priest."

VIII. "John XXIII did not have the power to enforce the decretal *vas electionis*." (This condemned Jean de Poilly.)

IX. "The decretals and decrees of the pope are simply mockeries."

X. "The Romish Church is not the chief of the other Churches."

On the last day of the same month he was cited by the Faculty of the Sorbonne to appear before them. He laid before them his ten propositions, with others. The new propositions were nine in number, and were each answered in turn by the Faculty.

I. "You must keep the commandments of God and the apostles; but as for the commandments of bishops, they are no more than straw. Such destroy the Church by their dreams."

The Faculty agreed that the first part of the proposition was correct, but declared the second part to be scandalous, schismatic, contrary to good morals, to evangelical and apostolical doctrine. Consequently, it must be publicly recanted.

II. "Some give praise to a saint, as if he were in the place from whence Lucifer fell, instead of which they are where

Lucifer is now. As long as such preachers are established the Church of God will never prosper."

The doctors declared this proposition to be false, injurious, seditious, speaking evil of the saints, favorable to a condemned error. It must be recanted.

III. "The rich saints are now canonized and the poor ones forgotten. Therefore I am not obliged to believe that there are saints. Even if the pope receives money or goes upon twenty scaffolds to canonize a saint I am not obliged to believe him such. If one does not believe it he is not thinking wrongly."

The Faculty pronounced this to be false, offending to pious ears, injurious to the apostolic see, and contrary to the piety of the faithful. The last part was heretical.

IV. "If a priest has been married and will come to me and confess I will not command him to do penance."

This was objected to as implying a wrong idea, that a priest could marry after taking holy orders.

V. "The priests of the Oriental Church do not sin if they marry. I think we would not if we did."

To this it was replied that it was false that the priests of the Oriental Church married. This profession of faith made the author guilty of error; and if he held to it with stubbornness he was a heretic.

VI. "For four hundred years it has been forbidden the priests to marry. It may have been by a pope or a dwarf pope [butterfly]. I do not know that he could prevent it."

The professors denied the assertion that priests were allowed to marry previous to the time indicated, and pronounced the last part of the proposition a mockery, derogatory to the apostolic see and the authority of a general council. They further declared that it must be recanted.

VII. "I will give two pieces of silver to anyone who will find for me a passage of Scripture which commands to fast in Lent."

To this it was objected that we are not only to obey the Scripture, but other authority, and that the author of the proposition was heretical on this point. As to the assertion of there being no obligation to fast in Lent, the proposition was false, derogatory to the custom and to good morals, and contrary to the determination of saints.

VIII. "Since the time of St. Silvester the Roman Church is no more the Church of Jesus Christ, but the Church of Cæsar and of money."

This proposition was declared to be injurious to the Church and to the apostolic see, blasphemous, heretical, and long ago condemned.

IX. "One is no more obliged to believe in the legends of the saints than in the chronicles of the kings of France."

The Faculty declared this to be false, offending to pious ears, derogatory to the authority of the Church, and heretical if interpreted universally. This judgment was rendered in a general assembly of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, at the Church of the Mathurins on the fifth day of June, in the year 1486.

Soon after Laillier applied to the university for his degree of doctor. At this time the theological faculty brought forward a new proposition, extracted from former writings of Laillier. This proposition stated that a simple priest could consecrate the holy oil and could ordain as well as the pope or bishop. Further, all priests were equal in power and jurisdiction. St. Thomas had as much authority among the Indians as St. Peter among the Romans. It was decided that this must be publicly recanted, and also that Laillier could not have his degree.

Nothing daunted, he immediately appealed to Parliament. By them the case was sent back to Louis, Bishop of Paris, for investigation. This the bishop began in connection with Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, and four doctors selected by the theological faculty. Laillier presented four propositions reaffirming his position on the following points:

1. The uselessness of fasting in Lent.

2. The limitation of the authority and power of the Church (quoting Gerson and D'Ailly in support of his position).

3. The denial of the Romish position concerning the history of celibacy.

4. He also stated that Gerson, in his treatise, *Of the Spiritual Life of the Soul*, had presented propositions more radical than his own.

The theological faculty immediataly condemned these propositions. They especially denied the statements respecting Gerson. The bishop and inquisitor agreed to proceed separately.

While these investigations were going on the Faculty was not idle. They presented the case to Arnoul Alouf, "Promoter of the Officialty" of Paris. They informed him that the propositions of Laillier had been preached in several places to the scandal of the faithful, and that they had already been condemned by the Faculty of Theology as scandalous, schismatic, damaging to the doctrine of the Church, aiming at rebellion against superiors, blasphematory against the saints who had been canonized by the pope and the apostolic see, suspected of heresy, pernicious, rash, presumptuous, and contrary to good manners. Alouf ordered Laillier to retract publicly after this manner:

"I, Jean Laillier, priest, master of arts, licentiate in theology—noted, suspected, and accused of having published and preached to the people of Paris several scandalous propositions, erroneous, heretical—for my justification, and to make satisfaction to the people who might have been scandalized by it, promise and swear by the holy orders that I do not believe what I have said. I hereby revoke the propositions. I have abjured them, and do now abjure them, without wishing to be obstinate or defend them. I reduce myself to the very truth." Then followed a recantation of each proposition in detail. The recantation took place June 23, 1486, at the command of Alouf and at the added request of the bishop.

The inquisitor had communicated the facts he had gathered to the bishop; but the bishop kept his own counsel and, without consulting the inquisitor, summarily judged the process. After recantation he relieved Laillier of the sentence of excommunication, reestablished him in all his rights, gave him the right to be promoted to other degrees, and also abolished all note of infamy. Laillier applied several times for his degree, but the Faculty persistently refused him. The bishop, after having given him the right to the doctorate, now tried to compel the Faculty to grant it. November 6 the Faculty made an appeal to the general public and to Pope Innocent VIII. He immediately issued two bulls. The first was to Jean Cossart, the inquisitor, in which he forbade Laillier the right of preaching, and submitted the affair for further action to the inquisitor, to the Bishop of Sens, and the Bishop of Meaux. The second bull was addressed to the Faculty, praising their zeal, approving

their course of action, and forbidding them to confer the degree. This bull also annulled the judgment of the Bishop of Paris. These bulls were issued respectively December 6 and 9, 1486. The pope was obeyed as far as not granting the doctorate was concerned.

The *Register* gives no further light on the after life of Laillier. Weak and fickle as he proved to be, still his life was not in vain; for it stimulated thought, and that, too, in the very direction that was taken afterward by the Reformation, namely: 1. The denial of early historical celibacy; 2. The denial of the power of the priest and a hint at the priesthood of all believers; 3. The setting forth of the foolishness of the worship of saints; 4. The denial of papal authority; 5. The denial of the primacy of St. Peter in authority and jurisdiction; 6. The denial of the power to grant indulgences. Jean Laillier is the connecting link between Gerson and D'Ailly of the Council of Constance, the men who there attempted the internal reformation of the Church, and Briconnet and Le Fèvre, the immediate precursors of Calvin.

S. G. Ayres.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

On July 31 there died in Brooklyn John W. Carr, who for twenty-five years was a compositor in the Methodist Book Concern. His name is unknown to the readers of the *Review;* yet he made up its pages for nearly a fourth of a century, his service in this capacity extending back to 1872, in the editorship of Dr. Whedon. The son of a soldier in the British army who became regimental school-master and, it is said, a Wesleyan exhorter, he was born at Gibraltar, removed to the West Indies, and later to the United States. The *Review* acknowledges its indebtedness to this faithful servant, to whose skillful and conscientious labor much of its typographical excellence has been due.

An examination of our subscription list discovers that the *Review* has a more varied constituency than most persons would suppose. A great variety of tastes must be considered and served. It is inevitable that there will be many different opinions as to what subjects shall have chief prominence in our pages. Some would have the *Review* more exclusively philosophical, theological, and biblical, dealing with the eternal themes. Some call for more of the purely literary. Some desire scientific and social treatises. Some ask larger space for discussion of unsettled questions touching Church polity, method, and action. One valued and progressive correspondent sends us his opinion as follows: "Space should be given to topics of perennial importance, as well as to those of temporary interest; and it seems to me the former should have the larger degree of attention. The *Review* is not intended to compete with the weeklies or even the monthlies in touching the popular pulse or catering to the taste of the hour." Editorial inclinations also differ. Considerable contrast appears in the tables of contents under Dr. Whedon and Dr. Mendenhall. It is the belief of the present editor that the various tastes are entitled to a fair division of space among the different classes of topics. Many subjects born in the past or relating thereto are of unexhausted interest. History is not entirely dead and buried from human thought. "The pro-

phetic writings" still repay study, and are matter of keen contemporary debate. The New Testament is already an old book, but will be for thinkers and writers a fresh and living theme a thousand years hence.

DR. JAMES STRONG.

Against the name of one of the most eminent workmen of the Church we must now place the inevitable asterisk. Dr. Strong was a lifelong toiler. His recent attacks of illness he did not interpret as warnings to cease from labor. Although beyond the seventy-first milestone of the journey, he had laid broad plans that needed a full quarter of a century for their completion. Some of his masterpieces he had reserved for the last. Like Titian, whom a visitor found with pencil in hand at eighty-eight, he knew no idle old age. Sunset found him at his work, and when the curfew rang he had earned his honored rest.

I. He attained high prominence in the field of biblical scholarship. Particularly will he live in the history of American Methodism as a skilled interpreter of the Old Testament Scriptures. He was not self-made. Fortunately the Wesleyan University, mother of bishops and scholars, had for ten years opened its doors to the choice youth of the Church when he decided upon a collegiate course. Entering this now venerable institution as a junior, he carried off its highest honors in 1844. The great Olin was then president at beautiful Middletown, and in the exercise of his majestic influence upon the plastic youth of the time he left an indelible impression, as later correspondence shows, on the future theologian. With this impulse toward the best in scholarship, the graduate went forth to such immediate success that his university but twelve short years after his graduation conferred upon him—layman though he was and not yet thirty-four—the honorary degree of S.T.D.

It is an interesting fact that Dr. Strong did not begin the study of Hebrew, in which he afterward reached such conspicuousness among American scholars, until he had left the halls of Wesleyan. Within the first few years after his graduation—for he published, in 1857, his *Epitome of the Hebrew Grammar*—he undertook the mastery of the Hebraic tongue, under the direction of a Jewish scholar who gave him private instruction. Perhaps neither teacher nor scholar dreamed of the results that would follow. There is at least in the circumstance an encouragement to those who think that the possibilities of learning necessarily turn on the

privilege of an academic course. The incident points the lesson that a man who owns a text-book and a lexicon may make his university anywhere!

The selection of Dr. Strong as one of the translators of the works on Daniel and Esther, in Lange's great series of biblical commentaries, was a deserved tribute to his scholarship. But perhaps the work which brought him into the closest relationship with the American Church at large, and gave him as well conspicuousness before the Church abroad, was his service as one of the American revisers of the Old Testament. From 1871 to 1881 those fifteen gifted scholars compared the jot and the tittle of the Hebrew text. They included men of such rare attainments as Drs. Thomas J. Conant and Talbot W. Chambers, Professors Tayler Lewis, George E. Day, and William H. Green —in the last of whom he found a kindred spirit and an enduring friend. Dr. Strong was the sole representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the distinguished body. To the acquisitions of this picked company of Hebraists he brought many a choice treasure from his accumulated store. Reverently conservative, yet rightly progressive in his attitude toward the Holy Scriptures, the work of the revision was safe in such hands as his. From his own pen we have a valuable account of some of the methods followed and results reached by the revisers, in an article published in the *Review* of January, 1886. To Dr. Strong's service as a reviser and to his long life of laborious research the Church has already paid its tributes. Says an eminent authority, in recognition of his scholarship, "In his death biblical and theological learning has lost one of its most illustrious representatives."

II. He sat as a king in the professor's chair. Like Arnold, of Rugby, and Mark Hopkins, at Williamstown, he seemed ordained to teach. As an instructor in the Troy Conference Academy, and later as professor of biblical literature in the Troy University, and its acting president, he was only preparing himself for that greater service in ministerial education which has made his name revered in American Methodism. The founders of the Drew Theological Seminary chose better than they knew in electing him to the chair of exegetical theology. Entering upon his work in 1868, he was for a quarter of a century most closely identified with the growing fortunes of the new institution, and contributed by his masterful scholarship to its increasing fame. For the last year, though retired from the active professorship, he was still a lecturer at the Seminary; so that not a single student has ever

graduated from the institution without his instruction and his signature upon the diploma. He saw a generation of Christian ministers pass through his class room. To put one's impress upon such teachers of the people, even in the most casual way, is to give great hostages to the fortunes of the Church. But to instruct them in so vital a branch as exegetical theology, to lead their early judgments and shape their nascent thinking upon the meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures, is to bear upon the shoulders one of the most tremendous burdens that may fall to the lot of mortal.

A glimpse at the workman and his work is kindly given us by Dr. H. A. Buttz, the honored president of Drew Seminary, after years of personal association with him. He writes: "In the death of Dr. Strong the professor's chair has lost one who united those qualities calculated to insure the highest success. Even in business life the passion for learning and authorship was not suppressed, and when, in 1868, he came to Drew Theological Seminary, as professor of exegetical theology, he brought with him those rare qualities of head and heart which distinguished him during his quarter of a century of service. At his death he was professor emeritus, but his interest and enthusiasm were undiminished. His great success as a professor was largely due to his natural adaptation for giving instruction, his vast learning and accurate scholarship, and his enthusiasm in his work. He was alive in his class, and all felt the inspiration of his presence. He knew so much more than the lesson he was teaching that his students felt the hand of a master upon them. Another element of his success was his fidelity, which never subordinated his class work to his authorship. His students will hold him in affectionate remembrance as a personal friend, and as 'a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.'"

His class-room methods and his devotion to the Scriptures will now be matters of tender reminiscence to his students scattered throughout America, and also in Italy, China, Japan, and India. One of them, Dr. E. S. Tipple, of New York, who has of late been his pastor at Grace Church, pays him the following reverent tribute: "Dr. Strong impressed his students immediately as a man of prodigious learning. Without attempt at pretense on his part they felt that he knew everything. His resources were boundless. His knowledge of facts was marvelous. He seemed also to us all as a man of vision, so constantly was he thinking upon

eternal things. He had the appearance and manner of a prophet, and we always thought of him as one with Elijah and Daniel, but with a clearer knowledge of the Christ. His loyalty to the truth of the Scriptures was every day apparent. This jealousy for God's word was a conspicuous characteristic of his teaching. His intense manner, his flashing eye, the alertness of every muscle of his body, these all revealed the 'defender of the faith.' To him the Bible was a holy temple of truth, and he stood at the portal with drawn sword to smite with death any who presumed to attempt to cross its threshold with sandaled feet. A thousand men the world over love the book with more reverent affection because they were taught by him, and love him with intensest love, in part because he so loved the Bible."

His funeral was at Round Lake, where a school of the prophets had met to hear his summer lectures on the Revelation; it might have been held in almost any place, for his friends and students are everywhere.

III. He was one of the book-writers of the Church. What he learned in the cloister from Greek manuscript or Hebrew text he gladly published to the world. Like the great Clarke, he made commentaries; like Wesley, he edited practical helps; like Watson, he wrote on questions of systematic theology. In his versatility—and he was also an expert manual workman—no subject within the circle of doctrinal or textual discussion was unattractive to his pen. As early as 1852 his *Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels* was issued—a household book to the generation of the Methodist ministry now in their full manhood prime. The "Bibliography" of the *Alumni Record* of Wesleyan University, published in 1883, devotes about three octavo pages to the enumeration of his writings, and since then he has added greatly to the list. Through twelve crowded volumes of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*—seven volumes being issued by him in sole editorship after the death of Dr. McClintock—we wander in amazement at his prodigious industry. The present year has seen the long-expected publication of his colossal *Concordance*, elsewhere noticed in these pages, which is the most majestic volume of its kind in the history of the Church of Christ. For a short year living as professor emeritus in New York, the city of his birth, the passion for making books has rendered his face a familiar sight among the compositors of our publishing house. A year ago he issued the first of an exegetical series on the Old Testament Scriptures, to be known as "The Students' Com-

mentary," the particular volume published being *A Complete Hermeneutical Manual on the Book of Ecclesiastes.* With its beautiful Hebrew text, printed from a font of type purchased especially for the work, with its metrical rendering, metaphrase, exposition, and other ingenious features too many to tell, it is a marvel of the commentator's skill. When Dr. Strong died there was passing through the press a similar commentary on the Psalms, which will be published in its partly finished form. But what scholar will write the rest of the series? As poetry is forever poorer by the unwritten verses of Keats, and romance by the unfinished words of the great novelist who went away in the midst of his *Mystery of Edwin Drood*, so Christian literature has lost immeasurably in the non-completion of these projected manuals of hermeneutics.

Dr. Strong wrote his first words for the *Methodist Review* in 1850, before many of our present readers had been rocked in their cradles. His theme was, "Apparent Discrepancies in the Evangelists' Account of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection." His final article was in March, 1893, when he discussed "The Songs of the Church" like a master in hymnology. Between 1850 and 1893 he enriched the *Review* with some twenty-two articles and ten shorter notes. His subjects include "The Baptismal Formula," Matt. xxviii, 19, 20, "The Genealogies of Christ," "Table of Biblical Chronology," "Affinity of the Hebrew and Greek Languages," "Egyptian Chronology," "Documentary Origin of Genesis," and more too varied to note. Until he died his pen was never still. Whipple said of Gray, who is known chiefly by his "Elegy," that no man ever went down to immortality with a smaller volume under his arm. It is not so with Professor Strong. Bearing his manuals on the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee text, a Harmony of the Greek New Testament, his essays on *Irenics*, an elaborate treatise on the Jewish tabernacle in the desert, pamphlets on Esther, Daniel, Solomon's Song, and Habakkuk, a study of Jewish life in the first century—and time would fail to complete the list—he will walk down the years as the most prolific author in the history of American Methodism for a round century.

He was a frequent visitor in the office of the *Review*. His cheery greeting was like the singing of birds over the hills. We shall be lonely for his sunny face, his eminent counsel, his noble personality. Through the door that swings into the eternal world he has passed from human sight. His views upon the

intermediate state were definite and well known. But a little before his departure we listened, in an office conversation, while in seer-like words he explained that belief as to the immediate experience of the departed which is set forth in his *Doctrine of a Future Life.* The condition of the dead, in his estimate, is analogous to the dream state of mortals, so far as a similitude may be used. Each living man is deciding the quality of his future dreams. When death has come "the introversion is complete, the circle is hermetically sealed, and existence is pivoted upon self." At the end of the conversation he said with pathos that he would soon know the mystery. He knows it now.

LABOR DISTURBANCES.

Our readers are presumed to be familiar with the coal strike and railway strike of May, June, and July. Some features of these events demand the attention of all thoughtful persons. The two strikes were unlike in this, that the coal miner revolted on questions of wages, while the railway unionist struck out of sympathy with striking carbuilders. The first had a grievance of his own; the second loudly declared that he had no grievance whatever. Both were alike in that they swiftly passed to the stage of violence, which was repressed by military force. In the earlier strike the mobs arrested interstate commerce, at least in Ohio and West Virginia; but the federal troops did not appear on the scene. In the second, at Chicago, the national troops were the first in the field, though Illinois has a large, efficient, and patriotic militia. There is no doubt at this time that vigorous efforts by governors, mayors, and sheriffs might have prevented nearly all the bloodshed and incendiarisms of both conflicts. There were three days during which the mayor of Chicago could have suppressed the mob with the clubs of his policemen. Everywhere the rioting was allowed to proceed to great lengths by official politicians keenly alive to the coming elections. A heavy tax in money and in blood, in shame and humiliation, was inflicted by the idleness of the hands chosen to maintain peace and security.

The largest in scenic value of these tumults was the Chicago demonstration of the power of a mob. There the railroads are peculiarly exposed to pillage. Their tracks wind in and out through the quarters inhabited by the *dejecta* of anarchy, whose church is a saloon, whose speech is as variegated as the coat of Joseph. The strikers inflicted, it is supposed, but a small part of the

damage. A possible mob of perhaps forty thousand men, women, and children, whose names Americans cannot pronounce, is one of the features of the marvelous metropolis of our vast midland. An ambitious organizer of labor, with a dream of uniting all workmen and thus controlling all commerce and production, having created a new "railway union" and being able to "call out" perhaps fifteen thousand men, began an industrial revolution with the mighty mob at his back. He had no sooner called out his men than the mob began its work of destruction; but it slowly retreated to its lairs before six thousand soldiers and nearly as many armed marshals and policemen. The federal troops were first in the field, because the mayor of Chicago neglected for days to lay a heavy hand on the disorderly elements to whom he owes his elevation to office. The same classes had made Mr. Altgeld governor of Illinois; and he signalized the outbreak of anarchy by sending to President Cleveland two long protests against the presence of national soldiers in Chicago. These protests, happily, found no support except from strikers, labor demagogues, socialists, and other enemies of our constitutional system of liberty regulated by law.

The right to abandon the service of a corporation or an individual is, we believe, nowhere denied. It is a conceded civil right—conceded because the enforcement of a contract to labor would trench upon liberty. Only a money penalty could be exacted with safety; and for obvious reasons workmen are not pursued with such a penalty. The right to cease from labor for foolish reasons is not denied. In the adjustment of differences between labor and capital the law, the courts, and public opinion agree to give labor a right which they deny to capital—the right to inflict damage by breaking a contract for no good reason. Therefore the reasons which the coal and railroad strikers gave for leaving the service of their employers are not matters of grave concern except as they were used to justify violence. The distinction has been ignored in the daily press, but it is too important to be forgotten here. Another right claimed by the strikers was the right to prevent the transportation of cars loaded with coal and Pullman sleeping cars. The strikers had no right to make such demands, and the railways had no right to grant them—neither legal nor moral right. The strikers, indeed, made no effort to enforce a legal right in the courts; a moral right they claimed and tried to enforce by the machinery of public opinion. To compel the public to decree in its favor the

striking force attempted to alarm, embarrass, and even starve the public. This was attempted by many specific acts of violence, every one of which was an act of lawbreaking, and by threats such as "Not a wheel shall turn, not a unionist shall work, unless we get what we ask." In practice "not a unionist shall work" means also that no one should be permitted to work in his place. The avowal of a purpose to compel the public by starvation, if necessary, to surrender to violence has been made on other occasions, but it has never been proclaimed so boldly as by Mr. Debs in Chicago; and it found a considerable public ready to be starved, if need were, for the sake of a "revolution." This word was freely used. From John Most, professional anarchist, up through all the variegated ranks of socialists to a United States senator from Kansas, the thing, if not the word "revolution," was fondled with hopeful enthusiasm. With singular unanimity all these prophets of a new order, including some featherheaded labor leaders and nearly every man with a panacea for poverty, strenuously condemned the interference of federal troops. "Force," they cried, "never settled anything." And all the while they were hoping that the force of the mob would produce a revolution. Such splendid hypocrisy is commended to the historian of these times. He will hardly find a better proof of the insanity of many persons who fancy they are reformers. It is greatly to be desired that the well-meaning persons who have espoused their "reforms" may take note of the attitude of their leaders in the presence of pillaging and murdering mobs. The "reform" leaders tell us that these tumults should open our eyes. They do open our eyes to the necessity of defending life and liberty by military force.

The contention that our constitutional system is defective is not justified by a candid view of the facts. We have had no proof that the courts, when appealed to, have failed to maintain rights of contract. The Chicago incident has shown the effectiveness of the executive power in repressing violence. The protection afforded by the nation is even more effective than it had been supposed to be. Its power to take the place of a weak mayor or governor was to most of our people a grateful surprise. The complaint that our government does not daily and minutely regulate the relations of employer and employed is altogether unreasonable. Our liberty is the liberty of contract, and human experience has not devised any other system of liberty. Between the system of contract and that of slavery which we abolished

a generation ago there is no other possibility. The socialistic scheme proper is in principle the slavery system over again. It is alluring in promise to many because they hope to become masters, to many more because they know nothing about the thing they desire. A slave had the things which are craved by many in our generation; his physical wants were provided for without thought on his part. He could not starve or be houseless. But the present-day complainant wants both that security and liberty. No human writ can find a means of securing the advantages of both systems.

The anxiety of our people to make an end of the waste and peril of strikes may lead to dangerous experiments. It is pretty clear that the prompt enforcement of law would have ended all the waste and peril at the very beginning. Those who desire safety and prosperity need only to ask that life and property be protected by the strict enforcement of existing laws. Those who ask for new forms of protection will confess that they distrust, not the laws, but the men whom we elect to enforce them; not the courts, but the executive agents of the people. They saw a president fail in 1860–1861. They have seen mayors fail every year, notably in 1877 and 1894. And this year they have seen more than one governor fail. If by some device complaining workmen could be always righted or silenced there would be no strikes for politicians in office to play with to the damage of the people. There is a growing belief that "compulsory arbitration" can be so adjusted as to yield this desirable result. Now, all the pleasant features of an untried scheme are easily seen; the trial is apt to disclose another set of features. We ought, in this case, to get rid of the delusion that "compulsory arbitration" is any kind of arbitration. The thing meant is regulation of labor contracts by the State. This regulation must be in restraint of liberty, and yet it may be wise; though it is not wise to deceive ourselves respecting the nature of the proceeding. The device in effect creates a new kind of courts to settle these disputes. The labor side is left very much in shadow. Only one party, the employer, can be legally bound to obey the edicts of these new courts. They will exist, therefore, to limit the employer's rights of contract. It may be doubted that the Constitution of the United States could be so interpreted as to permit this invasion of the liberty of the employer; and, after all, the main question would recur, Can we enforce the laws? It is not to be expected that the human material of mobs will be removed

from the city or the mine by putting employers under regulation. And is it to be expected that demagogues will cease to be chosen to fill executive offices? Would not workmen, revolting from a decision of one of these new courts, become the nucleus of a mob to be dispersed by force? The spirit of lawlessness despises all authority, and it has never been tamed and controlled by anything short of armed force.

The recognition of the duty of the national authority to protect mail trains and all trains crossing State lines—and sidings in stockyards—may suggest the fitness of some national regulation of employment on these railways. They are quasi public enterprises. But such regulation ought not to be hastily undertaken or handed over to the political class in American society. The first problem is to find some fit instrument for so delicate and difficult a task.

Perhaps the favorite theory of the time is the regulative value of public opinion. "If public opinion condemns a revolt it must fail." The precise defect of this maxim is that public opinion is even slower than a Governor Altgeld. All the mischief is done by the temporizing of executives and the sympathy of the public. The wisest reform may be found, after all, in educating public opinion up to the point of forbidding a striker to (1) hinder or injure the "scab," (2) damage or delay the business he has abandoned, (3) profess and maintain that he is still in a service out of which he has voluntarily taken himself. All the evils of strikes such as this year has witnessed were developed into mob violence through the weakness of public opinion on these three vital points. A canvass of the people would have found them hesitating and divided, the more part hoping that a little of outrage would give workmen "their rights," these rights being whatever may be claimed for strikers by their wildest and most reckless leaders. It is only when conflagrations and assassinations begin that a large part of the public awakens to the knowledge that a labor demagogue may ask for wrongs and call them rights —as a person called Debs undoubtedly did in Chicago. It has not escaped the notice of the philosopher that the college student and the workman have been clothed by public opinion with some "rights" which are unhesitatingly denied to all other citizens of the United States.

The time-consecrated method of adjusting disputes which assume to claim public adjustment is to send them to a jury of twelve men of the vicinage. We are asked in every time of strike

to do by means of public opinion the work of a jury. Our people are slow to learn that this cannot succeed. The public does not and cannot know, intimately enough for a just judgment, the facts in a dispute between Mr. Pullman and his workmen. Nor have the people any right to demand that Mr. Pullman shall submit his case to any kind of inquiry except that of the courts of the land. The plea that by doing so he could save us from mob violence is the most insulting and outrageous slap in the face this great American people have suffered in thirty years. Forsooth, we owe our security of life and goods to the grace of an employer of labor. If he chooses to stand firm upon his legal rights strikers have the right to obstruct, pillage, burn, and kill. Mr. Pullman is not of so much importance. Our rights to send our letters and our goods over highways, to travel in security, to have our lives and effects protected by the nation cannot be taken away by the refusal of any John Smith to arbitrate something with somebody else. It is hard to endure the shame heaped upon us by such absurdities. It is not less humiliating to know that there were delegates to the recent Christian Endeavor Convention who were so thoughtless or so unpatriotic as to consent to travel to Cleveland under the protection of Striker Debs. Happily for us, some delegates refused to travel in the United States on a brigand's pass, as if they were living under the conditions prevailing a century ago in southern Italy.

There is more than enough sympathy for workmen; there is far too little for a large body of men, women, and children whose living comes from small investments, hardly earned and religiously saved. These investments were in peril before the recent wanton strikes. A large number of stock companies are in the hands of receivers, and some do not even pay interest on their loans. There is quite as much distress, probably, among refined people, whose lives are one long service of humanity, as there is among workmen. The times are hard for multitudes in both sections of our population. The violence which has disgraced the nation has increased, indefinitely increased, this distress. Misdirected sympathy has some share in the causing of these tumults; and since they have failed to help the workmen, and, on the contrary, have increased the number of workmen to be pitied and helped, it would seem to be wise to exercise more discrimination in selecting the objects of our compassion and to exclude from it all strikers who confess that they have no grievances. Perhaps we may reasonably add to this class those workmen who strike first and

ask for arbitration afterward. It is conceivable that an employer may be in the right; the violence of the striker raises at least a suspicion that *he* is in the wrong.

PFLEIDERER AT EDINBURGH.

It is indicative of the interest laymen take in theology that at different times in Great Britain three men, two of them merchants and one a lawyer, have left money with similar intent—to provide essays or lectures for the elucidation and substantiation of the doctrines of natural theology or the free discussion of disputed theological questions. In 1784 John Burnett, an Aberdeen merchant, established by his will a prize fund, which has recently been legally transferred to the support of a lectureship for illustrating natural theology from studies scientific, historic, or archæological. His purpose is indicated in the clear directions given in his will, that prizes be offered for the best treatises on "the evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom everything exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Diety; and this independent of written revelation and of the revelation of the Lord Jesus; and from the whole to point out the inferences most necessary and useful to mankind."

In 1849 Robert Hibbert, a West India merchant, bequeathed money to provide for the impartial discussion of unsettled problems of theology, without regard to the teachings or interests of any particular Church or form of faith. The intention of the founder has been so liberally, if not loosely, construed that such men as Renan, the Frenchman, Kuenen, the Dutchman, and Pfleiderer, the German, have been among the chosen lecturers.

In 1887 Lord Gifford, a lawyer raised to the bench, left a large sum to Scottish universities—to the University of Edinburgh, £25,000; to Glasgow and Aberdeen, each £20,000; and to St. Andrew's, £15,000—for the endowment of lectures in natural theology, free from dogmatic tests and restrictions. Among the lecturers have been Max Müller, the philologist; E. B. Tylor, the anthropologist, author of *Primitive Culture* and other works upon the early history of mankind; Andrew Lang, the brilliant and versatile *littérateur*, an authority in mythology and folklore; James Hutchinson Stirling, the distinguished Scotch philosopher, of much erudition and genius, whose lectures were published under the title *Philosophy and Theology;* last year Professor

Edward Caird, the new Master of Balliol; and this year Dr. Otto Pfleiderer, the well-known professor of theology in the University of Berlin, who delivered at the University of Edinburgh, in February last, a double course of twenty lectures, now published in two volumes, entitled *Philosophy and Development of Religion.*

Until now the Gifford lectures have run their course at the four universities under considerable criticism, but without noteworthy sensation or commotion. The visit of the Berlin professor, however, occasioned no small disturbance, the reason being that Pfleiderer used the Gifford platform to attack the Bible, discredit the historicity of the gospels, and assail the foundations of Christianity. It is plain that some of the Scottish theologians felt that the lectures had created something of a crisis. There was danger that the faith of the young and the unlearned be unsettled. The Christian scholars of Scotland, who are set for the defense of the Gospel, could not, by their silence, leave anyone to suppose that no answer could be made to the sweeping and destructive theories of the German theologian. The emergency was immediately met. Pfleiderer's lectures having ended on February 27, the course which was extemporized to contradict and confute him opened on March 5. The antidote was sent as quickly as possible after the venom which the fangs of the infidel serpent had injected into the veins of intellectual Scotland.

The first man ready to reply to the challenging rationalist was Dr. Robert Rainy, principal and professor of church history in New College, Edinburgh, author of *The Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, a man of great natural ability who seldom fully puts it forth, but just the man to meet with immense information and strong intellect a real emergency by which he was thoroughly aroused. He presented the precise nature, as well as the incalculable importance, of the issues at stake, and the deadly character of this assault against the evangelical faith if it could succeed. After him, on the 8th of March, came Dr. James Orr, professor of church history in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, author of *The Christian View of God and the World as Centering in the Incarnation*, who plainly showed Pfleiderer's views to be inharmonious and self-contradictory, that his superstructure cannot be built on his foundations, and that his conclusions are no way warranted by the assumptions, presuppositions, and perversions of fact which he uses as premises. This impromptu course, delivered by competent scholars, in popular style, and for immediate effect, was closed on March 13 by

Dr. Marcus Dods, professor of exegetical theology in New College, author of *The Book of Genesis* and *The Post-Exilian Prophets—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, who found it exactly in the line of his specialty to sustain the trustworthiness of the gospels against destructive German criticism, which he did with the manner of an expert familiar with the ground, master of his weapons and an easy match for his antagonist.

In all such reasonings as legitimately belong to the Burnett, Hibbert, and Gifford lectures we unfeignedly and unreservedly rejoice, for natural theology furnishes the basement and buttress of a fuller revelation. A supernatural Christianity is the proper crown, the natural and necessary superstructure, which alone completes into symmetrical development the intimations of natural religion, rearing on the primitive foundations laid in nature and human nature the only structure in which the soul of man can find in a reasonable way sufficient and satisfying shelter. The men who are beveling, tonguing, and grooving the granite blocks of natural theology are, wittingly or unwittingly, the servants of Jesus Christ, mortising together the solid and indestructible base on which rests that pyramid of supernaturally revealed truth of which the doctrine of a crucified, risen, ascended, and ever-living Lord, Saviour of men and King of kings, is the heaven-piercing apex.

But the delivery at Edinburgh of such utterances as Pfleiderer's is a gross impropriety, an atrocious offense against sacred interests, implying malfeasance and misdemeanor on the part of somebody. For one thing, what could be more preposterous, idiotic, suicidal than for a Christian university to accept or retain a lectureship the terms of which may be and were so construed as to make it a man-of-war for bombarding the citadel of the Christian faith? It is akin to what would be the folly of a nation which should import anarchists at a premium to plot assassinations, the overthrow of government, and the disorganization of society. In spite of the immeasurable difference between the two men in knowledge, intelligence, and general decency, the inviting of Pfleiderer to Edinburgh is like selecting a certain notorious and blatant infidel lecturer as orator of the day for a Young Men's Christian Association convention; for the words which the thrifty professional blasphemer wrote last July to a citizen of Saratoga express Pfleiderer's central doctrine: "The supernatural has lost its power. We must come back to the natural." For another thing, probability warrants the presumption that

such a use of the Gifford lectureship as the Berlin theologian has made is in violation of the intention of the founder, an unlawful misuse and immoral perversion of the fund; for there is little room to doubt that Lord Gifford's purpose was friendly to Christianity. To allow such abuse is a crime similar to permitting the faculty of a theological school to teach doctrines fundamentally opposed to and destructive of the faith which those who established, endowed, and chartered the institution intended to promote. For still another thing, it is glaringly unfair to use the lecture platform of an essentially Christian university for the overthrow of Christian doctrine when, by the specific terms of the bequest that sustains the lectureship, limiting its discussions to the realm of natural theology, no Gifford lecturer can use that platform for defensive statement on the side of Christianity.

It cannot be pleaded in extenuation of the fault of those who gave him his opportunity that Pfleiderer himself or his views were unknown at Edinburgh. He visited England and Scotland thirty years ago. His place among the schools of religious thought in Germany has long been known by biblical scholars everywhere. His opinions were all abroad in his published works. He had delivered the Hibbert lectures in 1885 on *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity.* No theologian in Germany was more widely known. The constituted guardians of Lord Gifford's trust, the *senatus* which selects the lecturers, are under moral obligation, if not explicit legal bonds, to prevent a similar misuse of the fund hereafter. The religious public of Scotland have a right to demand that the repetition of such a subtle, virulent, and scandalous attack under the *ægis* of the university be made impossible.

Both Pfleiderer's lectures and the replies of the Edinburgh professors being now in the hands of the public in published form, anyone may learn for himself the nature of the latest deliverance of systematic philosophic attack upon Christianity, as well as the pertinency and force of the brief but comprehensive defense made offhand by the three Scotch theologians. It is no wonder that men of learning, as familiar with Christian facts, records, and doctrines as the Berlin professor, rose indignantly to protest against his claim that the Incarnation must be disbelieved for the simple reason that it is inconsistent with his understanding of history or because it would upset his entire scheme of interpretation; against his assertion that all marvelous incidents related of Jesus in the gospel histories are pure inventions, added at a

late day; against his statement that Paul believed only in the spiritual, and not in the bodily, resurrection of Jesus; against his easily disproved declaration that Baur's theory of the late origin (A. D. 170) of the fourth Gospel has been confirmed by all subsequent investigations; against his groundless supposition that a speculative system denying all supernatural revelation can yet appropriate the ethics, retain the hopes, and exert the power historically associated with the Christian revelation—in fact, against the entire philosophy which Pfleiderer eloquently expounds.

Only a rapid glance is needed to discover that the Berlin professor's scheme contains nothing essentially new. The rejection of the supernatural is old. From the days of Christ until now there have always been many deniers of the miraculous in connection with his life and Gospel. Since August Comte's *Philosophie Positive* appeared there has been in France, Germany, and England a distinct school of thinkers, bent on eliminating all supernatural elements from religious beliefs. Nor is there anything novel and original in Pfleiderer's particular form of attack. He learned his lessons from men who promulgated these theories forty, fifty, or sixty years ago. He has only extended, coordinated, and illustrated the opinions and arguments which were put forth in a former generation from the University of Tübingen. Indeed, his ideas are derived still further back, from Lessing's *Education of the Human Race*, published in 1780. He is an echo of Baur, Strauss, and earlier thinkers; and the law that the echo shall be fainter than the original voice is not broken in this case.

These antisupernatural theories were adequately answered as soon as they appeared. Neither Protestantism nor Romanism has been destitute of scholars able to produce abundant materials for complete refutation. Times without number these rationalist reasonings have been utterly demolished wherever they were uttered. The doctrines which Edinburgh heard from the lips of the man from Berlin are already discredited in the land of their birth; they do not dominate German thought, being rejected by more learned scholarship than favors them even in rationalizing Germany. The Ritschlian school sends Baur and Pfleiderer to the rear. The system of theology which was outlined from Tübingen receives from Pfleiderer its most elaborate presentation at a time when it was not worth the labor spent upon the task, since it has had its day and is no longer in demand, even in the intellectual markets of the Continent. For a foreigner to bring to Scotland his basketful of cold victuals left over from the ration-

alistic revel of half a century ago and spread a table in Edinburgh with these superfluous viands hardly justified his traveling expenses. His argument had been sifted and formally condemned in Scotland years before he arrived. Dr. Whedon would say that the Gifford lectures of 1894 were like an infant reprobate—damned before it was born. One Scottish volume alone, *The Miraculous Element*, by that sinewy master in theology, Dr. A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, a thinker who has squarely faced and fairly conquered all forms of infidelity, is a sufficient antidote to Pfleiderer's poison, the chapter considering what would be left were the miraculous eliminated being specially to be commended.

This "man of light and leading" from the German capital, who was induced by a high price to come down the Rhine and cross the Channel to enlighten Scotland, smites the very foundations of evangelical and biblical Christianity and claims to have destroyed them. He holds that there has been no supernaturally inspired revelation. All man's religious ideas have been obtained by the efforts of his own reason. The Bible is simply an ancient religious classic, no different in kind from many other books. The gospel records are largely unreliable. As for the gospel of John, it is in no sense an historical writing, but a didactic treatise, which derived its theological ideas chiefly from Philo and invested them in the form of a life of Jesus as a sort of religious fiction. Christ was merely an unusual religious genius, a purely human evolution, differing only in degree, if indeed in that, from other religious leaders. Although he had some grand thoughts about God and life, he was, it seems, rather a goody-goody sort of saint, simple-minded and well-meaning, but considerably deluded. Indeed, he was, like the rest of us, not without his faults; he was not spotless, sinless, guiltless. Some things which he is recorded to have claimed for himself cannot possibly have been true. He is not indisputably fit to be file-leader and head of the column in humanity's hopeful march toward a better future. There was no ground for Charles Lamb's saying, "If Shakespeare came into the room just now we would all rise up; but if He came in we would all kneel down." Redemption is an empty dream, atonement an exploded notion which Paul erroneously held; there is no forgiveness of sins. Jesus did not rise from the tomb, Mary did not meet her Lord in the garden, he did not walk and talk with two disciples on the Emmaus road, he did not show his wound-prints to Thomas, nor eat with his disciples on the shore; for the Syrian stars look down to-night on his unknown and hopeless grave.

Life and immortality have not been brought to light by him. Easter services are meaningless. The conversion of Saul of Tarsus was an attack of epilepsy. Paul did not see the Lord on his way to Damascus; he had a fit and imagined it all. The vision and experience which Paul describes with solemn asseveration and utmost verisimilitude is rejected by Pfleiderer as positively as by Renan and Weizsäcker. There are no answered prayers; there is no regenerating and sanctifying Holy Spirit.

We do not misrepresent, but give fair samples of the sort of stuff to which, distinctly stated or inevitably implied, the university of Edinburgh listened and which now stands in English print. If we believe Pfleiderer and his like both Old Testament and New are stripped of their glory and their authority. Gone are the pillars of cloud and fire, the manna white round Israel's black tents, the manifest presence of the Lord with his people—all numbered with the incredible and impossible. A horrible silence extinguishes the temple worship—nothing for trumpets to blow, voices to sing about, or harps to thrill to any more. The Lord hath not spoken, neither doth he hear. The objects of ancient faith are departed; dwindling in distance, they have passed away shuddering into the dark. There was no Star of Bethlehem. No wise men nineteen hundred years ago came seeking a newborn King who should save his people from their sins; the wise men live now, with headquarters in Germany, and make westward pilgrimages to publish the glad tidings that men have no King and Saviour. The nimbus is gone from the brow of Jesus Christ; no halo shines round the head that once was crowned with thorns. The imaginary personage whom Stephen was supposed to have seen sitting at the right hand of God has suffered dethronement at the hands of philosophers. A German professor waves his philosophic wand, and down falls the eternal Son of God into the dust. So it looks from the chair of theology at Berlin.

Otto Pfleiderer makes bold and complete denial of the divinity and perfectness of Jesus Christ. It matters not that Peter declares that his Master is not as other men; that Pilate washes his hands of responsibility for the condemnation of one in whom he can find no fault; that Judas hangs himself in remorse for having betrayed the innocent; that James, who knew him all his life, testifies of him as the Lawgiver and Judge of men; and that Jesus asserts his own immaculate faultlessness, challenges the friends who knew him best and the enemies who hated him worst to prove any sin in him, and claims all power in heaven and on earth. All this

goes for nothing. Such things cannot be, because Pfleiderer's philosophy does not admit their possibility. Peter and Pilate and Judas and James and Jesus were in error. The Gifford lecturer is the man who knows, though he was not there; just as England's apostle of culture gives us in *Literature and Dogma* his infallible interpretation of the Bible in a way destructive of all orthodox doctrine, and just as a Boston Unitarian prodigy of omniscience informs us that the evangelists who were on the spot misunderstood and misreported our Lord, and then graciously tells us, from his vantage point nineteen centuries away from the facts, precisely what Jesus did actually teach and mean, and we are invited to accept the gospel according to Matthew Arnold, Pfleiderer, Savage, and company in place of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. We will consider the invitation when these new evangelists have endured the raking fire of eighteen hundred years and then are as widely read, as reverently talked about, and as devoutly cherished by the most intelligent millions of mankind as the New Testament now is.

From our point of view, as we weigh the evidence and lift up our eyes to behold, the King still sits upon his throne, administering his kingdom, listening compassionately to the prayers of his saints, judging his enemies, sending abroad his saving word and his enlightening Spirit. In the face of Jesus Christ the light of the knowledge of the glory of God still shines.

> That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Becomes my universe that feels and knows.

Looking up with human reverence to that face divine, we offer it ever-increasing homage, because his character is extraordinary in its qualities and singular in its powers. He was exceptional in his conscious relation to the supreme Maker and Ruler of the universe; his life is a piece of history quite special and unlike any other; he is in all respects an exception so rare and solitary as to have no parallel. All this he claimed for himself; this his followers from the first have always asserted with a sincerity often sealed with their blood; this in large measure many of his enemies have finally been compelled to concede; this no man has shown himself able to disprove. He still stands alone on his high plane—singular, superb, supreme. The effort to reduce him ever fails. The flawless and eternal Christ abides and reigns for evermore. Always, as once at Nazareth, he passes through his enemies unharmed.

THE ARENA.

WHERE ARE THE CHEMISTS?—A WORD WITH WEISMANN.

It ought not to be overlooked, in any discussion touching the origin of life from inorganic material, that the men who dogmatize most are biologists and not chemists. Chemistry has been strangely overlooked; and when this has not occurred, its facts and principles have been crudely handled by men driven by the stern stress of system in the direction of necessary conclusions. And yet a moment's consideration will be sufficient to show that, if the question of the material or nonmaterial evolution of life is to be decided, the men to do it are the chemists. If life be the resultant of extreme molecular complexity, which is the claim made by extreme evolutionists, then the problem is chiefly one for the chemist, to whose domain all questions of purely molecular groupings and their effects legitimately belong. The world has heard much of Tyndall the physicist, of Huxley the biologist; but the great British chemist Roscoe is a comparatively silent man.

Since the year 1777, when Spallanzani and Needham initiated the first important discussion on the alleged spontaneous origin of living germs, the doctrine of abiogenesis has constantly grown in interest; and such is the confidence of the men whose profound biological acquirements command our respect, but whose chemistry surely is faulty, that it now seems to be taken as a positive truth that the wondrous power which has clothed the crags and rocks and wildernesses of nature with a "green and golden immortality" is, in its ultimate analysis, but a product of molecular complexity or a mystic motion of that universal force which moves suns and molds raindrops. "No one doubts," it is said, "that in organic living cells . . . there resides a special force, . . . which we imagine to be as material as heat." And this from a text-book on fermentation, when perhaps not one in a dozen students would perceive the rank materialism of the teaching. It certainly should be remembered in presence of such statements that the microscope and the laboratory stand aloof from such dogmatism. The origin of life from the nonliving is an hypothesis suggested, not so much by the phenomena requiring explanation, as by the necessity of a speculation which aims at traveling from atoms to minds without a break in the journey.

Weismann, upon whom it is thought the mantle of Darwin has fallen, and whose view of the nature of heredity, if substantiated, will cause a general reconstruction of the doctrine of evolution, with a frankness truly scientific has stated very unequivocally his view of the matter: "I admit that spontaneous generation, in spite of all vain attempts to demonstrate it, remains for me a logical necessity. We cannot regard organic and inorganic matter as independent of each other and both eternal, for organic matter is continually passing without residuum into the inorganic; . . . but that which can be completely resolved into inorganic matter must have arisen from it, and must owe its ultimate foundation to it."

Not only is abiogenesis undemonstrated, but the balance of probabilities is against the doctrine. Yet for Weismann, that is, from his standpoint, this doctrine is a logical necessity. Is this any better reason than that of some enthusiast who knows that he is correct because he feels he is? But the Friedburg professor gives a reason for his belief upon which it may be observed: (1) That, as is usual in such cases, he uses the term "organic" as synonymous with "living," which is positively incorrect. The idea is to minimize the importance and essential distinctiveness of living matter by ignoring its peculiarities. No one would gather from the above quotation that organic matter was one thing and organic matter as the vehicle of life quite another and, indeed, very different thing. This is a scandalous method of argumentation, and yet it is adopted by most writers on this topic. The poverty of their case is a matter of easy inference. (2) That organic and inorganic are not independent of each other everyone knows. One is the house and the other the bricks. The chemist in his laboratory with his inorganic bricks builds a house, but we never hear of the bricks doing this for themselves. And if in some cases this is found to occur—which is not improbable, by the way—still Weismann and his fellow-thinkers are not assisted, because it is not the organic house so much as its inmates that requires explanation. (3) That organic matter passes without residuum into the inorganic is granted; but, unless organic matter and organic matter instinct with the potentialities of life are essentially one and the same thing, there is nothing gained by Weismann in referring to so elementary a proposition. The reason above given for abiogenesis does not take us a single step beyond a most elementary aspect of chemistry until a most gigantic and altogether unwarrantable assumption is made, namely, that the manifold powers of life pass, as does its organic basis, without residuum into the inorganic.

East Weymouth, Mass. WILLIAM HEAP BUTLER.

ANSWERS TO PRAYER.

Is it the intent of prayer to change God's purposes or to cause him to bestir himself to greater and more effective effort? Should Christian people seek to turn God from his purposes, to warm his love, or to increase his efforts toward those for whom they pray? Let us mention some of the attributes and perfections of God that should be considered in framing an answer to these questions, namely, his omniscience, immutability, infinite wisdom, love, mercy, justice, and truth. When we have properly considered these we shall shrink from the responsibility of asking God to turn from his plans and adopt ours.

Can there be wiser plans or better purposes than God's? Can it be that the prayers of parents, relatives, or Christian friends in behalf of their loved ones, neighbors, or the heathen world cause God to love with more intensity and act with more effectiveness than when he gave his Son for them? God has preordained that repentant sinners shall be saved, and that unrepentant sinners shall be damned. Is it wise to ask God to change that law? Can a better or wiser law be suggested? If so,

is God infinite in wisdom? In the case of Nineveh God acted in accord with this law; hence, there was no change of purpose in him. The sinning Ninevites changed to repentant sinners, and were saved according to the preordained purpose of God to save repenting sinners. In the case of the intercession of Moses for Israel after the idolatrous worship of the golden calf, are we to conclude that God had forgotten his promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that Moses recalled the promise, and then succeeded in changing the purpose of the immutable One? If so Moses should have been more merciful than to cause three thousand of the people to be slain. The evidence is unmistakable that Israel repented and changed to the class that God has proposed to save from destruction. I do not think there is now, or ever has been, or ever will be, a sufficient cause to ask God to change his purpose or to increase his love or activity. If Jehovah is the being we have been taught to believe he is his purposes are right, and he is doing all he can for the creatures whom he loves and will ever continue to love.

The intent of prayer is, not to work changes in God, but in men; to open channels of communication between God and men, so that he can carry out his purposes; to offer God instrumentalities by which to execute his plans. There is the opposite of comfort in the thought that prevailing prayer turns God from executing his wise and benevolent and just purposes. All of God's purposes are of that character. Prevailing prayer prevails over the one who offers it and brings him into complete harmony with God's purposes. A company of Christians, kneeling, seeking souls at the altar, and offering prevailing prayer, furnishes a channel of communication by which God may approach, in saving power, the hearts of the seekers. When great distance intervenes between him who offers prevailing prayer and the object of it, it is not necessary to conclude that a change is wrought in God. He that understands the laws of mind and knows the power that one mind can exert over another, even when long distance separates them, is aware that the answer is accomplished in the same way as when the two minds are in close proximity.

McGregor, Ia. L. L. Lockard.

LAWFUL, BUT NOT EXPEDIENT.

The principle enunciated and inculcated in the above maxim is one that from time immemorial has been recognized as fair in mercantile, legal, and ecclesiastical practices. We purpose, therefore, to employ it in a brief discussion of the "equal lay representation" movement. It is conceded at the very outset that such representation in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is perfectly legitimate and preeminently lawful; further, that, as a principle, it is scientifically just and philosophically right, and, as a mathematical proposition, is scrupulously exact and rigidly equitable. But at this point we change front, believing, as we do, that in the present *modus operandi* of making up a General Conference such representation is grossly inexpedient. The following facts, among others, will prove this.

The ministers composing the rank and file of the Annual Conferences are obviously opposed to increasing the ratio of ministerial representation to the General Conference. Instance the vote taken in the spring Conferences on the proposed constitutional amendment. The General Conference of 1892 was palpably unwieldy, if not totally unmanageable, as the closing precipitate and back-handed legislation would indicate. To add one hundred and fifty laymen, more or less, to such an already congested body, without deducting therefrom a numerical clerical equivalent, would make an assembly where, in the heat of debate, confusion would be worse confounded. The expense, also, of the last General Conference was an immense financial burden to the Church. It ought not to be increased. This would inevitably follow the numerical enlargement of the body. Again, so long as the separate vote, subject to the call of one third of either order, is in operation, the laymen would gain nothing in voting power if the proposed change were to be effected. Neither would they increase their influence in the General Conference. Both their power and influence depend, not upon their numbers, but upon their equal vote as an order, their knowledge of routine business and General Conference technic, combined with a readiness to obtain the floor and their dexterity in debate.

If the time shall ever come when it shall be deemed practicable by the Church to have the General Conference consist of lay and ministerial delegates in equal proportion some preliminary changes must first be made. Either the ministerial ratio of representation must be decreased from one for every forty-five to one for every ninety, or a sliding scale thereof—which, we think, will not come to pass in the near future—with a corresponding increase in the number of lay representatives to tally with the cleric; or else there must be arrangements made for two separate assemblies, one for the clergy, and one for the laity, analogous to the two houses of our national Congress. Either of these radical alterations will make equal lay representation in the General Conference feasible and workable. But is the Church ready for either? If not, then the only alternative is to have the General Conference composed in the future on the present basis and ratio of cleric and laic delegations.

Clayton, N. Y. CHARLES SHEARD.

A WORD TO OUR THEOLOGIANS.

THE following was suggested by reading Dr. McChesney's article on the "Methodist Doctrine of Atonement" some time back in the *Review*. I offer it for the devout consideration of our theologians. The Almighty, permitting Adam and Eve to perpetuate a fallen race of human beings, bringing them into sinful conditions with which they had nothing to do and over which they had no control, laid himself under obligation to provide for that race a Saviour and to give every soul a fair chance of being saved. I think it possible that a just consideration of the above truth will throw some new light upon the doctrine of atonement, revealing some things not generally apprehended. RICHARD POVEY.

Provincetown, Mass.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SOME OF THE RESULTS OF OUR SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The season of summer schools has just closed, and it is well for us to pause and note results. Whether the summer school as an institution has already reached its climax, so that there will be no further advance in this direction, it is impossible at the present time to tell. Many great movements of the kind have so reached their culmination, and have then gradually declined or have rapidly passed away. Unless, however, something new and more valuable shall be discovered to take their place, we hope that these schools will long remain. We may say in general that thus far they have broadened the mental horizon of many persons and introduced topics to the people which, in the nature of things, are excluded from ordinary discussion in Churches and local communities. The preaching of the Gospel is necessarily limited to the teachings of the Bible, especially in its evangelistic aspects. Its object is to bring men to Christ and to edify believers. Many departments of thought, therefore, are not touched upon by the Christian pastor, and rarely by the lecturer who occasionally appears in isolated communities. Such subjects are more or less accessible in the summer schools, and serve to widen intellectual vision and to increase and develop intellectual vigor.

It is true that university extension has lately been striving to accomplish for the people much the same thing during the entire year. The principle of university extension is the imparting of knowledge by carrying great subjects and competent teachers to the people, instead of having the people come to them. Some of our ablest professors prepare courses of lectures and deliver them from place to place, and thus become, so to speak, peripatetic instructors and extend their influence over large sections of country. With the present development of the movement, however, they can of necessity reach but scattered portions here and there of our entire country, and that only at intervals of longer or shorter duration. But the summer schools, though in operation during only a few weeks in each year, compress and concentrate into these weeks a continuous succession of lectures and courses upon the most important subjects. Under the stimulus and momentum of these accumulated privileges the student may be encouraged to continue his studies by himself during the remainder of the year. Some of the foremost authors and scholars present their best work before these schools. A glance at the curriculum of any of our institutions of this kind will show how broad the range of topics. Science, literature, language, art, architecture, physical culture, and the Bible are represented by men well qualified to give instruction. The Greek and Hebrew languages, especially, are taught by some of our ablest biblical scholars. The list of those who lecture and give instruction in them proves how much ability and scholarship these schools employ.

In the public mind they have attained a dignity far beyond what was

originally anticipated. They have received the approbation of all Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholic Church, too, with that clear vision which enables it to recognize what is best calculated to increase its prestige, has established a summer school at Plattsburg, N. Y. Quite recently it received a visit from Archbishop Corrigan, of New York; and Pope Leo XIII has sent it his blessing. Yet, in spite of this general approval, there are dangers connected with these schools as well. There are many to whom institutions of this kind have opened a new world, who have never known that there was so much to be learned. Even those of mature years are often surprised at the vast amount of work required to be done in any course of study; just as theological students sometimes come to theological institutions supposing that in one year they can dispose of the entire course of study, and are astonished and somewhat disheartened when told that, even at the end of a full course, they will have made only a beginning, which is to be supplemented throughout their entire ministerial career. Then, too, a mere superficial acquaintance with many subjects is not to be commended; and those who attend these summer courses should be warned against the results which naturally follow from the short time devoted to so many and such important subjects. Besides, they institute inquiries on profound subjects which cannot be carried to completion in the brief period allotted to their study and discussion. The only remedy of which we can think is that those to whom these fields of knowledge have been opened should continue their studies at their homes under some competent instructor, if it be possible, who may be within their reach. Take, for example, the courses which are offered to beginners in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, and the sciences. One can begin these studies in the summer schools and, by continuing his work at home and attending again next year, will soon find himself so far advanced that he will be able to make rapid progress even without the aid of any instructors.

These schools have given many, at moderate cost and in connection with a summer outing, opportunities for mental improvement, who otherwise might never have obtained an education, which depends on opportunity, environment, emulation, and stimulus. Many young persons coming to these lectures receive a stimulus which is not spent until they have acquired a thorough education. They also enable many to revive studies and make fresh advances in them. The active duties of life often obliterate the results of some branches of study which were of great interest in earlier years. Ministers sometimes complain that they have lost their Hebrew and Greek, and occasionally one who has been through the entire theological course has been heard to say that he had lost the power to even pronounce the Hebrew text. This state of things would disappear if, instead of dropping study altogether, such ministers would attend the summer classes, would review first principles, and listen to some well-qualified professors. Principles which seemed obscure even when first learned would now take definite form, and before long they would find themselves, not only recovering that which had been lost, but also making

progress; and in all probability their preaching thenceforward would be better, more original, more biblical, and more scholarly, because the instinct of scholarship had been reawakened.

These schools also afford rest by change of employment. It is considered by some that the best form of rest is, in popular language, "to vegetate;" that is, to eat, to drink, to sleep, and, in general, to do "absolutely nothing." Others claim that the best form of rest is a change of employment. We are told that a person who has been pursuing one study for a long time and has become fatigued can rest his mind, not by abandoning study altogether, but by devoting his attention to a different subject. The new subject seems to employ a different part of his mentality, and thus affords relief to the particular part which has become wearied. In attendance upon these schools there is constantly something demanding attention. It is something different from that which has engaged one during the year, and thus affords rest and, at the same time, recreation. Fresh studies are restful, especially when one is not under the pressure of obedience to minute regulations, as in other schools.

It is important, however, in order to improve the advantages of the summer schools, that study and attendance upon lectures be not overdone. There are dangers of such a broad distribution of one's efforts as will produce mental and spiritual dissipation. It may well be questioned whether the programs of exercises are not too full. It may be said in defense of them, however, that they afford opportunities for so many departments of study that they meet the requirements of a greater number than would a more restricted list. If they were confined to the teaching of three or four branches or three or four courses of lectures they would be limited in their influence, and consequently would be less useful. The remedy is with the individual, who selects the subjects which he prefers. It is one of the cases where elective courses are absolute, no teacher and no curriculum standing in the way; but it is wise to take only such subjects as one can pursue with ease and profit. It is better to take up one or two departments each year, rarely more than three, and work at these only, but not to a point producing weariness. The object of a summer vacation is to secure rest, and overtaxing in the matter of study will deprive one of the best results; therefore a few studies will produce better results than would an attempt to accomplish all that is laid down in the course. The purport of these remarks should not be misunderstood. One who would secure an education should ever remember that this can only be done by slow and steady growth. The foundation must be carefully laid and the structure carefully and progressively erected. There can be no bounding at once from corner stone to top stone; every intervening stone must be carefully laid in its proper place. Only by recognizing that a course of study should begin with the preparatory school, pass through all the intermediate stages, and close with the professional school, can one attain any adequate idea of the education which is essential for the development of the best manhood and womanhood. That the past season has been productive of good results to the

Church in promoting a healthful mental life and broader views of duty, as well as in affording rest and recreation to multitudes of weary ministers and laymen, cannot well be doubted.

THEOLOGICAL GRADUATES AND THE CONFERENCE COURSE.

THE "Itinerants' Club" is glad to welcome suggestions in regard to the Conference Course of Study and the Conference Examinations. We have a letter inquiring whether the requirement, that a graduate of a theological institution shall, in addition, pass the Conference examinations, does not put a premium upon ignorance. The writer of the letter evidently means that it gives no recognition to the value of special theological training under competent professors, and thus discourages young men from taking a full course of study in our institutions of learning. This subject is a matter much discussed among our younger ministers and by the students in our colleges and seminaries. If our correspondent means that our Conference Course should be abolished and some other method of training our ministry adopted similar to that of other denominations, he raises an entirely new question, and one which can only be decided after full discussion.

The question before us, however, is not whether some other plan is better on the whole than the present one, but whether the graduates of our theological schools shall be excused from passing the prescribed course. In the present status of the Church regulations on this subject this cannot well be done. Every candidate must pass the prescribed course in a manner satisfactory to his Conference. The only way which occurs to us by which the change could be accomplished would be for the bishops, who formulated the Course under the authority of the General Conference, to prescribe a course of study practically identical with that which is passed by the theological student before he graduates. This would be the more practicable since the courses of study in most theological institutions are very similar, so much so that students pass readily from one to another on simple certificates showing their class standing. Such an arrangement would not, perhaps, meet the suggestion of our correspondent; but it would, at least, relieve the student from preparing for examination in new books and subjects. Yet it is scarcely in the region of probability.

The difficulties in the way of substituting theological seminary examinations for Conference examinations make it impossible under present conditions. In the first place, it would transfer the admission of candidates of an Annual Conference to a body of men over whom the Conference has no control. Every Conference is the judge of the terms of admission to its membership, subject to the regulations of the General Conference. A substitution of the theological school course for the Conference Course would, therefore, be not only irregular, but impossible. Again, the acceptance of the examination of the schools as final would be an abrogation of rights and obligations which the ministers in our Conferences would be slow to surrender. They naturally regard it as their duty to obtain

through their own committees some knowledge of the qualifications of the candidates whom they are asked to welcome as fellow-laborers. It might be granted that in some other way the examination could be more thoroughly made; yet this does not free the Conference from its personal responsibility to the Church. All bodies of ministers, so far as we are aware, examine their candidates personally or by their representatives. In the Presbyterian Church candidates are licensed by the presbytery, in the Reformed Church by the classis. In the Church of England each bishop has his examining chaplain. It would hardly be possible, it seems to us, for any Conference to transfer its privilege, responsibility, and authority in this matter.

Any plan which the Church may adopt should be uniform and applied equally to all. If all candidates for our ministry were required to pass the curriculum of our theological seminaries it would be easy to carry out the thought of our correspondent. As it is, however, our young men come from various kinds of schools, and the Church receives them on the basis of the examinations she prescribes, provided they have "gifts, grace, and usefulness." The present method also enables the students to pass through the Course of Study along with those who are to be their associates in labor, mutual interest, and fellowship. As they sit side by side they realize that disparities in their educational advantages disappear, and that they are joint workers in the Master's vineyard. Our correspondent has called our attention to an important subject which we may consider further, and which the Church will surely study more fully as the years go on.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

The General Conference in its wisdom has not left our Church without a prescribed order of Sabbath worship. Paragraph 56 of the Discipline contains definite instructions upon this subject. The tendency, however, to substitute for the assigned order an arrangement peculiar to individual churches is certainly widespread. If the practice of the whole Church may be inferred from the customs which obtain in our own locality the order in the different churches varies widely. Some begin their worship with an anthem by the choir, some with a hymn, and some with the doxology. Some recite the Lord's Prayer, and some do not. Some read a responsive lesson from Wesley's *Select Psalms;* some read a psalm selected at random by the pastor; while some, perhaps a goodly proportion, read no responsive lesson at all. Some take the collection before the sermon, and some afterward. In fact, it is hard to imagine a greater diversity than exists in the practice of a Church whose order of worship is so fully outlined in the Discipline. The attention of our younger ministers especially should be directed to this common neglect of the established rules. It is not here contended that the order prescribed is necessarily the best that could be devised; nor is it forgotten that the Discipline inserts the saving clause, "as far as possible," in its directions. Yet local alterations of the rules should not be capricious, injudicious, or unreasonable.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

MUMMIFICATION.

How early the art of embalmment was practiced in Egypt cannot be determined with certainty. There are those who claim that it can be traced back to the first dynasty. The oldest mummy in regard to the age of which there is a general agreement is that of Seker-em-sa-f, son of Pepi I, who lived about B. C. 3200. This was found in 1881, at Sakkara, and is now preserved at Gizeh. Mummification could not have been universal throughout Egypt in the earliest ages, or indeed at any time, for along with bodies swathed in mummy cloth are also found skeletons which show no sign of ever having been bandaged. These, however, from the odor peculiar to them, prove clearly that chemicals similar to those of the embalmer must have been employed in their preparation. The difference of race, religion, or even the poverty of the subject, may account for this. Mummification reaches back to gray antiquity, and continues uninterruptedly to the fourth century of the Christian era, when we notice a growing opposition to the practice on the part of the early Christians, since it incurred a needless expense and was at variance with the teaching of the Church concerning the resurrection of the body. So that by A. D. 700 embalming had almost disappeared even from Egypt.

The time was when our knowledge of embalming was derived almost wholly from Greek and Latin writers. Diodorus and Herodotus wrote at length upon the subject. From the latter we learn that there were three modes—one for the great and wealthy, another for the middle classes, and a third for the very poor. The statements of the Greek historians are known to be, in many regards, at variance with the facts as disclosed to us by recent discoveries and undisputed authority proceeding from the remotest ages. Of late years much light has been shed upon the subject by the decipherment of inscriptions on coffins, sarcophagi, the rock-hewn tombs, and mummy cloths inscribed with passages from the *Book of the Dead*, as well as of the numberless papyri discovered in more than one necropolis. The unrolling of mummies belonging to different dynasties has also contributed materially, in modern times, to our knowledge of Egyptian funereal archæology. The labors of Young, Champollion, and later Egyptologists have familiarized us with mysterious hieroglyphics of the land of the Pharaohs. The decipherment of these documents, sealed for so many centuries, may be regarded now as being reasonably correct, so that we can say with Dr. Budge, speaking of the obsequies of Ani, the great scribe of the offerings of the gods in the temple of Amen-ra: "The facts are all known, and therefore nothing need be invented. It is only necessary to gather them together and bring them to a focus on the person of one man."

From a study of the inscriptions and the entire process of Egyptian embalming and sepulture it becomes clear that the Egyptians not only

believed in the immortality of the soul, but also in the revivification of the body. Mummification, with its endless details, was performed in the belief that the soul would again return and claim the very body it had to leave at death. The priests of ancient Egypt taught that man was compounded of four distinct parts—the soul, the intelligence, the genius or *ka*, and the material body. When death came the first two separated from the body. The intelligence wandered through space, and the soul performed its dreary pilgrimage in the nether world and, after a probationary absence of from three to ten thousand years, returned to the tomb where the body had been left in charge of the *ka*, which, ever faithful to its sacred trust, never deserted it for a moment. These four parts were now reunited, and the complete man, yea, more than man, was transferred to the kingdom of Osiris, there to enjoy eternal life and divine repose. As entrance to the realm of the great judge of the dead was conditioned upon the reunion of the four parts separated at death, the utmost care was used to preserve the body intact. As the loss of a single organ or member would endanger its resuscitation, it is easy to see why the Egyptians paid such strict attention to the inviolable preservation of the earthly tabernacle. Whoever would care to study the subject in detail cannot do better than to read Dr. Budge's work, entitled *The Mummy*. What adds value to this volume is the fact that it brings the leading data down to our time, and that direct from the monuments themselves.

In the light of these modern discoveries and recent explorations we learn that when an important personage, a man of wealth and influence, died in Egypt, his body was taken to the establishment of the embalmers. It is not certain that the embalmers were themselves of the priestly caste; but we do know that they were held in high esteem and favor by the priesthood. The preparation of the body by a large number of professionals and its final removal to the tomb, incurring an enormous expense, must have been a source of emolument to the hierarchy. This doubtless explains, at least partially, the exorbitant charges connected with burial in Egypt. Embalming being a religious rite and under the immediate supervision of the priests, it was but natural that songs should be chanted, prayers offered, and a regular ritual followed at every step.

The body was first of all washed. The intestines, lungs, heart, and other organs were removed and, having been subjected to a most thorough cleansing, were rinsed in palm wine, stuffed with aromatic substances, and then sewed up. The outside was also rubbed with precious ointments and fragrant oils. The organs were then wrapped up in cloths, expressly made for the purpose, into four packages, which were properly inscribed with hieroglyphs and finally placed in as many Canopic jars or vases. The contents of these jars, we know, were not always the same. In the case of Ani—a papyrus bearing his name is preserved in the British Museum—we learn that the stomach was placed in one jar, the heart in another, the smaller intestines in a third, while the liver was deposited in the fourth. Each vase was inscribed with the name of the departed. It also bore the name of one of the four divinities in immediate charge of the contents.

These four gods, Mestha, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, representing the four cardinal points in the lower world, were themselves under the special protection of four goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket, respectively. These vases were, we may add, variously ornamented and hermetically sealed with liquid plaster; for, as already said, it was of the utmost importance that each and every portion of the dead body should be properly preserved. Canopic jars were not universally used, for often we find the viscera separately mummified and wrapped up between the legs and arms of the deceased. In the case of poor Egyptians it is not even probable that the viscera were at all removed. The statements of Plutarch and Porphyry, that the Egyptians took out the intestines, exposed them to the sun, accused them of being the cause of sins committed, and then threw them into the river, cannot be regarded as true, since they are in direct contradiction to the entire meaning of mummification, namely, the inviolable preservation of the body.

The body, having been relieved of the parts most liable to decay, was now steeped for seventy or seventy-two days in a preparation of natron. The fleshiest parts of the body were cut open and filled with chemicals and then stitched up. The cranium and eviscerated body were likewise filled with proper substances. The finger-nails were colored. A ring of gold, silver, or cheaper material was placed upon the little finger of the right hand. The most common amulets discovered in the tombs or on mummies are scarabs (beetles) of various materials. These, as a rule, were suspended from the neck over the breast, or at times placed in the heart. The name of the deceased and a verse from the *Book of the Dead*, in the form of a prayer for safe passage through the lower world, were inscribed upon the scarab. The preliminaries over, the inclosing of the body began. Almost every bandage bore some inscription or religious formula, intended to facilitate the passage of the deceased on his way to his eternal home. Every part of the body was carefully wrapped up, usually commencing with the extremities, and thus continuing till the entire man was completely swathed. Not less than one thousand yards of bandages, from three to four inches wide, have been found on a single mummy. Gums and gluey substances were employed to hold the linen strips in their places; some of them were securely tied, and that with utmost precision. This exactness of procedure becomes clear when we remember that every bandage had its own name and had written upon it the name or figure of some god, as well as a passage from the *Book of the Dead*.

As a specimen of the prayers recited during the embalming let us take the following, which was chanted while the head was wrapped up: "O most august goddess, O lady of the West, O mistress of the East, come and enter into the two ears of the deceased! O doubly powerful, eternally young, and very mighty lady of the West and mistress of the East, may breathing take place in the head of the deceased in the nether world! Grant that he may see with his eyes, that he may hear with his two ears, that he may breathe through his nose, that he may utter sounds from his mouth, and articulate with his tongue in the nether world! Receive his

voice in the hall of truth and justice, and his triumph in the hall of Seb, in the presence of the great god, lord of the West," etc. As specimens of the directions given the embalmers we may cite the following: "Wrap the toes in a piece of cloth. Draw two jackals upon two pieces of linen; and each jackal shall have its face turned toward the other. The jackal on the one bandage is Anubis, lord of Hert; the jackal on the other is Horus, lord of Hebennu.. Put Anubis on the right leg and Horus on the left leg, and wrap them up in fine linen."

The solicitude with which the body was prepared would have been defeated unless proper coffins and tombs were also provided. There were usually two coffins, and often three, or even four, one within the other, and each as nearly air-tight as possible. Wooden coffins, usually of sycamore, were in use from remote times. That of Mycerinus, who lived B. C. 3600, is still preserved in the British Museum. Even at that early date inscriptions and a rude figure of the face were carved upon the lid. The sex of the mummy was known from the headdress or the presence or absence of the beard. As time rolled on the decorations became exceedingly elaborate, till in the nineteenth dynasty, or B. C. 1400, coffins were real works of art. Not only was the human face carved, molded, or painted on the outside cover, but both the inside and outside were richly ornamented with figures of the gods, temples, representations of various religious ceremonies, extracts from the *Book of the Dead*, name and titles of the defunct, and a cartouch of the reigning king. These wooden coffins were again placed in stone sarcophagi, which were so constructed as to be hermetically sealed. Though sarcophagi were used during the first dynasties, strange to say there are no examples of any from the seventh to the tenth, or from the thirteenth to the seventeenth. The inscriptions upon them were few at first. The alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, preserved in a private collection in England, is richly carved, within and without, with numerous directions for the journey through Tuat. The most elaborately ornamented cover of a sarcophagus yet discovered is that of Rameses III.

That the ancient Egyptians firmly believed in a future life for both soul and body is perfectly clear from their funereal rites. The lavish expenditure connected with sepulture cannot be explained as the result of mere priestly deception. The finest *mastabas*, or tombs, were real palaces, elegantly furnished and artistically decorated, pleasant resting places for the *ka* while patiently awaiting the return of the soul. The discoveries, last March, by M. de Morgan at Daschour, of treasures and tomb furnishings belonging to the reign of the Usertsens—twelfth dynasty—valued at more than half a million dollars, will help the reader to form some idea of the splendor and expense of an Egyptian funeral. These ornaments, consisting of scarabs, *cyprœa*, bracelets, earrings, vases, and figures of various animals and gods, are also valuable from another standpoint; for these elegant and expensive productions of the goldsmith, made between B. C. 2433 and 2333, prove clearly that a very high state of civilization existed in those early ages, and thus dispose most effectually of many objections urged by the destructive critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE INTEREST IN THIBET.

That there is at the present hour a wide circle of missionary workers interested in the opening of Thibet is very manifest. In fact, this land excites interest as a field for evangelism quite apart from its own needs or its claims upon Christian propagandists. One reason of this is the fact, or what is reputed to be a fact, that it is the only country not yet open to aggressive Christian agencies. This is emphasized even in the minds of those who do not accept the common view that the world is to be Christianized before the second coming of Christ. These hold that the Gospel is to be proclaimed in every land as a "witness" only, and that then the present "dispensation" will close and a new order of the divine administration be substituted. Such a view necessarily accentuates the importance of an entrance into this land, as a geographical portion of the world to be, in this restricted sense, "evangelized." The discussion of this theory of interpretation does not fall within our present purpose. We are at a loss, however, to see why, when such vast regions of Africa are yet untouched with the Gospel, and other whole segments of mankind are emphatically shut out from Christian approach by obstacles as insurmountable as the mountain heights of Thibet or the antagonism of its people to foreign invasion, this latter country should assume such unique importance in the minds of even this class of interpreters of teleologic prophecy. As a matter of fact, there are greater geographical stretches in both Africa and Asia, with populations vastly more numerous than that of Thibet, which are as wholly unreached, and some of them as unreachable, by any intelligent presentation of even the fundamentals of the gospel message as are the peoples behind this "last door" in the midair of mid-Asia.

A much less controversial ground of interest in Thibet might be found in its relation to the general Buddhist community of the world. But it holds within itself a distinct form of Buddhism, somewhat carelessly named Lamaism. This is endowed with a vast literature of its own, is quite distinct from the Buddhism of Ceylon or Burmah, and is an offshoot of that of the plains of India. Thus these elevated ranges of the earth hold a distinct type of religious faith, and its people would be little affected by the fall of Buddhism elsewhere in the earth. Here, then, is a separated portion of the human family, which must probably be reached by influences brought to bear directly upon its independent self. It is doubtful whether this little community of six or more millions stands in any such strategic relation to other portions of the human family in Asia as would render it important as a center of power even if evangelized. Its long isolation has put it out of touch with, as well as measurably beyond the power of, outside societies or politics. It seems, therefore, as if its interest and importance, except to those who hold the view of the "com-

ing of the kingdom" above referred to, were confined solely within itself and to its segregated population. We do not say that this detracts from the duty to spread the Gospel therein; but relatively this land does not seem to be the most important objective point when unreached peoples exist in solid races and nationalities elsewhere.

What interests many persons at this hour much more than any theory of the relative importance of Thibet as a mission field is the relative practicability of the different ways of approach to its people. The indomitable Moravians, sitting down at the west gate of Thibet at Lahoul and patiently translating portions of Scripture into Thibetan—shut in meanwhile for six months of the year, by impassable barriers of ice, from all communication with the rest of the world—challenge the admiration of all who appreciate heroic virtues. But it is exceedingly doubtful if the most practicable way of approach is not by the east rather than by the west. The Darjeeling route on the west is, of course, the shortest in leagues; but is it the shortest when time and all other things are considered? The Methodist mission in West China extends to the very borders of Thibet, and the Thibetans are separated from the people of extreme Sze-Chuen by a very indefinite line. The ethnological boundary is not at all sharply marked. Caravans are constantly passing to and fro between Ta-Tsien-Lu and Lassa. Eastern Thibet is practically an extension of our West China mission field. Roman Catholic missions have long existed in this part of the world. The people of Thibet are certainly jealous of any commercial advances into their territory, and are inhospitable to strangers on that account; but as priests of the Roman Catholic Church have resided there others may hope to do so. The fact that Miss Annie Taylor, with a Thibetan servant, could enter the country and get within easy marching distance of the capital itself unmolested renders reasonable the expectation that she and others who have become associated with her may be permitted to enter it for residence. This does not necessarily mean that, even when settled there, they will find kindly consideration, either for themselves or for their message. The romantic character of their undertaking will give to them a large share of public attention, for this most elevated country of the globe possesses unusual attractions for the imagination. These seven hundred thousand square miles are not exempt from the promise that the uttermost parts of the earth will be given to Jesus Christ for an inheritance; and sooner or later, by quiet extension of influence or by direct assault, Thibet too will be His "possession."

THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF RECENT REVIVALS IN ASIATIC MISSIONS.

THERE is nothing connected with foreign mission work which is of intenser interest to the Christian Church than the religious phenomena which result from the preaching of the Gospel among hitherto non-Christian races. We are all familiar with the old-time emotional periods in religion in nominally Christian communities which we are wont to call,

for want of a better name, seasons of revival, and which we are also wont to attribute to supernatural agency—to the divine work of the Holy Ghost. These supernatural influences, as they are accounted, have long been assigned an apologetic character. They are among the evidences of the supernatural origin of the word of God, and are within the provision for an experimental assurance to everyone seeking to know the truth—that truth which makes men free. But, if this is a concomitant of sincere acceptance of the truth among one people, theoretically, at least, it should be so among "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." Naturally, therefore, Christians look with interest to see if the same phenomena attend the preaching of the word in heathen lands. And they have not looked in vain. Great revivals have swept over many of the foreign missions of the Churches in various parts of the world, attended with the same inner consciousness of divine power on individuals, one after another, till scores have swelled to hundreds and hundreds to thousands.

Recent illustrations of uniformity in type of spiritual blessing are among the "news from afar" which has gladdened the Churches at home. Rev. William N. Brewster, Methodist Episcopal missionary at Hing-hua, Province of Fo-Kien, China, in the Foo-Chow Conference, writing of a time of refreshing, says that it began at an anniversary of a chapter of the Epworth League in that place, where prayer was being offered "for the Holy Spirit to be poured out upon all the chapters." The usual time to close came, but all felt moved to stay longer and to continue in prayer. The members of the Theological School and the Woman's Training schools all remained, and the sense of the divine presence became, as Mr. Brewster describes it, "awful." All knelt to pray in all parts of the house; and, unconscious of the time occupied, they continued with one accord pouring out their souls to God till the leader told them to rise, but not until after they had been kneeling for forty minutes. This was but the initial meeting. Others followed. Other workers from the adjoining districts were brought in. Twenty-four preachers were present. They were filled with wonder. School-teachers came, other laymen came—a hundred from outside the city. An average of two hundred were at each service. Services were held three times a day. Bands of preachers instituted open-air preaching. It was a genuine "revival." Mr. Brewster writes that the general notion that the Chinese are a stolid, unemotional race, and, hence, that we need not expect to find a joyous, fervid type of piety among them, is a mistaken one; and that while all nations have distinct characteristics, and no doubt the Chinese are less emotional than some other races, yet when filled with the Spirit they exhibit as much joy, and exhibit it in the same way, as other people do under like conditions.

Another illustration is at hand in the religious exercises of the Japanese Christians at Nagoya. These occurred in connection with the Week of Prayer at the beginning of this year, the prayer season being extended to seventeen days. A Pentecostal enthusiasm burst forth. Suddenly an old woman, trembling with emotion, cried out, "God, please pity the breth-

ren and sisters who do not come to these meetings." All present burst into tears. An extreme consciousness of sin and longing for divine blessing came upon one and another; all were the subjects of these exercises of mind and soul. The meeting was continued. The leader gave up a whole day to meditation, fasting, and prayer. Others went to a hill-top not far away for like exercise; then, endued with power from on high, they started upon a house-to-house visitation. That evening two hundred and fifty persons cried, "Release us from Satan! Give us the Holy Ghost and peace!" Three hundred persons assembled the next night. "The evangelists talked till their faces were heated as with fire."

It is needless to go more into detail. The same phenomena have been experienced in the Methodist missions in North China, in the Church of England, the Presbyterian, and other missions; and all furnish fresh inspiration to persons seeking for the conversion of men everywhere, and stoutly certify to the value of this form of Christian evidence.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

Sooner or later non-Christian communities come to recognize both the meaning and the power of even indirect missionary agencies. Just now the Persian government is opposing a Bible shop, a lithographic press, and even a medical mission and dispensary at Ispahan, the latter conducted by a lady physician, Miss Bird. And, what is still more significant, the Persian government's appeal to the British consul and to her majesty's minister at Teheran show that we have not misinterpreted its policy. The minister says, "The Persian government, while according perfect freedom in religious matters to all communities not professing Islam, have expressed their determination that any interference with the belief of such of their subjects as are Mussulmans shall not be tolerated;" and he serves notice on the British missionaries that they cannot receive government protection against any harm that may ensue from their supporting a Bible shop and dispensary. It is not with the moral or legal quality of this official action that we now deal. It is only quoted to show the quick perception of the Moslem world that the civilization of the Bible and the Bible itself are essentially opposed to Moslem civilization and the Quran. Heathen nations may have been somewhat slow in discerning the power of these agencies, but they sooner or later perceive their ultimate influence. The Chinese memorialists to the throne of the empire distinctly apprehended the peril to the State from the new spirit of Christianity. A contributor to the *Ostasiatische Lloyd*, of Shanghai, in an article entitled "Zur Verständigung," discussing the cause of the Chinese riots, affirms that Christianity cannot but come into collision with the constitutions of heathen States, and declares that "as long as the out-and-out politico-religious constitution of China continues to be founded on its present principles China must continue to regard Christianity as hostile, antinational, and non-Chinese," and that China is now restrained from the prohibition and persecution of Christianity only by constant fear of foreign intervention.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Carl Weizsäcker. Professor of Church History at Tübingen, he has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the ablest theologians of Germany. Professor Harnack regards his *Das apostolische Zeitalter* (The Apostolic Age) as the greatest work on that subject ever written. To sum up the views of Weizsäcker in the space at our command is impossible. We confine ourselves to his discussion of the appearances of Christ subsequent to his resurrection. He is very confident that the events related in the gospels as having occurred at the grave were unknown to Paul; and, since he is obliged to suppose that Paul received his information concerning the appearances, as related in 1 Corinthians, from the heads of the primitive Church, he argues that they too had never heard of them. There are some things which must be accepted, although they lie outside of the range of historical investigation. But we must begin with the historical fact that Paul and those of whom Paul speaks believed themselves to have seen the risen Lord, and that the sight was not imaginary or in any sense merely subjective, but objectively real. Comparing Paul's ideas of the resurrection body, as found in various portions of his writings, we must believe that Paul saw, not the body of Christ as it went into the grave, but a spiritual body. Hence, we must conclude that the others mentioned by Paul as having seen the risen Lord saw, not a physical, but a spiritual appearance, like that which Paul saw. Nevertheless, what Paul saw when the Lord appeared to him was not a *Phantasie*, but, on the contrary, reality. The report of Paul cannot be reconciled with the report in the gospels; and Paul's report must be accepted. The one great certainty is that the witnesses mentioned by Paul experienced a moment in which they were filled with the certainty that Jesus lived and was with them. It is in such conclusions as these that we discover the full significance of the higher criticism. By the methods of reasoning here pursued the Gospel records concerning the resurrection are set aside as worthless products of a later age, and Paul's account is interpreted as being determinative for the nature of the appearances even to those who believed before Paul. Weizsäcker says nothing about the coincidence of the time at which Jesus is declared, both by the evangelists and Paul, to have risen from the dead; nor of the implications connected with the fact that he was dead three days and then came to life. The accounts in the gospels and Acts are more satisfactory than Paul's.

Jules Bovon. The Frenchmen who carefully and originally study theological questions are few; but Bovon is one of the few. He is professor of theology in the Free Church faculty at Lausanne, and author of a number of works which have attracted considerable attention in France.

He has projected a monumental work of six volumes on the theology of the New Testament. The first volume has appeared, under the title *La Vie et l'Enseignment de Jésus*, which is in reality a study of the work of redemption in Christ. His researches in this volume rest upon a two-fold supposition, namely, on the one side, that that which is new and creative in the teachings of Jesus is not his message, but the Messenger himself; and, on the other, that the preaching of the kingdom of heaven and the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus can only be understood and appreciated in connection with the history of Jesus and his time. So far he is in harmony with the most recent students. But he draws from these premises the conclusion that New Testament theology must start with an examination of the facts of Christ's life; and here he diverges from the prevailing view, namely, that the facts of Christ's life need not be investigated with reference to their credibility in order to the formation of a New Testament theology. We are inclined to side with Bovon. It is true that the theology of the New Testament can be studied with as much indifference to the reality of the alleged facts of the New Testament as one might experience in studying the theology of Homer. The theology of the New Testament is one thing, and the reality of it is another. But to deny the New Testament theologian the right to investigate the reality of the life of Christ as portrayed in the gospels would be to deny him the right to criticise his sources. The Christian theologian is more than a theologian. He is also a Christian. To him the question is, not merely what the New Testament teaches, but also how much of what it teaches is true. And this is a vital question. There must be no divorce between criticism and positive theology. The results of a true criticism must be incorporated into the Christian system. Forgetfulness of this principle has made criticism incautious and New Testament theology a matter of purely literary interest. If the critics can prove that Christ did not really rise from the dead we can no longer believe in the resurrection. The truth of the gospel utterances must be tested.

C. H. Scharling. According to its size Denmark has produced a relatively large number of able investigators and thinkers. Among the more recent, Scharling has distinguished himself by his work on Christian ethics, a department already well studied by that other great Dane, Martensen. He takes what seems to us the only tenable position relative to the true nature and function of conscience, when he defines it as the consciousness of mankind that the moral law possesses absolute validity and as the judge which necessarily estimates all our acts accordingly. That man possesses along with this a moral judgment is unquestionable. And it may be freely admitted that the conscience and moral judgment intimately cooperate. When the moral judgment declares an act wrong the conscience accepts the *dictum* as law and moves the will against it. But, however blind may be the impulse which drives us to follow the dictates of the moral judgment, it is the impulse, and not the judgment, which we rightly call conscience. The judgment is capable of being

corrected or altered; but the impulse is constant. It may be made more strong or more sensitive; but it can never be made to excuse us for doing what our judgment says is wrong. In another particular we cannot so well agree with the views of Scharling. He holds that duty has validity only for the individual in his particular circumstances. This is so far true that duty is sometimes modified by circumstances. But duty is not confined to individuals. There are public duties. In their associated capacity men do not lose their identity to such an extent that what would be wrong for them as individuals becomes right or excusable in association. The individual must distinguish between his duty when acting alone and for himself and when acting as an integral part of society. As a member of society he may be powerless to prevent wrongs which he would not personally commit. But he must not fail to protest against them. And it is most important that men should learn that what is wrong for an individual is equally wrong for a corporation or a State. And there are very few duties of the individual which are not equally the duties of the State. It is as wrong, for example, for the State to derive revenue from the liquor traffic as for the individual.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der Jesuitenorden von seiner Gründung bis zur heutigen Zeit" (The Order of Jesuits from its Organization to the Present Day). By J. Dorneth. The Jesuit question is not so burning with us as it is with the Germans, although perhaps it ought to be. The book here mentioned is not intended to exhibit original research, but sprang from the purpose to show up in its true light the enemy which Protestant Christianity has to fear and which was, at the time of publication, seeking the legal right to exist in Germany. We venture the assertion that whoever will read this book, which ought to be translated or duplicated in English, will rise from its perusal with a profounder respect for Protestantism, a more thorough comprehension of the wickedness of Romanism, and a deeper dread than ever of the danger which threatens us. If ever the hypocrisy of Rome was made apparent it is in the history of the relation of the Order of Jesuits to the popes. The order was originated chiefly for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the pope in a time when Protestantism threatened to speedily capture the world. Among their earliest doctrines was that of papal infallibility; and it was through them that the blasphemous doctrine was finally promulgated by the Vatican Council in 1870. To-day the order is in the highest repute with the pope. But let us look back at the history. The popes upheld the order only when they thought they could get gain by so doing, and the Jesuits turned on the pope when he opposed them. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV said: "In consideration of the fact that it is utterly impossible, so long as the Society of Jesus exists, to secure the true and permanent peace of the Church, we do hereby, with mature reflection, on the basis of well-ascertained facts, and out of the full-

ness of our apostolic authority, abolish, suppress, blot out, and do away with the above-mentioned society." No sooner had this been done than the Jesuits began to deny the infallibility of the pope and to teach that princes should not be subject to him, but hold themselves responsible alone to God, and that even the appointment of the bishops should not be made by the popes. In 1814 Pius VII restored the order and declared that he would violate his duty if he should refuse the assistance of such experienced pilots while threatened every moment with shipwreck and death on so stormy a sea. Immediately the Jesuits again swore allegiance to the "infallible representative of Christ." Comment is needless.

"Das christliche Personlichkeitsideal des Jacobus" (St. James's Ideal of Christian Personality). By Karl Pahncke. The author places the Epistle of James alongside of 1 Corinthians as a sort of supplement. In all that Paul has to say in 1 Corinthians he gradually proceeds to the goal of his purpose, which is to depict the ideal Christian congregation, portraying for all generations and all periods what is and what is not becoming in the Christian society. But James writes to describe the ideal Christian personality. It is not Christianity and not the individual Christian congregation, but the individual Christian as he should be, with which James is concerned. It is the piety of the individual, the "perfect man," of which he treats. Such is the declaration of the author in the first part of his book, and it is an attractive thought. The great difficulty with it is that the facts do not justify it. Some sort of an idea of a perfect man must have been in the mind of James or he would not have mentioned it. But the idea of a perfect man is not the ruling idea of the epistle. It deals by no means so much with what the Christian ought to be as with what he ought not to be. It is conceived in the true Old Testament fashion of "Thou shalt not." The apostle reminds us of the old Hebrew prophet rebuking the sins of God's people. There is in his language all the severity of the Old, and very little of the tenderness of the New, Testament, and at the same time he does not depict at all the possibilities of grace. The epistle certainly does not describe the Christian ideal, nor even the Christian ideal in the mind of James, except as he denounces in the most scathing terms the evils existing among those to whom he wrote, and thus by inference recommends the opposite virtues. These faults must be recognized in order that we may understand the epistle. He is not, as the title of the work under consideration would indicate, describing an ideal condition, whether for a congregation or for an individual; but he is meeting the actual conditions of the Jewish congregations of the dispersion. And as it is not an ideal condition which he aims to depict, so it is not a specifically Christian condition. There is, indeed, an expressed or implied reference to the Christian faith throughout the epistle. But what the apostle condemns would be likewise condemned by a Jew who was not a Christian at all. The Jewish Christians to whom he wrote seem to have deteriorated under the influence of the Gentiles among whom they lived.

"Die Eschatologie des Paulus" (The Pauline Eschatology). By R. Kabisch. In reading German books one is often impressed that their authors either began to write before they had fully determined their opinions, and so were led astray by some chance suggestion, or else started out with the distinct purpose of seeing what proof they could produce for an unexpected and unwarrantable position. Under which of these categories to place Kabisch's book we do not know. Certain it is that, when he makes death and sin to stand for personalities as truly as God is a personality, he is taking ground which no one who has not recklessly given himself up to folly would take. Nevertheless, there are some excellent things in his book, and for their sakes we mention it here. The principal proposition of the book is that for Paul the future is the essential element in the Christian consciousness. Salvation from the wrath to come, the eternal reward, separation from this mortal body appear everywhere as the final goal of his desire and thought. Paul's highest good is life; the greatest evil, death. By this life he means indestructibility; by death not spiritual, moral death, but extinction, which is the only punishment for sin which Paul knows. Death, extinction, annihilation are a reproach and a shame. Against this view of Paul's emphasis of eschatological facts Kabisch places what he calls the modern view, which dissipates the thought of reward as the spring of all moral effort, and makes the present possession of sanctification, justification, and grace not the means, but the end—the real salvation. He attempts to connect this so-called modern view with Kant's categorical imperative, which scorns all reward and recommends the doing of good for its own sake. We are not convinced that Kabisch is right in much of this; and we are quite certain that he is wrong in part. Yet there can be no doubt that he calls attention to a defect in modern theology and preaching. Not only Paul, but our Lord and all the writers of the New Testament, hold out as an inducement to virtue the hope of reward, and as a warning against vice the fear of punishment. In the days when this fact was fully recognized, perhaps even overemphasized, truth was more effective than it is to-day. Now we carry our thoughts of disinterested love and benevolence to such an extreme that it is almost shameful for us to acknowledge that we care anything whatever about the recompense of the reward. But such is not the spirit of the Gospel.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Schools of Italy. Superintendent Oswald (of Germany) has recently written a little book on the public schools of Italy which is full of profoundest interest. The task of Italy in the matter of public education is gigantic. The climate has to be taken into consideration; and the mixture of races on Italian soil, with a large element in some localities of the oriental, has its influence also. But in the thirty years since Garabaldi landed at Marsala much has been accomplished. The obligatory course of study extends but three years; but it is something to have

secured even this. And still more important is it that those having taken this course of study enjoy advantages not accorded to others. Boys and girls who have gone through these years of study and have afterward served an apprenticeship in some occupation are given the preference by employers; the thus educated soldier is granted privileges withheld from others; and the right of suffrage in the cities is made dependent upon it. Besides, in the larger cities a more extensive course is encouraged; instead of three, the studies extend over five, years. After these years come the gymnasium schools, or the technical, industrial, or professional, open to both sexes. Normal schools are also open to girls. The principal defect, from the standpoint of the German author of whom we speak, is in the department of religious instruction. The pope does nothing to help in this cause, except in such a way as will serve to bind the young to his Church. Only in the schools which are under the influence of the Protestants of Italy is there any attempt at a genuine religious training. The Italian school authorities look upon religion as a mere moderating, not a leading, force. Hence the city schools are left free to do as they will concerning religious education. But the majority of the schools are without religious exercises, because the people, while loving religion, hate and fear the priests to whose care religious instruction in public schools is generally committed. Here is found the necessity of the Church schools, both Protestant and Romanist. The schools of the Jesuits stand very high, as do also those of the Waldenses, the latter being preferred by many on account of their loyalty to Italy.

A Monster Lay Petition. Ever since Pastor Schrempf rose up in rebellion against the compulsory reading of the Apostles' Creed by those pastors who do not believe its tenets the agitation in Würtemberg has been tremendous. A petition signed by eleven thousand five hundred and forty-four layman was recently presented to the king. The petitioners are of the orthodox party, and they bewail the denial of so many of the fundamental doctrines of the faith, and also the negative attitude assumed by so many of the pastors toward the Bible. They do not find so much fault with the pastors as with the university professors. Nor do they expect speedily to repair the damage which has been done. But they propose a new professorship, which shall always be filled by one to their own liking, and a preachers' seminary, to be manned by orthodox professors, in which all candidates for the ministry shall spend at least one year prior to entering upon the duties of their office. The petitioners affirm that the chasm between the faith of the pastors and that of the congregations has reached the danger point. Of course, the petition raised a storm of opposition. It is asserted that it was circulated secretly, and such conduct is declared to be unevangelical and unprotestant. The opposition declare it to be a petition instigated by the orthodox pastors, and given out under the pretense that it sprang from the laity. The right of petition none will deny; and none who can put himself in the place of the petitioners will question that something needs to be done.

In this country the number and variety of the denominations makes the management of such cases comparatively easy. But in Germany the dread of schism is quite as great as the dread of heresy. The unity of the German Church is threatened by the intense strain now put upon it by the conflicts in theology.

Students' Conferences in Germany. The very frequent defection of students from Christianity has led to the establishment of students' conferences, whose purpose it is to assemble yearly all those students in German universities who feel the need of strengthening in the Christian faith, which object is to be attained by means of discussions with that end in view. The first of these conferences was held in the winter of 1889. At a recent session in Frankfort-am-Main, Count Pückler, of Berlin, one of the most earnest and active of Germany's younger Christian workers, acted as president. The purpose of the conference is not to work for the conversion of unbelievers among the students, but to confirm and strengthen those who are already believers, and thus to preserve them from the anti-Christian influences which so often prevail in university life. America could undoubtedly teach Germany much in a matter like this, as a comparison of their method with ours under similar circumstances will show.

Tobacco Interdicted in Persia. The heathen priests of the country have recently laid their interdict upon the use of tobacco, and the people obey the command. Not content therewith, they have begun a bitter crusade against the Christians, in which they invite the assistance of the Mohammedans. They can see no difference between the Christian preacher and Christian tobacco and brandy. Christianity is made responsible for the diabolical conduct of the sons of Christian countries. It is but little wonder that well-disposed heathen rise up against the civilization which carries in its wake opium, whisky, and tobacco. It is high time for earnest Christians of so-called Christian lands to demand that their governments shall prohibit the introduction of these degrading articles into countries where missionaries are preaching the Gospel.

The Protestant Association and Missions. This rationalistic society recently undertook to establish a missionary work, thereby to prove that it had the same spiritual energy as the orthodox Churches, and a far wiser and better method of carrying on the work. The results, however, have not been very encouraging. The deficit last year was 9,000 marks, and this year will be at least 10,000 marks. In order to avoid bankruptcy altogether the managers request the members to contribute one mark each, or at least a half mark. If this be not done they will be obliged to recall their missionaries. But recently this same society boasted of the great results it had accomplished. There was nothing in the principles of the German Protestant Association to warrant the expectation that its members would be zealous in endeavors to convert the world to Christ.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The interests of America—and chiefly that portion of the continent included within the territory of the United States—lie closest to the common heart of our readers. Without disparagement of that marvelous empire which radiates from the little British isles to the furthest bounds of the Australian sea, or of reorganized and rejuvenated France, or of the German Fatherland, the American heart puts America first in its affections. Believing in the prophecies that the Republic is to be the instrumentality particularly chosen for the advancement of Christianity throughout the world in the twentieth century, and conceding, perhaps too lightly, the tremendous responsibility thus laid upon the United States, we wait impatiently, as moralists and religionists, for the results of this great leadership. Three articles in the current reviews, discussing matters of American history and growth, will therefore appeal to the particular notice of readers of magazine literature.

In the *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, for July, is found a continuation of the discussion, "Were the Ancients Acquainted with America?" If not a subject of particular novelty, yet it will not soon grow threadbare. Its author, R. E. Blackwell, takes the negative position on the question, his conclusion, without his arguments, being to the following effect: "The Phœnicians possessed the enterprise, and though without the compass they were prepared chiefly for coast voyages, yet longer voyages than from the Canaries to America have been known to be made with no better equipments than they had. The case is certainly stronger for the Phœnicians than for the Greeks and Romans, primarily because we have not their literature of discoveries, and thus the imagination is not chained down to facts; but also because they were better seamen and did discover more than the Greeks and Romans. . . . We might thus account for all the stories about the continent west of Europe by the supposition that the Phœnicians discovered America and attempted, for commercial reasons, to keep the knowledge of it from getting abroad among the nations; and thus when the Phœnician power was destroyed only the vaguest reports of America remained to form the basis of myth and fable. In spite, however, of all that can be said in favor of such theories, the preponderance of evidence shows that the Canaries were the farthest westerly islands known to the ancients."

Of the divine direction over our national life the Rev. T. F. Dornblaser writes in the July number of the *Lutheran Quarterly*. His article, entitled "Providence in our History," while not particularly philosophical or scholarly, is yet reverent in its emphasis of the divine leadership. "America," he says, "with her free institutions and her increasing millions of liberty-loving citizens, is designed to lift her torch higher than all others in her beneficent mission of 'enlightening the world?' The theater of providence is transferred from the Old to the New World."

In the *North American Review* for August the leading article is by the Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, who writes on "The Resources and Development of the South." This section of our territory he declares to be favored with "a climate pleasant in winter and not oppressive in summer, with a vast expanse of territory suited to every variety of agricultural pursuit, with limitless undeveloped wealth, with ample iron, coal, and lumber alongside of cotton fields." And while other parts of the land have outstripped it hitherto in acquiring wealth, this has been owing to conditions which no longer exist. For the first time "the whole resources of the South are to assert themselves, freed from any convincing influences." In proof of this the writer drops into bewildering figures. From Norfolk alone he states there is yearly shipped over $6,000,000 worth of vegetables and fruits; the "annual output of the saw and planing mills grew in the period from 1880 to 1892 from $38,000,000 to $117,000,000;" since 1880 the coal production has increased from 3,000,000 to 25,000,000 bushels; the increase in the iron production has been 500 per cent since 1880; the manufacture of cotton has increased since 1880 from 342,048 to 2,171,147 spindles, and the value of the yearly product from $16,350,000 to $54,200,000. Such are a few of the bewildering figures with which the secretary enriches his article, and they justify the superlative words of Judge Kelley, that the South is "a country upon which the Almighty has with most lavish hand bestowed his richest material gifts."

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July is weighty rather than striking. It opens with a lengthy article by Rev. A. A. Berle, on "The Bible as Authority and Index." Of the Scripture the writer concludes: "It is authority, but it is the authority of a spiritual force, spiritually apprehended. It is an index, but an index understood by the partakers of the experiences which have been interpreted. But out of both it comes a word of God." The second article, by Professor Theodor Zahn, D.D., of Erlangen, is the concluding portion of a paper on "The Adoration of Jesus in the Apostolic Age." Under the ambiguous title of "A New Method with an Old Problem" Professor E. H. Johnson, D.D., discusses whether justice or benevolence holds the primacy in the divine character and dealings. The fourth article, by the Rev. W. E. C. Wright, on "Christian Fellowship as Affected by Race," sets forth the fact that among American Congregationalists little heed is given to racial differences, except in "the relation of white Christians to negro Christians." Following this assertion the writer shows that the Congregationalists are burdened with the same vexed problem which is upon other denominations for settlement. The next article, by Rev. A. E. Thomson, on "Sin in This and Other Worlds," is a curious guess at truth. So far as sin relates itself to other planets the author substantially holds as follows: 1. There are reasons for believing that other worlds besides the earth are inhabited. 2. If those inhabitants have the power of moral choice they have the power of sinning, and are as likely to sin as we. 3. If they have sinned they must all be lost,

unless Christ has made atonement for them. 4. Christ has died but once. 5. It is not easy to understand how his atonement on Calvary is sufficient for the pardon of sinners in other parts of the universe. 6. The effects of sin are baneful, its cure is difficult, and the sinner is impotent. 7. This earth has a vicarious work to perform; "it suffers for the universe." The sixth article, by Professor J. C. Long, D.D., discusses "The Historic Episcopate," and concludes that in America there is no generally accepted hierarchy, but that in the pastors of thousands of churches is found a true historic episcopate. In the seventh article, on "Israel and the Gospel," Professor G. H. Schodde believes that "there never has been a period since the apostolic era when, in a large section of Judaism, the fullness of time seems so clearly to have come for the Jews as it has done at the present time. Here, too, the grain now seems to be ripe for the harvest." The concluding article, on "Recollections of Noah Porter," by Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., is a delightful reminiscence of the great president of Yale.

THE *Century* for August is called the "Midsummer Holiday Number," and is a charming companion for the seaside or the mountains. Its opening paper, by F. Marion Crawford, on "Washington as a Spectacle," describes some phases of life in the most fascinating of American cities. The conclusion of "A Cumberland Vendetta," by John Fox, Jr., is contained in this number. The fourth installment of "Across Asia on a Bicycle," by Messrs. Allen and Sachtleben, follows, with some of the twenty-five hundred kodak views which they took on their memorable journey. In a paper on "Poe in the South" certain selections are given from the correspondence of the great poet, formerly in the possession of Dr. Griswold. They do not greatly redound to Poe's credit. "Dr. Morton's Discovery of Anæsthesia" is an intensely interesting account of the first use of ether in surgical operations, and puts the tardy crown upon the head of a discoverer whose honors have been disputed. A debate on woman suffrage, by Senator G. F. Hoar and Dr. J. M. Buckley, will attract attention for its timeliness and vigor. The senator advocates the extension of suffrage to woman and says, "When she shall be admitted to complete citizenship these qualities of American womanhood will become more and more the qualities of American citizenship itself."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July has as its table of contents: 1. "Lives of Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley;" 2. "Old Dorset;" 3. "Memoirs of an Internuncio;" 4. "The Verdict of the Monuments;" 5. "Marcella;" 6. "Death in Classical Antiquity;" 7. "Secret Negotiations of Marlborough and Berwick;" 8. "Bonney's Story of our Planet;" 9. "The Arabian Horse;" 10. "The Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville;" 11. "The Ministry of the Masses." In comparing the two great Oxonians noticed in the first article the writer says: "Pusey is, and must continue to remain, the representative of a Church and creed altogether alien to the great body of our countrymen; while Stanley will be found to minister to the imperative wants of their religious culture and aspiration,

for an indefinite future." The second article reviews Mr. Moule's *Old Dorset: Chapters in the History of the County*, and has naturally but a local interest. The initial sentence in "Memoirs of an Internuncio" is a clew to the whole review: "The curious work which is the subject of this article is of very exceptional interest, because it contains so many graphic details of events wherein Mgr. de Salamon bore a part during the Reign of Terror and under the government of the Directory." The fourth article reviews the recent work of Dr. Sayce on the testimony of the ancient monuments to the truth of the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the critic is sufficiently iconoclastic for all purposes. He finds it impossible to regard Dr. Sayce's volume as of "permanent literary value, on account of the many unsound and paradoxical statements that mar almost every page, representing views which are not generally accepted as final results, and ignoring knowledge which is contradictory to those views." Whoever is interested in Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her multiplying novels will appreciate the review of *Marcella*, which constitutes the fifth article. As regards the Grecian and Roman ideas of the future life, the writer of the next article finds that their views were most varied: "Without mentioning the Skeptics, there were those who believed that the soul lived in the tomb, or in hades, or in both places at the same time; others, that it had to go through a probation of many lives on earth, that it returned to the ether whence it came, or that it dwelt with the gods." The seventh article deals with a matter of diplomacy long since antiquated, the period covered being 1708, 1709. The eighth article is a review of a work on geology. The ninth sets forth the merits of the far-famed Arabian steed. The writer of the tenth article finds in the Countess Granville "a female counterpart to Horace Walpole" as to her society pictures, the difference between their letters being that Walpole wrote in a finished elegance, while the letters of the countess were "perfectly natural, and their publication was probably the last thing that she ever contemplated." In the biography by her son, now issued, we have "a genuine portrait of one of the most distinguished women of her time," and a "comprehensive survey of society in the most brilliant period of the nineteenth century." The final article, based upon certain recent speeches of Balfour, Harcourt, and the Duke of Devonshire, is a suggestion of possibly impending changes in the methods of English politics. After noticing the tendency of the ministry toward electioneering the writer concludes: "The political situation is evidently transitional, and the country is not likely to rest contented till statesmanship of a different order is once more in the ascendant."

The *Critical Review*, like the *Edinburgh*, is devoted to extended notices of current books. Among the volumes reviewed in the July number are: 1. Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, whose definition of evolution as "the gradual unfolding of the divine plan as regards all things physical, mental, moral, social, religious," Professor J. G. McKendrick thinks "will not commend itself to many thoroughgoing evolutionists." 2. Knight's

Aspects of Theism, which Professor A. B. Bruce recommends as "popular without being superficial," and "at once strictly philosophical and genuinely poetical." 3. Reusch's *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, treating of "subjects which the Jesuits prefer to leave untouched, and to see untouched by others." Among these is the "doctrine of the assassination of tyrants." 4. Upton's *Lectures on the Bases of Religious Belief*. 5. Kidd's *Social Evolution*, which A. T. Innes, of Edinburgh, finds a "rich and suggestive book," although it is "one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." 6. Pfleiderer's *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, constituting the Gifford Lectures before the University of Edinburgh, 1894. 7. Marson's *The Psalms at Work*, whose aim is "to exhibit the influence of the Psalms on the mind of Christendom." 8. Iverach's *Christianity and Evolution*, which shows that evolution, so far as it is scientifically established, "conflicts neither with theism, nor with the distinctive spiritual nature of man, nor with supernatural revelation." 9. Cave's *The Spiritual World*. 10. Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, in which the author, translating from the Armenian, gives "an insight into the practical working of Christianity during the first three centuries of its history." 11. Budé's *Vie de Jacob Vernet*, the distinguished theologian of Geneva. 12. Spitta's *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*, which is another microscopic search after New Testament errors by a critical scholar. 13. Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, which Major C. R. Conder pronounces "among the most scholarly yet published." 14. Arthur's *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, whose style "lacks lucidity," but which is "anything but dull reading." 15. *Report and Papers of the Fifth Annual Meeting* of the American Society of Church History. 16. Kerr Bain's sermons, entitled, *For Heart and Life*. 17. Houston's *The Daughter of Leontius*. 18. *Fallen Angels*, by "one of them," which undertakes the tremendous task of discovering "why the earth, that is the Lord's, with the fullness thereof, should be full of rapine, violence, cruelty, suffering, and misery." 19. Weiss's *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Blass's *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, and Weiss's *Die Johannes-Apokalypse*. 20. Mirbt's *die Wahl Gregors VII.* in which the author examines the question as to whether the election of Hildebrand to the papacy was canonically valid—an inquiry which impresses the reader as a little tardy, inasmuch as the great pope has been dead for over eight centuries!

The *Missionary Review* for August opens with an article on "The Real and the Romantic in Missions," by Dr. A. T. Pierson. Taking the recent work by James Johnston, M.D., on mission work in South Central Africa, as the basis of his article, Dr. Pierson aims to show that the book gives an incorrect impression of Christian progress in that distant land. As a whole it is "a mistake," and "those who would get at the complete truth as to African missions must listen to the testimony of other witnesses

besides the author of *Reality versus Romance.*" The Rev. A. H. Smith, of Shantung, China, writes the first of two papers on "Time as a Factor in Christian Missions." Mrs. A. R. Fenn, of Madrid, follows with a brief narration of needs in the "Chamberi Evangelical Mission, Madrid, Spain." Some wholesome words on the right training of missionaries are spoken by Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, in his paper on "The Place of Higher Education in Missionary Work." The Rev. James Douglas, of London, gives his third paper on the "Unoccupied Mission Fields of the World," treating particularly of the needs of Africa and South America. The latter, he says, "has with justice been termed the most neglected continent in the world." The Rev. S. A. Moffett discusses "Practical Confucianism and Practical Christianity in Korea." After describing the indifference to the aged sick and the dishonor to the dead which he had witnessed he concludes, "Theoretical Confucianism contrasted with Christianity in a Parliament of Religions at Chicago is one thing; practical Confucianism illustrated in Korea is quite another." The final contributions are on "Missionary Work in Northern Bulgaria," by Rev. L. T. Guild, and "The McAll Mission," by Louisa S. Houghton. The editorial departments which follow are full and entertaining, particularly noticeable being the account of the eleventh annual meeting of the International Missionary Union, at Clifton Springs, N. Y., June 13–20.

The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July contains: 1. "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," by Robert Watts, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "Side-Lights on the Correlation between Thoughts and Words," by H. C. Alexander, D.D.; 3. "The Original Manuscript of the Pentateuch," by H. A. White, D.D.; 4. "The Power of the People in the Government of the Church," by W. A. Campbell, D.D.; 5. "Addison Once More," by C. A. Smith, D.D. The first article is a discriminating review of Principal Fairbairn's great work. The second paper is a close discussion in the domain of metaphysics. In the third article Dr. White defines his own position on the subject discussed as follows: "We prefer still the theory of an original autograph of the Pentateuch by Moses. This theory does not deny the credibility of Old Testament history; it accepts the story of the Jewish race in the order in which it was recorded by inspired scribes; it calls not for assistance from any philosophical or linguistic hypotheses; it accepts the testimony of the Church as strong evidence in support of its claims, though not inspired and conclusive evidence. Moreover, a belief in the Mosaic autograph underlies the piety of many princes in Israel of the past, as well as of the present." The fourth paper is a discussion of a certain phase of Presbyterian polity, involving principles which prevail in general ecclesiastical law. A great literary light of the eighteenth century is noticed in the last article. The writer holds that, while Addison was "not one of the world's great men," he did a great work. The doings of the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South, at Macon, are also interestingly set forth in the editorial notes.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible: showing every Word of the Text of the Common English Version of the Canonical Books, and every Occurrence of each Word in Regular Order; together with a Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions, including the American Variations; also Brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek Words of the Original, with References to the English Words. By JAMES STRONG, S.T.D., LL.D. Quarto, pp. 1,809. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $6; half Russia, $8; half Morocco, $10—net.

The world of to-day is a very large one, and has a tendency to rapidly increase its proportions. The amount of information offered by book, magazine, and newspaper is fairly bewildering; and each of us must dismiss a large share thereof with only a casual glance. The rest of it is indexed and laid away for future reference. It is well, indeed, to develop the memory; but one despairs of retaining even a tithe of such information as can be utilized. Indexes are, therefore, in order. A concordance is an index of the Bible, and, if correct, a most useful aid to the student thereof. The probabilities of correctness in the volume before us will be considered below. A concordance, however, is not all that Dr. Strong has included in his work, but, as the title shows, there are two concordances and two dictionaries. Of these we shall write in order.

I. *The Main Concordance.* This is, of course, the main feature of the work, and upon its excellence depends the value of the whole. Two things are absolutely essential to a good concordance—completeness and facility of reference. Dr. Strong entered upon the task of making his concordance with these two features well in mind. We use the word "making" intentionally, as opposed to "compiling," for his is an original work and depends upon no other concordance for its material. This is not a readjustment of material furnished by the older concordances. It may interest the reader of this article to be made acquainted with the method pursued by our author. The Bible was divided into sections and assigned to his helpers. A list of unimportant particles was made, to be referred to merely by chapter and verse, with a superior figure signifying how many times the word occurred in each verse. Thus, under "the," "Ge $1:1^3$" indicates that the word appears three times in the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. All such references are excluded from the main concordance, and are found by themselves on pages 1220–1340. While the principal reason for this part of the work is to make good the claim to exhaustiveness, yet there are uses to which it may be profitably put. Outside of this list of particles all words were written with their contexts, and care was taken to make as complete a sentence as possible. Thus the manuscript was made directly from the text. When it was completed each word was placed in its alphabetical order. Then followed the work of revision, the standard of which was the *Parallel Bible*, large octavo, published at Oxford, England, 1886. Each passage was searched

out afresh in the Bible. The reference figures and the words were carefully compared, the line was checked on the margin of the manuscript, and the word at that place was erased with a pencil-mark on the face of the Bible. The unerased words were copied out and inserted in their proper place, and perfect completeness and accuracy was insured to the manuscript. While going through the press the same process of verification was repeated, the author reading the proofs twice or thrice. In order to show the superiority of this concordance in completeness and ease of reference a comparison is given between it and the concordances of Cruden and Young. The passage selected at random is Jer. xxxii, 10: "And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances." The references are under the following eight words: 1. "subscribed;" 2. "evidence;" 3. "sealed;" 4. "took;" 5. "witnesses;" 6. "weighed;" 7. "money;" 8. "balances."

STRONG.

1. "I *s·* the evidence, and sealed it,"
2. "I subscribed the *e·*, and sealed it,"
3. "subscribed the evidence, and *s·* it,"
4. "and sealed it, and *t·* witnesses,"
5. "evidence, and sealed it, and took *w·*,"
6. "*w·* him the money in the balances."
7. "weighed him the *m·* in the balances."
8. "weighed him the money in the *b·*"

CRUDEN.

1. "I *s.* the evidence, and sealed it"
2. "I subscribed the *e.* and sealed it"
3. "I subscribed and *s.* the evidence"
4. No reference given.
5. "I sealed the evidence and took *w.*"
6. No reference given.
7. Referred to under verse 9.
8. "I weighed him the money in the *b.*" The word, however, is not in its alphabetical order, following "bald," "baldness," etc.

YOUNG.

1. "Subscribed" given, but under "subscribe."
2. "I subscribed the evidence, and sealed (it)"
3. "Sealed" given, but under "seal."
4. "Took" is given under "take," but this passage is not referred to.
5. "Witnesses" is given under "witness."
6. "Weighed" is given under "weigh."
7. "and weighed . . . the money in the balances"
8. "weighed . . . the money in the balances"

Of the eight words by which one might expect to find the passage Dr. Strong gives all, each under its own heading, and with an exact quota-

tion of Scripture. Cruden gives three exact quotations, two inexact quotations, one indirect reference, and has two omissions. Young gives three direct references, four indirect (under another word), and omits any reference to "took."

Another advantage possessed by this concordance is its absolutely alphabetical arrangement. Take "hear" and its derivatives as an illustration. Dr. Strong arranges them as follows: "hear," "heard," "heardest," "hearer," "hearers," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing." Dr. Young has the following arrangement: "hear" (under which are also given references to "heard," "heardest," "hearest," "heareth," and "hearing"), "to cause to hear," "to let hear," "to make to hear," "to hear tell," "to hear before," "to neglect to hear," "heard," "which . . . heard," "to be heard," "to cause to be heard," "to let . . . be heard," "to make to be heard," "hearer" (under which is included "hearers"), "hearing," "to be dull of hearing," and "place of hearing." Cruden also arranges most arbitrarily: "hear," "hear me," "hear not or not hear," "would not hear," "hear now or now hear," "shall hear," "will hear," "hear the word of the Lord," "heard," "I have heard," etc. Of course we understand the plan of Dr. Young in following the words of the original; but to the English reader it is very puzzling. For example, we wish to find the passage, "Restore that which he took violently away" (Lev. vi, 4). We refer to "took" in Dr. Young's Concordance and find only one reference, with nothing to indicate that the word occurs more than once in the Bible. We bethink ourselves of "take," and in its eighty-third division we find our wished-for reference. We have meantime gone over the Old and New Testaments, and found the words "take," "taken," "takest," "taketh," and "took." We see, however, that there are fifty-seven more divisions, and comfort ourselves that our reference was not postponed to the one hundred and fortieth.

II. *The Comparative Concordance.* This is a very helpful portion of the work, showing as it does the various readings of the Authorized and Revised Versions. Thus, if one is reading 2 Cor. x, 1, and wishes to know whether the Revised Version has, in this verse, another rendering for the word "base," he consults the Main Concordance and finds that the quotation is followed by an asterisk (*), signifying that there is a difference. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, he sees that the Revised Version has "lowly." Or, if reading in the Revised Version, "I made supplication for thee" (Luke xxii, 32), he finds by reference to the Comparative Concordance that the Authorized uses "have prayed."

III. Next follow concise dictionaries of the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament. These dictionaries are made invaluable by having a number attached to each Hebrew and Greek word, which number will be found in the Concordance opposite its corresponding English word, in Roman type if for a Hebrew word, and in italic if for a Greek word. To those familiar with Hebrew and Greek the dictionaries are of great service; but they may also be used by those who are familiar with the English alone. Thus if one refers to "strive" in Exod. xxi, 22, he will find the number

"5,327." Turning to this number in the Hebrew Dictionary, he learns that the verb translated "strive" means *to go forth, to be expelled*, and has the derivative meaning of *to quarrel*. The Hebrew Dictionary contains 8,674 words, and the Greek Dictionary 5,624. Following the Hebrew Dictionary is a valuable table showing the places where the Hebrew and English Bibles differ in the division of chapter and verse.

Having considered the several portions of the work, let us summarize the method of using it. Suppose that one wishes to find the location in Scripture of the passage, "Let them be ashamed and confounded together that seek after my soul to destroy it." The Main Concordance, under the word "ashamed," shows the place to be Psalm xl, 14. After the quotation he sees a double obelisk (‡), indicating that the American revisers recommended a different rendering. Turning to the Comparative Concordance, that rendering is found to be "put to shame." Had there been a single obelisk (†) it would have indicated a change of rendering agreed to by the English revisers alone. An asterisk (*) would also show a change of rendering, but one agreed to by all the revisers. The number "954," in Roman type, following the quotation, refers to the Hebrew Dictionary, under which number the reader is told that the Hebrew word translated "ashamed" is בּוֹשׁ, *boosh*—properly, *to pale;* by implication, *to be ashamed;* also, *to be disappointed* or *delayed*, etc. Surely a work which places in one's hand so much information and makes it so accessible will be highly appreciated. One need have little of the prophetic gift to venture the prediction that this volume will speedily take the place of all other large concordances in the studies of well-informed men. Its history abounds in romantic elements. It is a history of mental and mechanical labor extending over thirty years. Very pleasant is it to recall those employed at various times in its construction; the slowly growing manuscript, gradually assuming remarkable proportions; the many suggested arrangements of the materials accumulated; the additional features constantly presenting themselves to the mind of the author; and to view at last the accomplished work which rewards his magnificent scholarship. But greater than all was the author himself, patient in labor, genial to his colaborers, apt in anticipating the needs of those requiring such a work, sanguine of its ultimate success, and possessed of faith in the appreciation of the public. For all this the world is now the richer. The lamented author, in this magnificent achievement, has left us a final proof of his long-recognized ability and scholarship. We congratulate those who shall become the happy possessors of the book. We congratulate the publishers upon the opportunity of placing their imprint on its title-page, and upon the typographical excellence of the volume.

Systematic Theology. By JOHN MILEY, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 537. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.

Methodism may well be thankful that, in the ripeness of his years and with powers unimpaired, Professor Miley has been spared to put into permanent form for the use of the Church his exposition of the victorious

Wesleyan-Arminian belief. For a generation the Church has been looking for a modern restatement of its teaching, and has eagerly scanned each new writing in the hope that it might fill the waiting place. Professor Miley's work in the first volume seemed so satisfactory that, almost before the ink was dry, it was placed upon the Conference Course of Study for Methodist preachers. And the second volume has enjoyed the unique compliment of being anticipatively placed upon the same list two years before it was published. That this action commends itself to the Church is an indication of the esteem in which the writer is held.

An indication of the modernness of the author's outlook meets us on the very threshold in the reality with which he strives to present the human nature of Christ. There is great significance in the way in which studies in the consciousness of Jesus are coming to displace the former abstract and far-away discussions of the God-man nature. The mysteries of this latter phenomenon are profound, and may seem well-nigh inexplicable. But there is a promise of some measure of success to every intelligent, sympathetic man who shall try to realize how the progressive manifestation of the divine in Jesus seemed to himself. Such studies are inspiring and practical; and here Professor Miley's work is excellent. His chapter on "The Sympathy of Christ," which is really the efflorescence of his Christological discussion, is exceedingly real, timely, and valuable. It is comparatively new ground. Little of worth has been written concerning it. The subject is in need of much further development, not along the lines of the older sentimentality, nor of the later loose conceptions of a vague pity in the heart of Jesus, but in the direction of a clearer realization of the consciousness of the ultimate suffering God, who cannot rest while his creatures sin and suffer. Professor Miley has done a vast amount of careful and discriminating thinking upon this point, and his results are stimulating and suggestive.

His now standard work on *The Atonement in Christ* is, of course, substantially incorporated in the present volume. A recent visit to a certain Calvinistic theological seminary disclosed the fact that most of the students owned a copy of that work, which they were quietly coming to regard as indispensable. There has been a feeling that Calvinism was necessarily harsh because based upon justice, and that Arminianism was somewhat unsafe because based upon an overestimate of God's love and mercy. Professor Miley's work does much to establish the reverse, and to prove that justice is the chief claim and ground of Arminian teaching. His presentation of the governmental theory of the atonement includes all that is valuable in the moral influence theory, and excludes the monstrous assumptions and inconsistencies of the satisfaction theory. And yet it does leave us with the wish that it had a little more weight and content. We are aware of the danger of this wish. Such an instinct in the past has driven thinkers to the "satisfaction" and "commercial" theories. And we suspect that the remedy will come in connection with the psychological tendencies of our day; that sin will come to be regarded less forensically and more pathologically; and that the "at-one-ment"

with God will be very little considered in its formal bearings, but rather as the restoration of the original outworking through man of the indwelling God. Meanwhile, so far as facing the older controversies goes, Miley's governmental theory is satisfactory and final.

And now, looking to a reception of the benefit of the atonement by the individual, the author follows with a really great chapter on man's "Freedom of Choice." The preliminary discussion of the will, in the main, follows Whedon, as does also the excellent discussion of motives (those external or internal forces or considerations moving the will to a choice) and of the ruling motive—the strongest of the single motives or their resultant. The great difficulty has always been to ascribe to the will the creative power of acting above and contrary to motive, without, on the other hand, emptying it of significance until it becomes the operation of a mere freakish fiat. It is at this point that Professor Miley makes a strong and inspiring picture of the intrinsic manhood, rational and godlike, rising up to assert itself; liable, indeed, to the weakness of proving inadequate to cope with adverse motives, and yet originally designed to be true to itself in the face of all motives and helped under grace to be again thus victoriously true. It is, after all, the cold paring down of the soul to purely formal elements for convenience of discussion that has given the hopeless aspect to discussions of the will. But the conception of the vital, energizing soul, of a nature instinct with active, penetrative force, sweeps away such imaginary helplessness, as a living person will often step in among discouraging impossibilities and with a smile and a stroke banish them all. This is the reason why, when philosophers have denied responsibility and freedom, the unlearned have always known that they could do right if they would, and have felt self-condemned when they did wrong. This is why Arminianism has always commended itself to the common people and to the unprejudiced. Purely formal thinkers and system-makers are apt to overlook the fact that the living soul will act vitally, and that the universal instinct of ideality is simply an irrepressible striving after a choice of the intrinsically highest and best. There is hope and help in this chapter of Professor Miley's. And, in this connection, it is an encouraging sign of our time to note that one of our profoundest thinkers, Professor Ormond, of Princeton University, has just published a volume, *Basal Concepts in Philosophy*, with the professed aim of introducing a greater consideration of vital energy as an element of philosophic thought. He would regard the soul, not as a dead subject lying upon the dissecting table, but rather as a trained athlete stripped for the contest.

The same instinct for reality is manifest in the discussion of justification. The purely forensic has little charm for this theologian of ours. In his treatment of sanctification he seems to see how much has been done by unwise discussion and profession to bring a great and needed teaching into disrepute. He gives great consideration to modern phases of the preaching of this doctrine; but he wisely discredits the "second-blessing" theory as degrading the conception of the new birth in order to pave the

way for the magnifying of other experience. That the new birth may fail of its full achievement he concedes, and the experience of a second blessing he regards as possible and frequent; but he declines to regard this as the normal expectation, and does not interpret Mr. Wesley as exclusively maintaining it. In the discussion of baptism we are glad to note the emphasis on infant baptism and Church membership as rights of Christian childhood. The discussion of the intermediate state is rather odd. The author says: "We find no clear light upon this subject in the Old Testament. . . . Even in the eschatology of the New Testament we find nothing decisive on this question. . . . In the earlier history of the Church the doctrine of an intermediate place was widely held. . . . But the Churches of the Reformation rejected it." And then, leaving the question open, he goes on through a whole chapter to describe what, if an intermediate state exists at all, it is and what it is not. We suspect that a little healthy agnosticism on some points which the older theologians were so sure of has been no bad thing in the development of Methodist doctrine. The premillennial coming of Christ finds in Dr. Miley no countenance. It never has been a Methodist doctrine. His statements ought to be a healthy antidote to the feverish and unhealthy motives to missionary and evangelistic activity that are just now being so vigorously emphasized in some quarters. Methodists believe in the sufficiency of the ministry and power of the Holy Ghost. While accepting the recorded view of future punishment, the author says that the Scriptures are the only sufficient source of our knowledge of its duration, and that this knowledge mainly hangs upon the significance of *αἰών* and its derivatives. We think we see signs of a less emphatic use of the word "future punishment" and of an increasing use of the expression "future condition," as corresponding to the needs of modern orthodox belief. The discussion of the inspiration of the Scriptures in the Appendix is unsatisfactory. It gives the conventional theories, and is sufficiently reasonable in its remarks upon them. But it does not touch with any living connection the questions that are seething and burning in the minds of our younger scholars and thinkers. Probably Professor Miley feels that these questions are far from being settled, and that in their present crude condition it is not best to enter upon a discussion which he cannot hope to finish. Certainly none who know him will imagine that he would wish to withhold his brethren from the most searching investigation of these matters. But we feel that with characteristic modesty he has underestimated the value to the Church of a statement from his pen looking away from the past and into the future. It would have heartened many a worried soul.

Professor Miley's style is always real. It means something to both reader and writer. Occasionally he will half state a truth and leave one in suspense while he restates it from another standpoint. But he is never vague nor double in his use of terms. His analysis is wonderfully minute, and his table of contents a great help in grasping and remembering the book, though occasionally he seems to overanalyze. We said at the outset that the merits of his *Systematic Theology* has been largely taken for granted

in advance. There is a significance in this. The first volume, valuable as it was, has excited but little discussion. This means that Arminian theology, while practically victorious everywhere, is not now facing living issues as it once did. It is impossible to read Watson without feeling that he is in the thick of the fray. The reader of Miley must call up from his knowledge of history the foes that are there controverted. He has never seen them; they are dumb, or dead. His work is good, great, true, and contains that which will enable us to wage war and win victories—but not in the old way. It is historic, not prophetic. The foe is not now the grim, iron, Calvinistic faith; it is the no-faith of a busy, concrete world. The men and problems that our faith must master are not in books; they are in the spirit of the time. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together again in the birth of the new era. It is in the shop, the mine, the field, the corporation chamber, the *salon*, the slum, the college, in agitators' assemblies, and in dramshops that we have now to conquer. The old formation must break up and array itself against the foes of to-day. We have the truth. We are hampered by no crippling errors. And in the more human presentation of the Son of man, who was also the Son of God, and in the more ethical applications of his teaching to the needs of to-day, we shall seek the answer to our prayer—"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Its test will be the words of John: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Not until this re-formation shall have passed into history are we likely to have another great restatement of our faith, and never one more manly and straightforward. May we be as true to the calling of our day as the record of Professor Miley shows our fathers to have been to theirs!

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Social Evolution. By BENJAMIN KIDD. 8vo, pp. 348. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

It is not difficult to understand why this powerful book, by a new author, has achieved a prompt success, commanding general and respectful attention. It opens thus: "To the thoughtful mind the outlook at the close of the nineteenth century is profoundly interesting. History can furnish us no parallel to it. The problems which loom across the threshold of the new century surpass in magnitude any that civilization has hitherto had to encounter. We seem to have reached a time in which there is abroad in men's minds an instinctive feeling that a definite stage in the evolution of Western civilization is drawing to a close, and that we are entering on a new era." The book concerns itself, in a serious, dignified, and able manner, with some of these looming problems. Asserting that there is as yet no science of human society, properly so called, and that the larger part of the present century's work in sociology has been merely destructive, it proceeds to grapple in a vigorous and suffi-

ciently original way with unsolved problems; and by a constructive argument, fitly framed together from a broad and intelligent study of the facts of the social situation and of the literature of the subject, it presents clearly and forcibly the author's conclusions. It has assumptions and assertions with which many readers will disagree. We do not believe that man as a social creature is more important than man as an individual —quite the reverse. Social evolution is best promoted by a just recognition and development of the individual. Mr. Kidd criticises sharply such authorities as Huxley and Spencer. Of the former he says that the result of his writing on social questions is to send his readers on their way with, for guiding principle, no particular faith or hope in anything. As to the latter, he regrets that Mr. Spencer did not wait till he knew more and had matured his thinking before beginning to write the *Synthetic Philosophy;* he should have postponed it until "his intellect had an opportunity of realizing the full transforming effect, in the higher regions of thought, and more particularly in the department of sociology, of that development of biological science which began with Darwin, which is still in full progress, and to which Professor Weismann has recently made the most notable contributions." This charge of immaturity and haste which the author makes against Herbert Spencer's *magnum opus* is quickly visited upon his own head by a Scotch reviewer, who says, "Mr. Kidd's book, admirable alike in its materials and in its motives, is apparently one more instance of rapid and premature crystallization—crystallization around a tempting paradox." The author quotes Professor Huxley as saying that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the greater part of the human family, a kindly comet that should destroy the earth's inhabitants would be a desirable visitor. He quotes Henry George: "It is my deliberate opinion that if, standing on the threshold of being, one were given the choice of entering life as a Terra del Fuegan, a Black Fellow of Australia, an Esquimau in the Arctic Circle, or among the lowest classes in such a highly civilized country as Great Britain, he would make infinitely the better choice in selecting the lot of the savage." The chapter headings afford an idea of the line of thought: "The Outlook;" "Conditions of Human Progress;" "There is no Rational Sanction for the Conditions of Progress;" "The Central Feature of Human History;" "The Function of Religious Beliefs in the Evolution of Society;" "Western Civilization;" "Modern Socialism;" "Human Evolution is not Primarily Intellectual." The author has been taken to task for implying that religion is antirational, or opposed to the conclusions of reason. We do not so understand him. His main point is that the human reason alone cannot present any authority or sanction sufficient to control human conduct in a way to solve the painful and perplexing social problem. Society can never approximate the ideal or the necessary social condition except by the impulse and guidance of religion, which alone brings motives, influences, principles, and sanctions sufficient for the tremendous task. Mr. Kidd concludes thus: "The fact of our time which overshadows all others is the arrival of democracy. But

the perception of the fact is of relatively little importance if we do not also understand that it is a new democracy. There are many who speak of the new ruler of nations as if he were the same idle *demos* whose ears the dishonest courtiers have tickled from time immemorial. It is not so. Even those who attempt to lead him do not yet quite understand him. Those who think that he is about to bring chaos instead of order do not rightly apprehend the nature of his strength. They do not perceive that his arrival is the crowning result of an ethical movement, in which qualities and attributes which we have all been taught to regard as the very highest of which human nature is capable find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race."

Substance and Shadow; or, The Real and Unreal. By JOHN C. HOLMES, M.D. With an Introduction by WINFIELD S. MCCOWAN, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 255. New York: Printed for the author by Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Here is an unexpected volume from the pen of a busy physician. While the medical profession, "from Hippocrates and Galen to Oliver Wendell Holmes," are not altogether strangers to the world of letters, yet for the most part their lives are too crowded with action and consecration to the demands of human life in jeopardy to permit their general enlistment in the ranks of authorship. That the present writer has had the inclination to traverse ground without the bounds of medical literature and has found opportunity to publish his present volume is, therefore, no small credit to his industry. The book that he edits consists of a series of brief papers on a great variety of subjects, which have no vital connecting link, but which are here grouped in a common association. The title, "Substance and Shadow," which is attached to the first essay, gives name to the volume, the thought of the writer being that shadow always suggests a substance, or that things seen argue for the invisible, the divine, the eternal. The whole book is a record, too seldom opened to the public view, of a physician's meditations on the great subjects of existence, manhood, death, spiritism, immortality, written by one in too close touch with the great problems of existence and destiny to be aught but reflective and serious. An extract at random from the author's table of contents shows that his twenty-seven chapters include such miscellaneous topics as "The Land of the Veda and Christian America," "Choosing an Occupation," "The Walk an Index of Character," "Creation of the Earth as Described by Pagan Writers," "The Intermediate State." In general the essays show the long exercise of those trained powers of observation which mark the skilled physician and make him a leader among men. It might be possible to offer criticism upon the structure of some of the papers; and it would certainly be appropriate to protest against the insertion of dissecting-room, deathbed, and ghost stories in a volume for general reading, did not the moral sought justify the writing of such grewsome tales. The book, in a word, is a tribute to the scholarship and intellectual force of Dr. Holmes. It is discursive, inquiring, philosophical, and, best of all, is a reverent acknowledgment

of man's spiritual nature and of the reality of that invisible realm whither the pilgrimage of life clearly tends.

The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith. By JOSIAH PARSONS COOKE, LL.D., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 325. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Lord Bacon wrote, "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested." Professor Cooke's volume belongs to the third of these classes. Its theme is for a lifetime, and its argument is one to be studied and restudied without end. It is a great book, more weighty, conclusive, and convincing than *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, and a worthy mate for that notable piece of suggestive reasoning, *The Unseen Universe*. This second edition was urgently needed, for the first was so nearly out of market that there was difficulty in finding a copy. It is a contribution of permanent value to the thought of the world. In it an eminent scientist declares and shows that from a scientific standpoint it is clear that the premises of theology are as solid and its conclusions as valid as those of physical science. The book is well described in the author's Preface: "The motive of the work is indicated by the title, the chief argument being that the popular objections to Christian beliefs might be urged with equal force against each of the predominant systems of science of the present day, and are the necessary result of the limitations of our human knowledge; that, so far from proving the inconsequence of our religious beliefs, the oppositions so greatly magnified plainly point to a condition in which the limitations that now narrow our vision will be removed. In following out this argument the author has discussed the basis of scientific systems; the modes of thought distinguished as induction and deduction, by which general principles have been apprehended and their scope constantly widened; the significance of the so-called laws of nature; the validity of the prevailing theories or systems of science; and the predominant principles of scientific thought." If any busy man has time for only one chapter of the book, let him read the last of the ten, "The Systems Compared—Religion and Science." We wish we could present a copy to every skeptic who takes the trouble to examine and think. We wish there were some authority to command the book into every parsonage in the land. It is full of weapons and ammunition for the pulpit and the lecture room. Whoever of the Lord's sharpshooters cares to fill his cartridge belt with forty rounds against foes of the faith, let him resort hither and he will be able to load and fire with telling effect.

Outline Study of Law. By ISAAC FRANKLIN RUSSELL, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor in the University of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 280. New York: L. K. Strouse & Co. Price, sheep, $2.

The ignorance of the general public as to the nature and scope of the civil law is deplorable. Like the other professions, jurisprudence is a shut and barred door through which the multitude never enter with their careless feet. Because this indifference is, however, neither necessary nor

advantageous, the publication of such elementary treatises as that now under consideration should go far to rectify the misconceptions of the law which ordinarily exist. Some of these misconceptions, as pointed out by Professor Russell in his introductory lecture, are that the law "is an expression of ultimate right; that it has its origin in a legislative enactment; that it can be enforced in a community, notwithstanding public sentiment may be against it; that it can create capital, fix the rate of wages, limit the hours of toil, and suspend the operation of the law of supply and demand; that it is the antecedent and cause of public opinion, instead of being the last thing to yield to the pressure of advancing civilization." To rectify these misjudgments, to define the true nature of law, and to present a generally attractive outline of the study of jurisprudence for the uninstructed is the purpose of the present volume. Its defects must be left to the specialist to point out. Of its commendable qualities, its comprehensiveness is not the least conspicuous. Defining at the outset the nature of law in general, it sweeps the field of Roman, feudal, and modern law, considers the irregularities arising from national, social, and commercial relations, discusses the law of evidence and the jurisdiction of courts, and closes with a lecture on "Crimes and their Punishment." Though intended only as an "outline," it is an outline that apparently omits only the unimportant. What is said, moreover, has the quality of clearness. Neither its definitions nor enlargements are couched in that technical phraseology which is the despair of the everyday man; but, relieved of abstrusities, they are clothed in language sufficiently lucid for the ordinary reader. By illustration and reference also to pertinent cases upon the records of the courts the author makes his teaching clear. Dr. Russell has done a difficult service well. While he cannot hope to make trained lawyers of all the nonmatriculants who heard his lectures or of all the readers who may chance upon his book, he has certainly found the way in which to set forth technical and abstract truth attractively before the unthinking. From a layman's standpoint the book has a mission to accomplish in the world.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Epochs of Indian History. Edited by JOHN ADAM, M.A. Vol. I: *Ancient India*—2000 *B. C.*—800 *A.D.* By ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, etc. Vol. II: *The Muhammadans*—1001-1761 *A. D.* By J. D. REES, C.I.E., I.C.S., author of *Tours in India, H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence in Southern India*, etc. Small 16mo, pp. 196, 192. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, each $1.

The most romantic episode in Alexander the Great's career was his invasion of a portion of India. From his time down to the present day she has exercised a decided influence on the imagination and the destinies of the civilized world. The historian Robertson devoted a volume to a discussion of the commercial relations existing in ancient times between her and the nations of the West. Marco Polo was not the only traveler who pene-

trated to her territories and brought back wonderful tales of strange customs and strange peoples. It was her commerce which enriched the Italian maritime republics in the Middle Ages; and it was the destruction of the old routes formerly followed by that commerce—which was brought about by the progress of Turkish conquest—which led the Portuguese to essay the circumnavigation of Africa and to trace a sea route to the shores of India, and Columbus to still further change the world's history by his discovery of our continent, whose inhabitants he called Indians. Yet the average intelligent man has but a confused conception of India's geography and the vaguest of ideas concerning her institutions, her history, and her industrial and sociological development. To him it is chiefly known as a land of sharply defined contrasts: of cultivated classes and miserably degraded masses; of beautiful temples and wretched homes; of densely compacted populations and vast wildernesses of savage jungle. Histories of India have been written, but are not widely known or easily accessible. The appearance of these volumes, therefore, is opportune. In his Preface the editor says: "To write a history of India on the scale of a Freeman, or even of a Macaulay, would, from the multiplicity and diversity of detail, be a task of superhuman magnitude. The story of India during the past four thousand years is the story, not of one country, but of many countries, not of one nation, but of many nations, told not in one language, but in many languages, and influenced in turn by the greatest religions of the world. In consequence we find the best historical work in the Indian field is bestowed upon special periods or particular areas." He further says: "While it is hoped that the political history of the various epochs will be found sufficient for the student and in accordance with the latest results of research, the first aim of the writers will be to give a history of the Indian people, to follow the varied development of institutions and constitutions, to mark the growth and decay of literature and science, to watch the constant flux of law and religion." The first volume opens with the prehistoric invasion of India by the Aryan Hindoos. For a period of some six hundred years they were occupied in conquering the Punjab from the "dark-skinned aborigines," who stubbornly contested every portion of their land. From the Indus Hindoo colonies spread over the Ganges valley and founded States, which developed a civilization "far in advance of that of their sturdy forefathers of the Punjab." From the north the Hindoos began to overrun, about the year B. C. 1000, the Deccan and southern India. But in northern India "the Aryan races had penetrated in vast numbers into the Punjab and the Gangetic valley, and had all but exterminated or expelled the children of the soil, who were utter barbarians; and the population of northern India therefore is, to the present day, more or less of pure Aryan stock." On the other hand, the Hindoo colonists among the vast aboriginal populations of the Deccan and the South were satisfied "with introducing Hindoo civilization, language, and religion; and to this day the majority of the population of southern and eastern India are of non-Aryan stock, who have adopted the higher civilization, literature, and religion of their Aryan

Hindoo conquerors and teachers." The author describes how the various tribes of northern India were eventually brought under one rule soon after Alexander's retreat; and how all India was united under the sway of the emperors of Magadha and later rulers. A large portion of the book is devoted to the matters mentioned above in the second quotation from the editor's Preface. A period of two centuries, during which Indian history is a blank, separates the first and second volumes of the series. The latter traces the various Mohammedan dynasties down to the period of British occupation. Three other volumes—*The Mahrattas*, *The Dravidians*, and *The British Power in India*—are in preparation and will complete the series. We recommend it to those who desire to understand the past, and therefore better understand the present, of our greatest mission field. They will find here in concise form and in volumes not too formidable much that will explain the present condition of the Indian people. In view of the complications now existing in Korea it would be well if similar volumes, by competent scholars proficient in the native literatures, could be issued regarding the history of the mysterious nations of the extreme Orient.

Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By PAUL SABATIER. Translated by LOUISE SEYMOUR HOUGHTON. 8vo, pp. 448. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The nature of true sainthood is suggested to the reader as he turns the pages of this exceptional biography. While Francis of Assisi is technically called a "saint" by the decree of the Roman Catholic Church, we cannot feel that his rank in the true body of Christ turns on the official act of pope or other hierarch. Character is the true mark of sainthood. In the Baptist and the Reformed Churches, in Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and every other denomination of the long list are those who have received substantial canonization. But none the less because Francis was of the Romish faith is his biography instructive. The son of a wealthy cloth merchant, Pietro Bernardone, he was born about 1182, when the troubadours sang their songs and the habits of chivalry were on men. For the many incidents that made up his life, both in his secular career and after his entrance upon the monastic order, the reader must consult the volume itself. The youth of Francis, with its pursuit of pleasure and its dreams of military exploit; the grievous sickness which brought him to repentance; his renunciation of the world in spite of that bitter opposition of Bernardone which haled him before consuls and the bishop; his rise to leadership; the gradual development of his religious order; his self-sacrifices and poverty; the impression on his body of the stigmata of the Crucified; his last days, so full of "radiant beauty" that Thomas of Celano says he "went to meet death singing," are some of the prominent features in the career of this founder of the Franciscan order which, after nearly seven centuries, are again recalled. The story has an emphatically mediæval flavor. The habits of Italian life which prevailed, the degradation into which the Church had fallen, the emphasis upon the value of monastic orders and monkish vows are mat-

ters which the intelligent student of Church history will estimate by the standards of the thirteenth century, rather than of the nineteenth. The great price paid for sainthood by St. Francis—the renunciation of patrimony, the sacrifice of friendships, and monastic poverty—suggests that he who would attain true sainthood must make all sacrifices, and that for the Christian who reckons sainthood as the chief prize sacrifices of every sort are dross. The biography is the story of one of the foremost churchmen of his times, and is not only intrinsically valuable but is besides of importance as a link in the great chain of ecclesiastical history. Certain localisms or phrases vividly remind us that the scene is laid on foreign soil and that the book is a translation. Yet for fullness of detail, for the supplemental study of the historic records consulted, and for general superiority of authorship this life of St. Francis merits a prominent place in the lists of mediæval biography. Though the pope is said to have put his ban upon the publication, because the author is a Protestant, we must respectfully differ in judgment with his holiness, Leo XIII.

Studies in Oriental Social Life, and Gleams from the East on the Sacred Page. By H. Clay Trumbull, Author of *Kadesh-Barnea*, etc. 8vo, pp. 437. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Probably the value of oriental study has never been more generally recognized by biblical scholars than at the present. The changelessness of the East through the long centuries affords, in the order of divine providence, an overwhelming confirmation of the Scripture record; and in the modern Palestine the student finds a close photograph of that other Palestine which Abraham, Isaiah, and Jesus trod. This truth, although so familiar as to be a truism, is most effectively stated by Mr. Trumbull in his introductory chapter as follows: "The prime advantage of a study of oriental social life is that the past is there found reproduced in the present as reflecting the ancient history of our race. . . . There, that which is, is that which has been; and that which is and has been in the cradle-place of humanity is that which has put its impress upon humanity everywhere. The study of the oriental present is, in fact, a study of the universal past, and therefore it is a study for all and for always." With such a view of the relation existing between modern and ancient orientalism Mr. Trumbull has added a valuable volume to the increasing records of Egyptian archæologists, Palestine geographers, and Christian students delving in Eastern lands. Some of his chapters cover such matters of social custom as betrothals, weddings, hospitality, funerals, and mourning. In his chapter on "Food in the Desert" he discusses the support of the Israelites on their journey through the wilderness. The symbolism of the pilgrimage idea he finds to be the "consciousness of being absent from the Father's home while yet present in the body." A charming meditation on the person of Jesus and his gift of satisfying water to man is contained in "An Outlook from Jacob's Well;" and in a description of "The Samaritan Passover," as witnessed by him, he finds the ancient rite a shadow of the greater sacrifice to come. His volume

as a whole the author claims to be more than a narrative of personal observation or a miscellaneous gathering of oriental illustrations of Scripture truth; it is rather "a classified treatment of certain phases of oriental life and methods of thought, vivified by personal experiences in the East; and herein it has a distinctive character." To this feature must be added the further consideration of charm of print and beauty of illustration, which make the book more than ordinarily attractive. For the devout inquirer after the significance of Palestine life the volume must quicken faith and promote desire for further investigation.

Benjamin Griffith. Biographical Sketches Contributed by Friends. Edited by CHARLES H. BANES, A.M. 12mo, pp. 296. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

The leading facts in the life of Dr. Griffith may be easily stated. Born among the Pennsylvania mountains, on the Juniata River, in 1821, he was educated at Madison (now Colgate) University, began his pastorate in the Baptist Church in 1847, entered upon the secretaryship of the American Baptist Publication Society in 1857, and continued in this important service until his recent decease. These items are, however, a meager setting forth of a consecrated, useful, and honored career, whose influence has permeated the entire Baptist Church within the last third of a century. The secret of his success is one of the lessons of this biography. He was not, it is declared, "a genius," yet he was "a man among men, far-sighted, forceful, clear and decided in his convictions, courageous but calm in his expressions. From the moment he assumed the responsibility for an undertaking it entered into and became a part of his life. His purpose was intensified by his best thought and led him to develop and broaden the duty intrusted to him by every proper means at his command." His long and intimate relation to the literature of his Church; his interest in Sunday school work, the Baptist Young People's Union, and orphanage work at Philadelphia; and his sympathy for other benevolent and Christian labor are features in his ended life which are recalled in these biographical papers. His unpretending but hearty biography should come as an inspiration to the young manhood of his denomination and of other creeds.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The First Words from God; or, Truths Made Known in the First Two Chapters of His Holy Word. Also the Harmonizing of the Records of the Resurrection Morning. By FRANCIS W. UPHAM, LL.D., Author of *The Church and Science*, etc. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

Out of the past comes the present, and only a knowledge of the beginning can explain the mysterious future. In this belief Dr. Upham has devoted the first part of his volume to that familiar yet inexhaustible task, the study of the creative days. Reverently accepting the existence of the great First Cause, and the further fact that all organization and life have proceeded from God, he seeks as a Christian scholar to discover the wonders of Scripture cosmology. His method is at once patient,

detailed, and original. Though we have not opportunity to cite the conclusions which he deduces from his investigation of the Hebraic records and his voluminous study of Christian and scientific literature, it is enough to call the attention of the reader to this latest comment on the creative story of Genesis for his leisurely perusal. As to the harmonizing of the four records of the resurrection morning, Dr. Upham has attempted an epitome of the method followed by the late William Sewell, D.D., from 1836 to 1841 professor of moral philosophy at Oxford. That the gospels differ in their narratives of the resurrection is conceded, the fact being that "on Easter morning, at different times, four companies of women visited the holy sepulcher." "Each evangelist," says Dr. Upham, "tells of a visit of which the others say nothing; yet 'in each gospel there are indications that the writer, while giving his own account of what occurred to his own party, had a thorough acquaintance with the fact that there were other visits besides the one which he related.'" The method of proof followed by Dr. Sewell is based upon a microscopic study of the meanings of Greek words, which are commonly translated in the same way, and for the republication of this form of proof the Christian world owes Dr. Upham its sincere gratitude. His book, in a word, is valuable because it is not cheap, narrow, or small. As one who feels the dignity of noble thinking the author moves along the plane of lofty discussion where the horizon is wide and the sunlight bright overhead.

The Friendship of Nature. A New England Chronicle of Birds and Flowers. By MABEL OSGOOD WRIGHT. 24mo, pp. 238. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The writer of this booklet has lived close to the great heart of nature. As we read her words we in turn feel the spell that is upon her spirit. The song of the thrush, the oriole, and the bobolink; the blooming of the larkspur and the aster; the sweeping of the south wind over the mignonette; the weaving of autumn's loom; and the white snows of winter are among the myriad sights and sounds of nature which she interprets and to whose interpretation all hearts give cordial assent. To follow her detailed study of the seasons is not possible. We cannot, however, forego the mention of the hopeful significance which the winter has for her. "Age and winter," as goes her moralizing, "should take for their sign the witch hazel, the flower of unconquered hope. There is no winter or age for the heart that feels nature's throbbings and crowns the earth's beauty with human brotherhood." And then follows a charming and hitherto unpublished letter from him who has found no winter in old age, the perennially vigorous and fruitful Dr. Holmes: "It is a mixed kind of feeling with which one reaches the top of this Pisgah and peeps over into the mists that hover over Jordan. I felt as if Bryant was old and out of sight on his seventieth birthday, but now—bless me! why, what did the psalmist mean with his 'threescore years and ten?' . . . The horizon flies as we travel westward, the sun goes back as it did for Joshua. At fifty years seventy seems like sunset. At seventy we find it is as yet only cheerful, shining afternoon. Nature has more artifices than all the human conjurers that ever lived."

Joseph Cummings

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1894.

ART. I.—JOSEPH CUMMINGS.

"HAS my record been a good one? It will be accepted, will it not?" These sentences came from the lips of Joseph Cummings the last evening before he went away from the earth. We think a generally affirmative response to these questions comes from the earth and from the skies.

If any former student under President Cummings or any parishioner or any reader expects the writer of this article to dissect his character or balance against each other his defects and virtues they may give over the reading, for they will be disappointed. Such proceeding is neither justifiable nor honestly instructive until the generations in which the subject lived have passed away. Prejudices and judgments of the living are frequently based upon pure selfishness, and ought to have little weight with us in making up our estimate of the work of a worker whose labor is ended. The character and the results of the work of men ought to determine our judgment and the measure of our praise. The human obstacles overcome frequently constitute the real index of merit.

Joseph Cummings was born March 3, 1817, at Falmouth, Me., a commonwealth which has furnished the Church and the State with many spiritual and intellectual giants. His heredity was good in blood, in brain, in grace. Graduating with honor from Wesleyan University in 1840, at twenty-three years of age, he immediately took a professor's chair. On August 15, 1842, a very important event took place in his life, as on that date he was married to Miss Deborah S. Haskell, a woman of varied

accomplishments and possessing singular fitness for supplementing his work both as pastor and educator. Every student of Wesleyan and of the Northwestern remembers Mrs. Cummings with reverence and affection. She was a vital part of both the president and his work.

He did such thorough academic work in the years immediately succeeding his graduation that higher institutions soon demanded his services. When twenty-six years of age he was made the principal of a seminary. Passing from academic educational work, he filled with notable success four prominent pastorates. From the pastorate he went to a professor's chair in a theological seminary; then to a college presidency in Lima, N. Y., where the infant Syracuse University felt his inspiring and forming touch; and then to the presidency of his *alma mater*, seventeen years after his graduation.

He was president of Wesleyan University for eighteen years, a period of unprecedented length in the history of that college —a college that is conceded to compete in the East with older and better endowed institutions; a college which was the first established by our Church, having a long muster roll of alumni, and toward which naturally many critical and jealous eyes are always turned. He entered upon his work at Wesleyan in a formative period of the college history. He inherited little. He created, molded, and shaped much. Despite the civil war, more than decimating the several classes, despite repeated financial crises, with their "black Fridays," destroying endowments and fatally crippling the princely right arm of Daniel Drew, despite the diversion of the funds of the munificent Isaac Rich and other benefactors to the founding of another institution, nothing could daunt his splendid courage. Like Nehemiah in repairing the walls of Jerusalem, he had to ply the trowel with one hand and hold a sword in the other, while building the needed fortresses for Christian education, for God, and for the Church.

Resigning this presidency, he held in Wesleyan the professorship of mental philosophy and political economy for two years. He then returned to a pastoral charge he had served thirty years before, and also filled another appointment in Boston, when, in 1881, he was recalled to educational work, being elected to the presidency of the Northwestern University, where he spent the last decade of his remarkably useful career

of more than threescore years and ten. He was a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864, 1876, 1880, and 1884. He received the degree of doctor of divinity from his *alma mater;* Harvard University adopted him by the same honorary tie; and the degree of doctor of laws from the Northwestern University anticipated the honor and service he was destined to render that institution.

A clear, logical mind, excellent command of language, and intense conviction made him an attractive and convincing speaker and a notable preacher. The late Dr. John Johnston once said, in the presence of many witnesses, of one of Dr. Cummings's baccalaureates, that "it was equal to Dr. Olin at his best." His sermons were fully prepared, rich in thought, thoroughly practical and evangelical, and uttered with fire and force and dignity; and, as with all great preachers, many of the most memorable passages in them were forged in the furnace heat of delivery. His oratory was the expression of his nature. Slow to become aroused and gathering force as he proceeded, the climax in language and in thought, emphasized by a gesture peculiar to himself and which no man could imitate, produced conviction, ended controversy, and annihilated opposition. His quiver held some dangerous arrows not designed for promiscuous use—invective, irony, sarcasm, contempt. He used them effectively, but only in battling for the protection of innocence, the defense of right, and the destruction of wrong. His published literary works include sermons and addresses and an edition of Butler's *Analogy of Religion.* It is to be regretted that he wrote comparatively little for publication for the benefit of after generations.

Few men would have the courage, after an absence of twenty-five years, to return to the pastorate; and fewer yet would be able to succeed as he did and then to return to exacting educational work and achieve one of the greatest successes of his life. When he returned to the pastorate, under a presiding elder who had been one of his students at Wesleyan, some said, "That is stepping down, and we shall hear no more of him." But the typical college president made the pulpit his throne of power, and the younger men who followed him in pastoral charges had to quicken their pace to keep up with his record in searching out the people, in visiting the sick and the poor,

and in comforting the afflicted. In spiritual work he believed not only in sowing and waiting for a harvest, but in looking, through faith and obedience, for immediate results.

Higher educational interests are now largely in the hands of specialists, and college presidents are most frequently chosen for their business capacity. Capacity to lead men and thought is not always now the condition of choice for this high office, but prominence in some department of business or professional endeavor. The consensus of opinion concerning President Cummings among educators of his time is, we believe, that he has a royal right to a place among the small number of ideal college presidents possessing many gifts and well-rounded, massive characters. President Cummings belonged to the giant generation of college presidents in which were numbered Porter, of Yale, McCosh, of Princeton, Barnard, of Columbia, Wayland, of Brown, Hopkins, of Williams, and Anderson, of Rochester. President Warren, of Boston University, said of him:

> The banner-bearer of the higher education in our communion has been taken from us. In our own mourning Church no educational career stands out so strong, effective, and complete.

Dr. Charles W. Bennett, of the Northwestern University, spoke of him as an educator thus:

> Joseph Cummings's presence—this noble, this strong, this truth-loving, and this truth-doing man, with his woman's heart full of tenderness for the truly faithful but discouraged—was the most potent educating factor. . . . Methodism has lost its greatest college president.

He was more than a teacher, he was an educator. He assimilated knowledge and imparted it with great precision and with great perspicuity. His teaching was not confined to the class room; but by example, as well as precept, he constantly kept before the young men the essential dignity of man. He inculcated the heroism of perfect loyalty to convictions, and respect for the convictions of others. He recognized the normal and healthful college spirit which is based upon the relative dignity of classes in the order of their seniority. While he was kind to all, the freshman stood in awe of him, the sophomore respected him, the junior admired him, the senior revered him. His relation to students was practically personal. He had a peculiar, potent, and unique influence over their individual lives. He was sympathetic in their sicknesses, in their sorrows, in

their struggles with poverty. While stately and dignified in mien, his face radiated with the warm light from a kind and tender heart. He eagerly craved the confidence, the approbation, and the affection of his students, and to those worthy of his confidence he was father and friend. Studiousness and fidelity always commanded his cooperation and assistance. He hated the shirking spirit in the student, for he was a prodigious worker and master of details, both giving and requiring faithful service. Duty and industry constantly impelled him. While the best friend of students, he was very exacting concerning the performance of their duties.

The stamp of the massive personality of Joseph Cummings on the character of a student was a vital part of his essential education. This inexplicable, but potential, entity is the rare and divine endowment of the world's few real educators. Some teachers are paternal; others are wise; others have special gifts in a single line; others are self-assertive; others are military disciplinarians; others have power to communicate knowledge. Any one of these powers constitutes a rich capital for the teacher; but to possess, like this man, due measure of all of them, in subjection to a central sublime and symmetrical mastery, makes a teacher of teachers, an educator and a molder of men. A competent pen has recorded, "Few men in the history of American schools have so emulated the measure of the great Arnold of Rugby."

It was the grand boast of a Roman emperor that he found the eternal city brick and left it marble. Of Dr. Cummings it may be justly claimed that he found the college buildings at Middletown meager, inadequate, mean, the unambitious plant of an old abdicated military academy only, and crowned that classic hill on High Street with massive structures as noble and inspiring as can be found on the continent. In those eighteen years he reared a triple monument in imperishable old red sandstone—the Rich Library, the Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science, and the Memorial Chapel—that will stand as a proud reminder of his grandly successful administration so long as the river it overlooks shall flow to the sea. But if nothing material of this should remain, yet in the generations of youth he has inspired and molded, being dead, would he speak, and in their descendants would speak forever.

On June 29, 1881, soon after becoming president of the Northwestern University, he returned, with hundreds of others, to celebrate the semicentennial of his *alma mater*, whose name he had honored and for whose character he had done so much to make it worthy of respect. We gathered upon that natural eminence, crowned with palaces, beautiful with the adornments of art and architecture. The glad city of the living was below us, and the voiceless city of the dead above us, while half a century of pregnant history crowded upon us. The giant tracks made by some living creatures on once plastic rocks, in the uncounted periods of the past when the Creator was preparing the house for the child of civilization, were mocking our narrow measurements of time from their places in the walls of the building before us. Men of nearly every class from 1831 to 1881 were there. Men of achievement and men high in position in both Church and State were there. The men who had recently made princely gifts to the treasury of the university were there. But none of these furnished the central figure of the historic occasion.

At the conclusion of a brief tribute to the work of President Cummings, by the speaker who delivered the historic address, the great assemblage on the platform, in the windows of the college buildings, and under the trees on the campus burst forth with applause. Cheer followed cheer. Gray-haired men forgot their gravity and joined in the common acclaim; and, while joyous enthusiasm vented itself on every hand, many shed tears. At first the man who was the object of this admiring and affectionate ovation tried to hide himself behind the crowd upon the platform; but, as the applause swelled louder and louder, continuing for some minutes, he tremblingly arose and, with bared head, his majestic figure towering above his surroundings, stood before us uncrowned at the seat of his former empire, but regnant still.

Of Dr. Cummings's presidency of Wesleyan University President Warren, of Boston University, says: "In achievements, as truly as in length, this administration stands unapproached by any other in the whole history of the institution. More and more, as time moves on, do men see the significance of those years and the greatness of their successes." At the Northwestern University his work was fully as remarkable as

at Wesleyan. His long experience, backed up by eagerness and enthusiasm, recognized and provided for the needs of an institution attempting to educate eighteen hundred students. In addition to his duties as president he held the professorship of mental and moral philosophy. In the nine years of his presidency the university more than doubled the number of its students, a debt of $200,000 was paid, and three elegant buildings were added to the invoice of the property of the corporation. Wisely did Dr. Buckley write: "The corporation of the Northwestern University is, we think, to be congratulated on having had the wisdom to discern that Joseph Cummings, at sixty-four, might be worth more as president of that great institution than many a man of more sparkling qualities could have been at forty."

In 1887 he attained threescore years and ten, and the event was celebrated at Evanston by remarkable exercises, while substantial tokens of affection and gratitude poured into his home from East and West. An ample purse was presented to him, with the loving mandate that he leave his work and country for needed rest, as he had taken no vacation since he came to the Northwestern. He took a hasty run to Europe, but, to the disappointment of his best friends, was again home and at his work at the opening of the college year.

While at the head of different institutions of learning President Cummings never forgot that he was a citizen, and local, as well as state and national interests, were with him matters of study and furtherance. He was always popular among his fellow-citizens in every community where he resided. He was a patriot, and loved his country so well that he desired to see it freed from partnership with crime. He was on the side of freedom and emancipation in the midst of hostile and dangerous surroundings. When public sentiment needed patriotic stimulus, and cowardly Northern treason demanded rebuke and punishment, his voice was potent for liberty and union. We once saw him, in a crowded assembly, lash into writhing submission the copperheads who had saluted him with their disloyal reptile hissings. He made scores of war speeches, urged to enlistment, and presented banners to departing regiments. He buried dead heroes and comforted widows and orphans. He made it easy for students returning from the war to reenter

college and complete their course of study. He caused the erection of a memorial chapel, on whose walls, in letters of gold, are inscribed the names of Wesleyan's heroes of the civil war. The late Hon. Benjamin Douglas, of Middletown, Conn., known to every student and friend of Wesleyan for the past four decades, wrote of Dr. Cummings:

> He will long be remembered, in this town and in the college which he labored so long and earnestly to build up in our midst, as one who was first and foremost in every good work, whether in the Church or State. Patriotic and Christian, wherever he could find a place or duty called he was ready at his post; and when the nation was called upon to defend its life and honor no man was more firm than he, and in every emergency he was true as steel.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first organized body of Christians to extend congratulations and assurances of loyalty to Washington, the father of the Republic, and it was also the first to extend similar assurances to Lincoln, the saviour of the Republic. In 1864 Dr. Cummings took prominent part in making an important chapter of American history. The General Conference of that year, in which he sat as a delegate from the New England Conference, ordered an address to be prepared and presented to President Lincoln assuring him of the loyalty of the Methodist Episcopal Church to his administration, and directed that a committee of five be sent to Washington for this purpose. Dr. Cummings, as chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country and at the special request of Bishop Ames, wrote the address, which was submitted to the Conference and adopted. The committee of five consisted of Bishop Ames, Joseph Cummings, George Peck, Charles Elliott, and Granville Moody. They waited on the President, and Dr. Cummings read the address. It is meet and appropriate that the address and the response should here be given for permanent record:

> To His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States:
>
> The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session in the city of Philadelphia, representing nearly seven thousand ministers and nearly a million of members, mindful of their duty as Christian citizens, takes the earliest opportunity to express to you the assurance of the loyalty of the Church, her earnest devotion to the interests

of the country, and her sympathy with you in the great responsibilities of your high position in this trying hour.

With exultation we point to the record of our Church as having never been tarnished by disloyalty. She was the first of the Churches to express, by a deputation of her most distinguished ministers, the promise of support to the government in the days of Washington. In her Articles of Religion she has enjoined loyalty as a duty, and has ever given to the government her most decided support.

In this present struggle for the nation's life many thousands of her members and a large number of her ministers have rushed to arms to maintain the cause of God and humanity. They have sealed their devotion to their country with their blood on every battlefield of this terrible war.

We regard this dreadful scourge now desolating our land and wasting the nation's life as the result of a most unnatural, utterly unjustifiable rebellion, involving the crime of treason against the best of human governments and sin against God. It required our government to submit to its own dismemberment and destruction, leaving it no alternative but to preserve the national integrity by the use of the national resources. If the government had failed to use its power to preserve the unity of the nation and maintain its authority, it would have been justly exposed to the wrath of Heaven and to the reproach and scorn of the civilized world.

Our earnest and constant prayer is that this cruel and wicked rebellion may be speedily suppressed; and we pledge you our hearty cooperation in all appropriate means to secure this object.

Loyal and hopeful in national adversity, in prosperity thankful, we most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victories recently gained, and rejoice in the belief that our complete triumph is near.

We believe that our national sorrows and calamities have resulted in a great degree from our forgetfulness of God and oppression of our fellowmen. Chastened by affliction, may the nation humbly repent of her sins, lay aside her haughty pride, honor God in all future legislation, and render justice to all who have been wronged.

We honor you for your proclamations of liberty, and rejoice in all the acts of the government designed to secure freedom to the enslaved.

We trust that when military usages and necessities shall justify interference with established institutions and the removal of wrongs sanctioned by law, the occasion will be improved, not merely to injure our foes and increase the national resources, but also as an opportunity to recognize our obligations to God and to honor his law. We pray that the time may speedily come when this shall be truly a republican and free country, in no part of which, either State or Territory, shall slavery be known.

The prayers of millions of Christians, with an earnestness never manifested for rulers before, daily ascend to heaven that you may be endowed with all needed wisdom and power. Actuated by the sentiments of the loftiest and purest patriotism, our prayer shall be continually for the pres-

ervation of our country undivided, for the triumph of our cause, and for a permanent peace, gained by the sacrifice of no moral principles, but founded on the word of God and securing in righteousness liberty and equal rights to all.

This address called out that historic autograph address from President Lincoln which reads: *

GENTLEMEN: In response to your address allow me to attest the accuracy of its historical statements, indorse the sentiments it expresses, and thank you in the nation's name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the Churches, I would utter nothing which might in the least appear invidious against any. Yet without this it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church, bless all the Churches, and blessed be God, who in this, our great trial, giveth us the Churches! [Signed] A. LINCOLN.

Dr. Cummings was a strong and uncompromising champion of right, while at the same time he dealt fairly with antagonists. Obstacles were incentives to him. Tempestuous waves on the sea of life never made him sick, but plain sailing wearied him. He was made for victory through struggle. By the law of gravitation his soul was antislavery until emancipation came, and was antisaloon, and would have been, had he lived, until prohibition came. He had the undebating courage to follow the right as he saw the right. In the General Conference of 1876 he was one of the chief advocates for an elective presiding eldership. He was, in many movements which he considered reforms, in advance of his times.

He had an intense interest, which always on occasion was manifested, in social science and in living questions, and a responsive and cordial sympathy with all that would better harsh social inequalities and promote social progress, and with the struggles of his fellow-men in their efforts to adjust their relations as to the equitable division of the profits accruing from the joint use of capital and labor. In his address, in 1886, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, an organization of which he was vice president, he gave a

* This address is now in the possession of William H. Harris, Esq., of New York city, the son of the late Bishop William L. Harris, who was secretary of the General Conference of 1864.

realistic picture of the perils of increasing antagonisms and of the causes of discontent; exposing their errors and their source, he impartially rebuked and warned both classes, and proposed remedies based upon the principle of conference and arbitration and upon the recognition of the Christian principle of stewardship. This address is even more applicable to present conditions than when it was delivered. Dr. Cummings would have been eminent in any career or measured by any standard; and had he entered political life he would have ranked among statesmen—statesmen of the higher type.

By the test of achieved results his was a most extraordinarily successful and magnificent career. There was no hint of weakness in his personality, but always the impression of strength. The atmosphere which surrounded him possessed the tonic of moral ozone. His physical stature was a fit vehicle for the authority and command, the large mental mold, and the intense conviction which were his by natural endowment. Despite his commanding presence, which sometimes overawed by its dignity and gave the impression of austerity, he was by nature gentle, generous, considerate, and self-sacrificing.

He was sensitive about criticism, but could be silent under it. He possessed absolute intellectual and moral integrity. He was both theoretic and practical, but rejected theories that were not practical. Firmness and gentleness were wedded in his character. Expediency was never allowed to stand in the way of his sense of right and the obligation of duty. Duty was the inspiration of a courage which made him self-forgetful. He was conservatively radical. A commander by the election of others, he was not tyrannical, or austere, or self-assertive. He has been the subject of criticism in his administration of college affairs. This is not matter for wonder. He had convictions; so had his critics. He was fallible; so were they. But his record has few blotches to mar it, and they have rapidly faded. Every institution where he has toiled has his life inwrought and bears the stamp of his powerful individuality. Everywhere he was the stimulator, the molder, the controller, the guardian, the leader, the prophet.

The work he accomplished was in response to the call of God, which he obeyed with unswerving faith and dauntless courage; and this, high above his intellectual gifts, his acquired knowl-

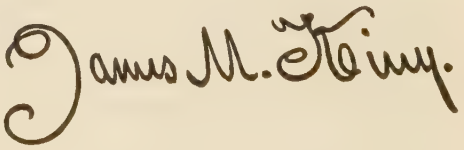
edge, his administrative skill, and his large sympathies, constituted the secret of his power. Pervading his whole nature and dominating all his faculties were faith, reverence, love, sacrifice, born of an intimate acquaintance with God. His sympathies were readily aroused by suffering, which he always counted a personal affliction. When struggling with death he persisted in hearing recitations in the class room and in attending to the business interests of the university—working and dying at the same time and victorious in both.

It can be truthfully said of him, as has been said of another:

> He was strong, because sincere. He had all the tenderness of real strength and all the strength of real tenderness. Nevertheless, he was poorly endowed with patience for many things. He would burn and flare against pretense and hypocrisy with an energy that was startling. He could no more bear sham than be a sham himself. The meannesses that eat integrity out of character were specially smitten by his sarcasm or shriveled in his scorn.

He stood like one of the pillars of Hiram, of the finest material, of great height and symmetry, and firmly based; and "upon the top of the pillars was lily work." Strength and beauty were blended in him.

Joseph Cummings was a well-rounded, full-orbed man. He was a painstaking student. He was an accomplished educator. He was an indefatigable toiler. He was an ardent patriot. He was a powerful preacher. He was a thrilling orator. He was a faithful pastor. He was a masterly executive. He was a conscientious reformer. He was an inspirer of youth. He was a friend of man. He was a servant of God.



Art. II.—THE FALL OF MAN A SCIENTIFIC FACT.

There are only two accepted theories which attempt to explain the origin of man. One is that usually believed to be taught by the Bible, that man had an independent origin, being created by God from the dust of the ground in his own image. All who accept this theory must necessarily accept the fall of man as a fact, as it is an inseparable part of the same theory. The other theory is that taught by evolution, that man did not have an independent origin, but that he had a common origin with the animal kingdom and is the product of evolution. It is not our intention to pass judgment upon the relative merits or demerits of these two theories. They must stand or fall upon their own merits, according to their conformity or nonconformity with known facts. Our sole purpose is to establish an undisputed condition of purity for original man, and to compare this with his present state in order to determine the truthfulness or falsity of the idea of his fall. Those who believe that man was an independent creation hold that in his original state he was not only perfectly pure, but perfectly holy. As animals are neither holy nor always perfect in conduct we shall base our argument upon the supposition that evolution applies to man; that physically he is merely an animal, evolved from a lower form of life to a higher by successive processes. This will certainly be fair for the scientific theory; and the independent creationists may accept the supposition for the sake of argument, as their standard is a much higher one.

If evolution applies to man we must admit that when our race developed out of the animal into man it was just as pure as the animal nature from which it was evolved. To admit that original man was sunk in degradation unknown to the animal kingdom is contradictory to the whole hypothesis of evolution, and is practically to admit all that the independent creationists claim. Evolution not only accepts, but must demand, a standard of animal purity for original man. Hence, all acceptable theories of man's origin must assume that, "in the beginning," the human race was at least as pure as our present wild animals; and from a scientific standpoint we cannot reject the conclusion which logic must draw from the facts based upon

this foundation. A comparative study, then, of the life, habits, nature, and tendencies of animals and the human race, together with whatever light the testimony of others may add to our own knowledge upon this subject, must constitute our entire stock of scientific materials upon which we must pass judgment. We will now endeavor to bring clearly before us the facts upon which we must make this decision.

The first great difference we notice between animals and man is that the rule of instinct is a guide in the former and the rule of intelligence in the latter. We mean by instinct an untaught ability to perform certain acts which are useful or necessary to the individual or to its species. All animals are partly, at least, governed by instinct. These instincts are inherited, and answer the same purpose to the animal that experience and training do to man. Accordingly, one animal or generation is as capable of taking care of itself as another, provided the circumstances are similar or equivalent. Instinct is most perfect in the lower orders of the animal kingdom, and is especially marked in the operations of the social insects, as the wasp, the ant, and the bee, each community of which constructs a habitation for itself which the most skilled and enlightened human intelligence could scarcely equal. These insects perform their work without education from their parents or associates or from progressive attempts of their own; and, without any hesitation, interruption, or confusion, the different individuals of the community all labor harmoniously and effectively for the accomplishment of one and the same purpose.

The study of the bee is especially instructive in its revelations of instinct. The males, or drones, are nonproducers, their only value being in reproduction, in which act they lose their lives. The other males, which are not thus destroyed, are usually slaughtered by the workers in June, July, or August, but few ever dying a natural death. The female bees include the queens and the workers. The workers are sometimes improperly called neuters. They are simply undeveloped females, being reared in a smaller cell and upon less stimulating food than are the queens, and hence of slower growth. The queen larvæ are fed upon more stimulating food, which fully develops their sexual organs. The queen bee may live to the age of three or four years. Her function is to lay the eggs, which may reach

two thousand in one day. It is the office or function of the workers to do all that is required in providing for themselves, the queen, the drones, and the larvæ. Some are nurses, some makers of comb, others gatherers of honey, while still others are engaged in the care or ventilation of their house, producing the humming noise heard in hives. All of this work is systematically and harmoniously done, notwithstanding the fact that the lives of the workers seldom exceed six weeks during the busy season of the year and that none of their ancestors ever did any of this work.

The working bee, then, inherits the ability to do work perfectly, which work we have no evidence that any of its ancestors ever did. The workers not only know just what and how to feed each separate larva, to develop it into its intended drone, worker, or queen, but, should a queen die, be picked up in her flight by a bird, or be otherwise destroyed without the knowledge of the workers when there are eggs in the cells, the workers make a diligent search for her for two or three days. If they cannot find her they take a worker larva which is not more than three days old, break down two adjacent cells, and sacrifice the larvæ in these two cells. They then build a royal cell around the young larva, which would otherwise have been a worker, and feed her upon the royal jelly. In from ten to sixteen days the insect issues from its cell a perfect queen, when the domestic economy is again restored. This production of a queen from the larva of a worker may not have occurred for generations, possibly never in the line of their direct ancestors; yet the instinct of the workers tells them exactly what to do and how to do it. According to human methods of acquiring knowledge this would be impossible.

All herbivorous animals, except the camel, have quite an accurate botanical knowledge of plants and, accordingly, select only those which are suited for their food. Other plants may be selected for medicinal properties, as, for instance, the eating of grass and other herbs by cats and dogs.

Animals instinctively know an enemy. A cat or a sheep which never saw a dog or a wolf will, at sight of such animal, at once show that it recognizes it as an enemy. Hunters bear witness that all wild animals readily recognize man as an enemy when he sets out to hunt that animal.

The wounded elephant repairs to the river, where it washes its wound, and then plasters this cleansed wound up with mud, which it leaves until the wound has healed. It has not been ten years since surgeons learned an equal skill in dressing a wound, by thoroughly cleansing and excluding all germs by proper dressing and then letting it alone until it heals. It thus required twenty-four centuries of the accumulating experience of the medical profession, from the great Hippocrates to within the last ten years, to attain this knowledge. Yet the elephant probably practiced its surgery just as successfully centuries before the building of the pyramids of Egypt as it does to-day.

Some animals rest for months without food during the winter season, in a peculiar state called hibernation. This hibernating state is not assumed at the option or will of the animal, but is a physiological state which is brought on, in some animals, by the approach of winter, since these same animals do not hibernate in warm climates, where they have plenty of food. Reproduction, also, is controlled in the entire animal kingdom by instinct or by physiological conditions.

If asked, "How came these instincts and periodical physiological states to be so perfectly implanted in animal nature?" we must reply with all candor, from a scientific point of view, that we do not know. Science has only revealed the fact, and not the method. The independent creationists' reply that "God so made them." But this is a theological answer, and not a scientific one, as nothing can be scientific except that which is observed by man or reasoned out from facts of observation. The theoretical evolutionist would reply that they were implanted by the similar actions of ancestors, made necessary by the conditions. The survival, then, of the "fittest," or conformists, and the perishing of the nonconformists must be the result. This answer is even more unscientific, as observation has not proved that the training or experience of ancestors can be permanently implanted in the offspring; but, on the contrary, the generations soon return to their original conditions when the animal returns to its natural state.

This theory of the evolutionists has the still greater objection of being directly and flatly contradicted by facts, and so cannot be true. The ancestors of all working bees, for instance, have been for thousands of years, if not from the earliest life

of the bee, the nonworking queens and the drones. So the working bee could not inherit its ability to do its work through the experience of its ancestors. The teeth of the crocodile are hollow and are renewed by others which are contained within them. The inner teeth develop by degrees into fuller growth and at a subsequent period displace the older teeth, and are themselves displaced in the same way in later years. This is a necessary process for the long life of the crocodile, which may live one hundred and fifty or two hundred years, as they must always have sharp teeth in order to secure their food. But such a process could never be the result of ancestral choices. This theory assumes the absurdity that offspring can inherit experiences from their ancestors which the ancestors never experienced, and that these experiences will develop controlling physiological states of the most vital importance. As there is no reason to believe that animals ever plan for the future except through their instincts, and that almost universally they provide only for the immediate present, we cannot reasonably believe that these processes were developed through ancestral choices or environments. There is no possible way that animals could aid the development of such processes, even if they could foresee their necessity. Hence, these processes, as well as instincts, must have been originated and developed by a force or forces not under the control of the animal or its environments. Science speaks emphatically as to the facts, although it is not able to explain the method.

There is nothing in the nature or conduct of an animal which sanctions a belief that its life is prolonged beyond its physical existence, as all animal conduct points exclusively to physical results; which conduct is prompted either by individual peculiarities or preferences that tend to the comfort or preservation of the life of the individual or to the perpetuation of the species. As their conduct, especially that corresponding to the moral in man, is largely performed in response to instinct or in obedience to physiological processes over which the animal exercises no choice or control, this conduct is not moral conduct, since the animal is not responsible, and so there cannot be any moral principle involved. An animal feels just as complacent over a mean act as over a good one, provided it succeeds and brings no displeasure upon itself. A dog sneaks

away when it disobeys its master; but this is through fear of punishment, not from any visible trace of a conscience.

Much of the conduct of animals is evidently not intelligently understood by them, and many acts are performed under circumstances which render them nugatory. Bees will attempt to rear a queen from a drone larva, and a domesticated beaver will build a dam across its apartments, proving clearly that instinctive actions are not the results of reason in adapting means to the accomplishment of certain definite purposes. All of the higher species, however, seem to reason to a large extent; but their power in this direction is limited by, and adapted to, the individual nature and instincts. This reasoning power is mostly used in escaping from danger or in securing food. If food is plenty animals eat simply the kind and quantity their systems demand. They never gorge their stomachs to merely satisfy the palate. They never prey upon their own species or intentionally destroy their unborn offspring; and they all expect to secure their food by the ordinary methods of their species.

Reproduction, the highest function of animal nature, is the most perfectly guarded and scrupulously managed. It is presided over with an exactness truly to be admired and with a purity unsurpassed. Many animals mate, when the male cares for its female with the greatest assiduity. The relations of the sexes of all animals, in their natural wild state, is only equaled in purity by that in the best and purest families. No wild animals ever abuse or degrade their females. Their blood, accordingly, is handed down from generation to generation in as pure and healthful a condition as their lives and circumstances will permit. This is the standard of purity which science declares original man must have inherited.

As we turn from the study of animal life and habits to those of the human race we are at once impressed with an almost total absence of instinct, and the substitution instead of the rule of intelligence, or reason. Man also possesses some additional faculties to those common with animals, which faculties were evidently intended to take the place of animal instincts. All human faculties are, accordingly, developed to the highest extent or are capable of such development. Intelligence, reason, and choice rule supreme in man and give to the human mind the highest capabilities of thought,

imagination, and will. We inherit the ability to think from self-evident truths, intuitive principles, and observed facts to their logical conclusions. But no knowledge of parents or ancestors, gained by experience, study, or training, is ever inherited by the child. He inherits mental and physical abilities, but not knowledge. Hence, every child is just what its ability, energy, training, and surrounding influences have made it. It is absolutely dependent upon its early training to set it in the right road for the attainment of truth, or it must gain its knowledge through the same routine of successes and failures that untold generations have experienced before it. Wrong training and wrong influences in youth are seldom ever perfectly retrieved in after years. Children must be taught the fundamental principles, at least, of right living, as they have no instincts to guide them in critical emergencies.

Every vital function of the human body may be influenced by the choices and decisions of the mind. This is far too often the case in nutrition, where wrong choices of both quality and quantity of food either starve the system, from lack of sufficient or necessary ingredients to supply the worn-out tissues of the body, or else gorge the stomach and interfere with digestion. Such a course, persistently followed, is sure to injure the health or destroy life. Insufficient fluid may be taken to carry off the poisons and worn-out tissues, which thus destroy the health; or the thirst may be entirely quenched by narcotic stimulants, which overstrain the nervous system until it gives way to incurable diseases. But the most perverted function is the highest function of physical nature—that upon which the race depends.

Good or evil motives prompt man to make good or bad choices. To guide him in these choices he is provided with a conscience, which is a higher faculty than the judgment or reason, since it presides over these faculties in dictating to the will the choices of action. It is a faculty only of man; which fact makes him the only moral or immoral being, according to his obedience or disobedience to its dictates. The conscience is that mental faculty "which perceives and feels rightness and obligatoriness in choices" and intentions.* It does not include the judgment, although using and ruling over it. Its special

* Joseph Cook, *Conscience*, p. 17.

sphere is to preside and exercise moral control over choices and intentions of good or bad; and so it is not responsible for the wrong decisions made by the will. We infallibly know whether we intend to do right or wrong, and the conscience infallibly directs us to do that which is right and shun that which is wrong. In order to meet these demands we must use all the light we have or can obtain upon a given subject, or we are responsible for all of the calamities which result.

Within its own sphere of choices and intentions the conscience is an infallible guide. It is conditioned, however, upon the materials it must use, and is strengthened or weakened as its dictates are obeyed or disregarded. The habit of disregarding the conscience soon sears or destroys its delicate sensibility, so that there will be no response to a sense of either rightness or duty. In such a fall the conscience does not fall, but is either weakened or destroyed. The conscience is the compass which safely guides us over the great seas of duty and obligation, and cannot be disregarded without sure destruction. Our mistakes are never the mistakes of conscience. They are errors of judgment, rendered without sufficient knowledge upon which to build an accurate conclusion, are the results of prejudice, through which vital facts are ignored, or are decisions rendered in direct disobedience to the conscience. In either case the conscience is neither at fault nor responsible. When we disobey the conscience to that extent that our conduct naturally tends to evil, that conduct becomes a sin. Sin or evil conduct is known to every intelligent, thinking person as an act in violation of the inner light, or conscience. Hence, it is the violation of principles which are known to be right and produces a stunning effect upon the consciousness. This protest of the conscience gradually lessens in force by frequent repetition of wrong acts, and is strengthened by intentional good acts.

The universal tendency of sin is to degradation and destruction; and so it is necessarily self-limiting. This is especially so of immorality, which is responsible for the propagation of venereal diseases, with all of their dire consequences. These diseases make a vicious thrust at the very life of the race by their tendency to destroy the individual and to cut off his offspring. It is evident that the destructive effect of these diseases is an effort on the part of nature to destroy sin, by cutting off the

line and generation of those who indulge in sin. Drunkenness not only greatly shortens or destroys life, but also weakens the vitality of the offspring, so that it more readily succumbs to disease. The habitual drinker, who keeps his system constantly under the influence of alcoholic stimulants, although he may never become intoxicated, is more likely to die from their effects and to injure his children than the occasional drunkard who, at other times, leaves these stimulants entirely alone. Murder, robbery, stealing, lying, drunkenness, fraud, and adultery are sins, because they do violence to the welfare of the human race by their corrupting, degrading, and destroying influences. Sin is sin purely on account of its vicious and evil influences, and always brings its calamities.

Man is not satisfied with either his condition or the results of his labors in this life. He is not guided by instinct to infallible results, and so must suffer defeat and disappointment from wrong decisions. Intelligence, reason, judgment, and conscience combine to weigh motives and make choices. His intelligence grasps the knowledge and experience of the past; his reason and judgment weigh causes and measure results for eternity; but his decisions of conscience, with their "ought" and "ought not," are the most pronounced features of his mental and moral constitution. His thoughts reach from the eternity of the past to the eternity of the future. He plans not only for the near, but for the remote, future; and he lives, or should live, for eternity and for some future condition. Peace and happiness abide only with purity and right conduct; while wrong conduct inherently and eternally degrades and destroys. This is man's nature, and he cannot help it. Truth ennobles and falsehood degrades, and he knows it and cannot help knowing it, because he is ennobled by the one and degraded by the other. Science and experience tell us this is man's nature; yet just how he received it we are not able to give a scientific explanation. With a glance that takes in the horizon of time and a thought that embraces the eternities, man, in his full and larger nature, must assume eternal responsibilities and consequences. While his motives may and should be as high as heaven, his choices are sometimes as foul and base as his ability and circumstances can make them. He suffers the most fearful penalties of all animal nature as the

consequences of unbridled appetite and passion. With capacity to become an angel, he may, and often does, become a devil incarnate, a physical and moral suicide, a menace to his own offspring, a curse to his race, physically and morally.

Evil and wicked associations are always corrupting; and so nations, as well as individuals, may become immoral. When the controlling power passes into the hands of the immoral elements the nation gradually sinks into decay and ruin. Rome fell from her own weakness, engendered through her own corrupt morals, although she was once the most powerful and irresistible nation upon the face of the globe. The Italian people have never recovered from the effects of the immorality of their ancestors. France, also, was once dominated by Rome, and naturally absorbed a superabundance of her worst elements rather than of the good. She reaps her reward to-day in being the most immoral nation in the world. Through her immorality and the various methods which she uses to prevent and destroy life only two children on an average are born in each family, and over half of these die in childhood. Should this continue she would soon depopulate her land, which would then probably be peopled by Germany. From the earliest records we have of the German people they held the chastity of their women in highest respect. Through her inherited chastity Germany has infused new life and vigor into every nation with which she has mingled her blood.

The United States is trying to imitate France. Nearly one third of her children are prematurely destroyed, and this crime is rapidly on the increase. All of our large cities are so steeped in immorality and crime that they would soon depopulate themselves were it not for the fact that they are constantly fed by pure blood from rural districts. We have eight millions of so-called colored people; but the fact is, to our disgrace, that these eight millions of negroes have more white blood in their veins than black, all of which is the result of the immorality of the whites. If the whites are preyed upon by the immoral negro it is their own fault; for the negro is largely just what the white people have taught him to be. We often hear persons bemoan the destruction of the American Indian and lay all the blame upon the whites. But this claim is completely shorn of its force when we realize that the decrease

of the Indian was almost entirely due to the ravages of venereal diseases, spread entirely through his immoral habits, and that the recent increase in the Indian population can be justly claimed as the result of the treatment of Indians by American physicians.

The study of natural history is profoundly interesting in its revelations of truth. But no light thrown upon nature and her ways is more deeply interesting than that which shows how both animals and man are controlled by superior power. Physical life must be maintained by feeding hungry stomachs; and to accomplish this one species often preys upon another. The irresistible law of force everywhere prevails. But whence came this force, and how is it controlled? We believe that all natural phenomena tend to prove that all force in nature originates from the ever-active divine will, and that all natural law is law by divine enactment and for a divine purpose. This view is not contradictory to the evolution theory, which we accepted as true in the beginning. It simply has reference to the ability and wisdom of the Creator. To assume that, if God made the world, there is no use in trying to find out his methods, is just as foolish as to assume that, if a watch of richest material and most perfect design and finish be made by a mechanic who perfectly understands his business, there is nothing possibly to be learned by studying his methods.

Observation proves that natural law works through the rule of instinct in animals and through the rule of mind in man. Instinct is not a choice of the animal, as the animal has nothing to do except to obey. But the rule of mind must necessarily be left to the individual, when everything depends upon choice. The great difference between success and failure in human acts is largely determined by the ability to read the future by the past. There is no sure road to knowledge except through experience, good judgment, and faithful study. This applies equally to men and women. If the popular notion of women's "intuitions" is correct women are more like animals than men, for intuition is the animal mode of thinking. But the fact that woman so frequently errs, especially in the most important choice of her life, proves that she has no ability for the attainment of truth which is not equally shared by man. Few persons of either sex ever learn to think from the facts to their legitimate and logical conclusions. The opinions of the

weaker-minded are usually formed by other persons, who may intentionally deceive them. They obey bad impulses, not because they do not know that they are doing wrong, but because the will power is too weak to resist the temptation. Repetition not only weakens the will power, but also sears or deadens the conscience. When the individual drifts away from the sting and controlling power of his conscience by wrong acts there is nothing left to guide him except his desires, appetites, and passions, which are inadequate and unsafe guides. All animals are guided by a superior and higher power. Hence, man may easily sink below the level of the brute.

The nature and requirements of the physical bodies of men so closely resemble those of animals that it must be inferred that their conduct was intended to be similar in all common essentials, and that man's nature requires that his conduct should be, in every particular, at least as high as that of wild animals. As the conduct of no animal species tends to degrade and destroy the species, so the conduct of normal man cannot tend to destroy the race. From the nature of the case we are compelled to account for the difference in conduct of animals and man, and more especially so if the controlling power of man has developed from that of the animal. Science emphatically declares that man has not the power within his physical nature to insure his perfect and proper control. Some of the inferences which must be drawn from this fact are beyond the scope of this article, and so we must leave these inferences to be drawn by our readers. But the common observations along this line abundantly prove that the conduct of man will not bear comparison with the conduct of wild animals if measured by a fair and impartial standard, based upon common essentials.

Reproduction, the highest and most important function of animal life, is most perverted by man. Of all animals man is the only deliberate robber, the only cold-blooded murderer, the only habitual adulterer, the only animal which deliberately and absolutely destroys its own species by its own vices. He is the only real and habitual criminal. This difference in conduct is far-reaching in its results on future generations. The offspring of all animals reap the reward of a pure moral inheritance, which is the greatest inheritance any parent can possibly give to his children. This is man's golden opportunity for the

advancement of himself and his race; but he fails. Animals enjoy the health merited from their own purity, while man alone suffers the calamities of his immorality. The domestic animals, however, present some few occasional exceptions to the high standard of conduct of animals in their natural wild state, which must be attributed to the unnaturalness of domestication or to the contaminating influence of man, which counteracts or perverts the natural instincts of the animal.

It seems quite clear that animals obey the laws of nature through the rule of instincts implanted in their natures, and that man was intended to obey the same laws through the rule of mind, by putting himself in communion with the same power which governs animals. This is perfectly adequate for man's perfect and proper control, if he only will to do what he knows to be right. But he wills differently, and he and his children must suffer the penalties. The children born into the world are about equally divided between the male and female sexes, which makes it necessary that a man marry only one wife; otherwise, some men must live a single life. As children are so much longer dependent upon their parents than any animal, and so perfectly dependent upon their training, it becomes an absolute necessity, from man's nature, that every father bear his part in the support and training of his children. There is an exact condition of man's nature met in monogamous marriage which was evidently intended to continue until death. It was meant that a high ideal of marriage should ever be held sacred by both male and female, married and single persons, under all circumstances. Observation proves this view to be correct; for, other things being equal, every community rises in its standard of morality and vigor in proportion to its increase of married people, and correspondingly falls in proportion to its increase of unmarried people.

From the nature of man and the disastrous effects upon his own organism resulting from violation of the laws of his own nature we must draw the conclusions that the standard of purity of original man was, at least, as high as that of our present wild animals; that there are additional demands made upon humanity to meet certain requirements not found in animals; and that these laws of nature were intended to be universally obeyed by man. This excludes drunkenness, gluttony, lying,

stealing, murder, and immorality, since science must require a standard of purity for original man which would sustain, and not destroy, either the individual or the race. If this standard were as well sustained by man as it is by wild animals and combined with good common sense in hygiene at least twenty-five years would be added to the common expectancy of life.

If we do not accept the evolution of man we must accept the standard of the independent creationists, which requires all the attributes that evolution requires, and also holiness and perfection. This simply raises the original standard of man and makes the fall still greater. It is not probable that all of those who read this article will accept all our data or our deductions. The plan of argument, however, must be accepted as the only true method of a scientific presentation of this subject. Whatever is rejected, sufficient facts must still remain to demonstrate our point, as the purity of wild animals and the depravity of man are matters of common observation and cannot be disputed. If man was not evolved from the animal kingdom he must have had an origin equally pure with that of the animals. Whichever view we take of his origin, the result is the same—that he had a pure origin which he has not kept. His physical record, as taught by observed facts, is simply a counterpart of his spiritual record, as taught by the revealed word. Hence, there is but one conclusion, from which there is no escape—that the fall of man is a scientific fact.

This subject is presented purely from the view of man's physical nature; and we have endeavored to follow only the lead of truth as taught by scientific investigation. It has not been our purpose to defend any theological view or to present even an outline of the proper methods of teaching morality. It has simply been our purpose to correctly settle one scientific point, with the hope of laying a true and proper foundation for the efficient teaching of morality by giving a better understanding of the truth. If we injure none and aid any, to that extent our object has been accomplished.

A. J. Baker.

Art. III.—THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN NEW ENGLAND.

Certain questions have been mooted in regard to the religious tendencies and prospects of New England, to which answers have been given, provoking other inquiries, sometimes with unsatisfactory results. The census of the United States for 1890, furnishing fuller and more reliable data of the Churches than any former census, makes it now possible to prosecute this investigation and reach more satisfactory conclusions.

I. Our inquiries begin with the actual exhibits of the Churches. The last census gives the number of the church organizations, a classification never attempted before except in the census of 1870, and also the number of communicants or members, a wholly new item. Even the denominations which have not hitherto registered or enrolled communicants, some of which are new bodies, were induced by Dr. Carroll to furnish the number of their members. Every religious body existing in New England will be given in the following tables; but the church edifices and their valuations and seating capacity will be omitted, lest this article should be unduly extended.

Maine.

Denominations. 1. *Evangelical* Protestant Bodies.*			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Adventists: Christian	65	2,317		
Life and Advent Union	7	188		
Seventh Day	25	459		
			97	2,964
Baptists: Free Will	280	16,294		
Old Two Seed in the Spirit	3	115		
Primitive	3	137		
Regular	237	18,917		
			523	35,463
Christians			60	3,451
Congregationalists			240	21,523
Disciples			9	293
Episcopalians			38	3,291
Friends			23	1,430
Independent Congregations			3	170
Lutherans: Danish	2	200		
General Council	1	179		
Independent	1	300		
United Norwegian	2	225		
			6	904

* On the basis of the Evangelical Alliance.

DENOMINATIONS. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies—Continued.*			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Methodists: African Union Methodist Episcopal	1	45		
Methodist Episcopal	355	22,996		
			356	23,041
Plymouth Brethren			1	5
Presbyterians: General Assembly	2	205		
Reformed	1	19		
			3	224
Salvation Army			9	265
Winebrennarians			3	75
Total			1,371	93,099
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			2	60
Church of the New Jerusalem			4	289
Communistic Societies			2	100
Mormons			14	442
Spiritualists			21	2,562
Unitarians			22	2,421
Universalists			86	3,750
Total			151	9,624
All non-Catholic Bodies			1,522	102,723
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			88	57,548

New Hampshire.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	43	1,978		
Seventh Day	4	112		
			47	2,090
Baptists: Free Will	94	8,004		
Regular	85	8,768		
			179	16,772
Christian Union			2	102
Christians			23	1,522
Congregationalists			188	19,712
Episcopalians			44	2,911
Friends			10	413
Independent Congregations			3	150
Lutherans: General Council	2	395		
Union Norwegian	1	125		
			3	520
Methodist Episcopal Church			134	12,354
Plymouth Brethren			2	19
Presbyterians, General Assembly			8	956
Salvation Army			1	26
Total			644	57,547

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
2. Other Protestant Bodies.				
Christian Scientists			3	54
Church of the New Jerusalem			1	42
Communistic Societies			2	250
Spiritualists			6	672
Unitarians			26	3,252
Universalists			33	1,204
Total			71	5,474
All non-Catholic Bodies			715	63,021
3. The Roman Catholic Church.				
Roman Catholics			68	39,920

VERMONT.

1. Evangelical Protestant Bodies.

Adventists: Christian	28	1,079		
Evangelical	4	163		
Seventh Day	26	526		
			58	1,768
Baptists: Free Will	43	2,325		
Regular	100	8,933		
			5	335
Christian Union			143	11,258
Christians			5	264
Congregationalists			198	20,465
Disciples			2	262
Episcopalians			63	4,335
Friends			4	251
Independent Congregations			4	166
Lutherans, General Council			2	174
Methodists: Methodist Episcopal	228	17,268		
Wesleyan	6	259		
			234	17,527
Plymouth Brethren			2	6
Presbyterians: General Assembly	2	230		
General Synod of Reformed	2	165		
Reformed	5	222		
United	3	219		
Welsh	6	431		
			18	1,267
Total			738	58,078
2. Other Protestant Bodies.				
Christian Scientists			2	40
Jews			1	44
Spiritualists			10	1,966
Unitarians			9	968
Universalists			65	2,409
Total			87	5,427
All non-Catholic Bodies			825	63,505

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			79	42,810

Massachusetts.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	39	2,611		
Evangelical	3	150		
Life and Advent Union	5	177		
Seventh Day	15	490		
			62	3,428
Armenians			3	195
Baptists: Free Will	20	3,122		
Primitive	1	10		
Regular	318	59,830		
Six-Principle	1	4		
			340	62,966
Catholics: Apostolic	1	70		
Reformed	2	250		
			3	320
Christadelphians			9	245
Christians			28	2,722
Congregationalists			559	101,890
Disciples			4	777
Episcopalians: Protestant	166	26,855		
Reformed	2	311		
			168	27,166
Friends			32	1,602
Independent Congregations			18	684
Lutherans: Danish	3	119		
General Council	12	1,743		
General Synod	2	103		
Independent	1	80		
Norwegian	2	375		
Synodical Conference	10	1,717		
			30	4,137
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	12	1,342		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	7	724		
Free	1	12		
Methodist Episcopal	394	58,477		
Primitive	7	575		
Wesleyan	1	8		
			422	61,138
Plymouth Brethren			18	552
Presbyterians: General Assembly	18	3,570		
Reformed	2	400		
United	7	1,135		
			27	5,105
Reformed Church			1	62
Salvation Army			14	656
Winebrennarians			1	20
Total			1,739	273,665

2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*

Christian Scientists	10	499
Church of the New Jerusalem	22	1,684

DENOMINATIONS. *Other Protestant Bodies—Continued.*	Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Communistic Societies	5	164
Jews	9	2,501
Mormons	8	457
Spiritualists	61	7,345
Theosophists	2	57
Unitarians	189	34,610
Universalists	121	7,142
Total	427	54,459
All non-Catholic Bodies	2,166	328,124

3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

Roman Catholics	381	614,627

Rhode Island.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*

Adventists: Christian	12	950		
Evangelical	2	325		
Life and Advent Union	1	75		
Seventh Day	6	108		
			21	1,458
Armenians			2	70
Baptists: Free Will	26	3,252		
Regular	68	12,055		
Seventh Day	7	1,271		
Six-Principle	12	715		
			113	17,293
Christian Union			1	50
Christians			8	972
Congregationalists			34	7,192
Disciples			1	35
Episcopalians			50	9,458
Friends			16	698
Independent Congregations			6	768
Lutherans: General Council	3	420		
Independent	1	170		
			4	590
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	4	595		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	3	401		
African Union Methodist Episcopal	1	49		
Methodist Episcopal	39	6,064		
Primitive	4	194		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	1	50		
			52	7,353
Plymouth Brethren			4	66
Presbyterians: General Assembly	4	608		
United	1	220		
			5	828
Salvation Army			2	31
Total			319	46,862

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			1	75
Church of the New Jerusalem			3	130
Jews			5	910
Mormons			3	233
Spiritualists			4	150
Unitarians			6	1,595
Universalists			10	998
Total			32	4,091
All non-Catholic Bodies			351	50,953
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			51	96,755

Connecticut.

1. *Evangelical Protestant Bodies.*				
Adventists: Christian	26	1,358		
Life and Advent Union	6	243		
Seventh Day	3	91		
			35	1,692
Baptists: Free Will	2	125		
Regular	135	22,372		
Seventh Day	2	103		
			139	22,600
Catholic Apostolic			3	186
Christians			3	105
Congregationalists			306	59,154
Disciples			2	337
Episcopalians			161	26,652
Independent Congregations			4	353
Lutherans: Danish	2	200		
General Council	24	3,767		
General Synod	2	190		
Independent	1	200		
Synodical Conference	8	1,405		
			37	5,762
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	4	158		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	12	1,012		
Methodist Episcopal	219	29,411		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	1	80		
Protestant	3	154		
			239	30,815
Plymouth Brethren			3	16
Presbyterians: General Assembly	7	1,680		
United	1	184		
			8	1,864
Reformed Church			1	150
Salvation Army			6	203
Total			947	149,889

DENOMINATIONS.	Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
2. Other Protestant Bodies.		
Christian Scientists	4	75
Church of the New Jerusalem	1	28
Communistic Societies	1	100
Jews	8	1,621
Mormons	..	8
Spiritualists	19	2,354
Theosophists	1	13
Unitarians	2	179
Universalists	18	2,129
Total	54	6,507
All non-Catholic Bodies	1,001	156,396
3. The Roman Catholic Church.		
Roman Catholics	148	152,945

Total in New England.

1. Evangelical Protestant Bodies.

Adventists: Christian	213	10,293		
Evangelical	9	638		
Life and Advent Union	19	683		
Seventh Day	79	1,786		
Armenians			320	13,400
Baptists: Free Will	465	33,122	5	265
Old Two Seed in the Spirit	3	115		
Primitive	4	147		
Regular	943	130,875		
Seventh Day	9	1,374		
Six-Principle	13	719		
Catholics: Apostolic	4	256	1,437	166,352
Reformed	2	250		
			6	506
Christian Union			8	416
Christadelphians			9	245
Christians			127	9,107
Congregationalists			1,525	229,936
Disciples			18	1,704
Episcopalians: Protestant	522	73,502		
Reformed	2	311		
			524	73,813
Friends			85	4,394
Independent Congregations			38	2,291
Lutherans: Danish	7	519		
General Council	44	6,678		
General Synod	4	293		
Independent	4	750		
Norwegian Synod (two bodies)	5	725		
Synodical Conference	18	3,122		
			82	12,087

DENOMINATIONS.			Church Organizations.	Communicants or Members.
Evangelical Protestant Bodies—Continued.				
Methodists: African Methodist Episcopal	20	2,095		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	22	2,137		
African Union Methodist Episcopal	2	94		
Free	1	12		
Methodist Episcopal	1,369	146,570		
Primitive	11	769		
Protestant	3	154		
Union American Methodist Episcopal	2	130		
Wesleyan	7	267		
			1,437	152,228
Plymouth Brethren			30	664
Presbyterians: General Assembly	41	7,249		
General Synod of Reformed	2	165		
Reformed	8	641		
United	12	1,758		
Welsh	6	431		
			71	10,244
Reformed Church			2	212
Salvation Army			32	1,181
Winebrennarians			4	95
Total			5,758	679,140
2. *Other Protestant Bodies.*				
Christian Scientists			22	803
Church of the New Jerusalem			31	2,173
Communistic Societies			10	614
Jews			23	5,076
Mormons			25	1,140
Spiritualists			121	15,049
Theosophists			3	70
Unitarians			254	43,025
Universalists			333	17,632
Total			822	85,582
All non-Catholic Bodies			6,580	764,722
3. *The Roman Catholic Church.*				
Roman Catholics			815	1,004,605

SUMMARY.

1. Evangelical Protestant Bodies	5,758	679,140
2. Other Protestant Bodies	822	85,582
3. The Roman Catholic Church	815	1,004,605
Aggregate	7,395	1,769,327

Such are the exhibits for New England of the United States Census for 1890, tabulated so as to represent the existing condition and drift. The Roman Catholic Church has fifty-

seven per cent, the Evangelical Protestant Churches thirty-eight per cent, and the other Protestant bodies five per cent, of the communicants; and all these combined show that thirty-seven per cent of the total population of these six States are connected with some kind of religious organization. But right here other questions arise which will be considered.

II. We come now to the second phase of our inquiries—the relative status of the Roman Catholic Church in New England. The preceding tables show that this denomination has become very large in the old home of the Puritans; and that it has grown very rapidly during the last forty years is palpable to all. An examination of the following tables will show how it has come to grow with so much rapidity. In the first table we have the official figures of the Roman Catholic bishops, giving their estimates of the whole Roman Catholic population. These are from the Catholic yearbooks:

Year.	Estimated R. C. population.
1850	100,000
1860	.....
1870	664,000
1880	911,000
1890	1,367,000

This is an increase in forty years of 1,267,000, and in twenty years of 703,000. Such a gain is evidently too great to be accounted for by the natural preponderance of births over deaths, nor will anyone claim that it comes through the conversion of New Englanders to the Roman Catholic faith.

The next table shows the large infusion of foreign people into New England. We have here, in the first column, the number of people in New England who were born in foreign lands, as reported in each decennial census. The second column includes another foreign increment, those one or both of whose parents were born in foreign lands, usually called foreign "in the second degree." This latter class has been found, in these States, not to vary much from those actually foreign born.

Year.	Foreign born.	Foreign in the first and second degrees.
1850	306,249	612,498
1860	469,350	938,700
1870	648,061	1,296,122
1880	793,612	1,587,224
1890	1,142,432	2,284,864

Those foreign in the third and fourth degrees are not here included. The increase in the Catholic population, according to the estimates of the bishops, and in the foreign population, according to the most trustworthy statistics, is as follows:

	In the Catholic population.	In the foreign population.
1850 to 1890	1,267,000	1,672,366
1880 to 1890	456,000	697,640

The increase of the Roman Catholic population from 1850 to 1890 was seventy-five per cent of the increase of the total foreign elements, and from 1880 to 1890 was sixty-five per cent of the same.

Of course, not all of those of foreign blood are Roman Catholics; but it is an interesting inquiry what part are of Roman Catholic stock. The census for 1880 gives a helpful item. In that year, out of 793,612 foreign born persons in five New England States (Maine was not given in this calculation), 397,164 were born in Ireland, and 376,339 more were children of parents born in Ireland. Probably seven eighths of all these were of Roman Catholic stock. It is well known that French Canadians and Italians constitute two other great elements of New England immigration, all of whom are probably of Roman Catholic stock. It is estimated that about one half of the German immigrants are Roman Catholics, and none of the Scandinavians. It will probably be allowed that five eighths of all the immigrants into these six States are Roman Catholics. Five eighths of the 2,284,864 foreign in the first and second degrees give 1,428,040 who are or should be Roman Catholics, making no account of those foreign in the third, fourth, and fifth degrees, which would carry the figures to considerably over two millions. It has long been a matter of common remark, by Catholics and Protestants alike, that the Roman Catholic Church has lost heavily by transferring her populations to the United States. There has, doubtless, been a considerable loss in New England, and it is well known that there are few Protestant Churches in New England in which there are not some converts from Romanism. It has been estimated that during the last fifty or sixty years not far from one million Roman Catholics have lapsed from that Church in this section or, at least, have ceased to openly adhere to it. As for

ourselves, we raise no question as to the right of any persons to be Roman Catholics, or as to the right of Catholics to do whatever they think it their duty to do religiously for their people. And we are also free to say that, receiving such multitudes from low European conditions, New England is much better off for the discipline exercised over these masses by that Church than it would otherwise have been. It need hardly be said in this connection, however, that grave objections exist, on the part of even the most liberal Protestants of New England, to many matters connected with that Church and its followers.

It is generally known that, according to an old custom, the Roman Catholic Church has given in her yearbooks the statistics of her whole populations, whereas the evangelical Protestant Churches have numbered only their enrolled communicants, usually persons fifteen years of age and upward—by far the greater part twenty years of age and upward. In collecting data for the census of 1890, Dr. Carroll introduced a new feature, with a view to ascertaining the number of Catholic communicants. He says, "According to information received from bishops, it is the custom of the Church for baptized persons to make their first communion between the ages of nine and eleven years." He adds, "Some ecclesiastical authorities estimate that members of this class [under nine years] constitute about fifteen per cent of the population of the Church." Right at this point we notice a serious discrepancy. The Catholic population of New England in 1890, as estimated in their yearbooks, was 1,367,000, and their communicants, as gathered in the United States Census, were 1,004,605, the latter being claimed to be eighty-five per cent of their total population. According to this method of reckoning, the total population should be 1,181,888, instead of 1,367,000, as estimated in the yearbooks for 1890. Reversing the calculation, if the total population is 1,367,000 and the communicants are eighty-five per cent of that number they should be 1,161,950, instead of 1,004,605. The trouble is the want of exact data in either case. Efforts are being made by this Church to perfect and tabulate its statistics with greater exactness, like those of the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and other bodies. This is much to be desired, but their progress in this direction is very slow.

III. Another inquiry has often arisen, in view of the changing conditions of the inhabitants of this section. How are the evangelical Churches competing with the population? Probably in no other part of the country are these Churches under so great a strain to keep abreast with the population. It is a familiar fact that New England is not only a section subject to a large immigration, but is also a great emigrating section. The entire northern belt of the United States as far as the Pacific and, also, some of the Southern States show the impress of New England. About twelve or fifteen years ago an investigation showed that there were then living in the United States outside of New England 600,000 persons who were born in New England—some of its best stock, who had gone forth to build up other States. At the same time there were 800,000 persons in New England who were born in foreign lands, not to speak of those foreign in the second or third degrees. These facts show why the type of New England cities and towns has changed so greatly in the last forty years. This change is still going on, and a similar investigation for 1890 would probably demonstrate that, over against 1,142,432 foreign born persons in New England in that year, we might place 900,000 New England born people living in this country outside of New England. Adding to the foreign born population those foreign in the second degree, we have 2,284,864 foreign in the two degrees, of whom at least 2,000,000 were originally out of Roman Catholic stock. We have not many more to add to reach one half of the total population, which is 4,700,745. Thus, it appears that the Churches of New England have contributed liberally, not only of money, but of their best blood, to build up and evangelize the great West, while at the same time they have found themselves competing at a disadvantage with a rapid increase of population from foreign lands, which has no sympathy with, but rather is hostile to, Protestantism. This, then, is the condition of the field: 1. One quarter of the population by direct immigration is Roman Catholic; 2. Another quarter of the population by extraction is held more or less closely to that Church; 3. One fifth of the native born New Englanders are now living outside of New England; 4. All through the century, while one class has been emigrating from New England territory, another very different class has been

immigrating to it; 5. During this century the New England Churches, sharing largely in the advanced culture of the age, have undergone a purging of old doctrinal forms of statement, and a rehabilitation of theology, "changing, yet unchanged," which is a severe test of their vitality and power of adaptation to the people.

Under such circumstances, what has been the success of the evangelical Churches, and how have they held their ground with the growth of the population? It must be kept in mind that we make the comparison with the whole number of inhabitants, including the Roman Catholics, the foreign born, etc.—all counting over against the Protestant evangelical Churches. The statistics of the communicants of the evangelical Churches, gathered with great care from the official yearbooks or minutes, are our first basis of comparison, and cover the forty years from 1850 to 1890:

Communicants of the Evangelical Churches of New England.

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Maine	72,294	81,275	80,178	86,894	93,099
New Hampshire	49,632	50,958	50,371	53,518	57,547
Vermont	44,329	46,384	49,504	55,988	58,078
Massachusetts	124,899	153,572	175,326	213,288	273,665
Rhode Island	18,220	22,732	26,426	33,542	46,862
Connecticut	75,710	96,817	107,169	123,934	149,889
Total	385,084	451,688	488,974	567,164	679,140
Population	2,728,116	3,135,283	3,487,924	4,010,436	4,700,745

Inhabitants to One Communicant.

Maine	8.07	7.73	7.82	7.48	7.10
New Hampshire	6.41	6.39	6.31	6.46	6.56
Vermont	7.08	6.80	6.67	5.94	5.71
Massachusetts	7.96	8.01	8.31	8.35	8.18
Rhode Island	8.09	7.68	8.22	8.24	7.37
Connecticut	4.89	4.75	5.01	5.02	4.97
Total Average	7.06	6.94	7.18	7.02	6.93

From the foregoing it appears that Maine gained a little on the population in every decade but one, the war period, from 1860 to 1870. New Hampshire gained on the population until 1870, since which time she has declined a little. Vermont made a slight gain on the population in every decade, though her actual gain was small. Massachusetts lost a little in every decade except the last, in which she gained. Rhode Island fell behind from 1860 to 1880, since which time she has

gained considerably. Connecticut gained a little in the last decade. The total average showed a decline from 1850 to 1870, since which time there has been a little gain. Making a comparison for the forty years, we have the following exhibit:

	Increase of population.	Increase of communicants.
Maine	13 per cent.	28 per cent.
New Hampshire	18 " "	16 " "
Vermont	5 " "	31 " "
Massachusetts	125 " "	119 " "
Rhode Island	134 " "	157 " "
Connecticut	101 " "	98 " "
Average	72 per cent.	76 per cent.

It will be noticed that the competition has been sharper in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut than in the other New England States. And yet it is also true that in some of the other States the native population has actually declined in some decades. The following official table is very impressive, and will throw much light on the whole inquiry:

Percentage of Increase of Native Born.

	1880 to 1890.	1870 to 1880.	1860 to 1870.	1850 to 1860.
Maine	1.34 *	2.08	2.17 *	7.16
New Hampshire	1.16	4.16	5.39 *	0.47
Vermont	1.03 *	2.80	0.37	0.70
Massachusetts	18.08	21.34	13.71	16.91
Rhode Island	18.10	25.06	18.02	10.99
Connecticut	14.20	16.26	11.69	14.20

Percentage of Increase of Foreign Born

Maine	34.10	20.46	30.51	17.68
New Hampshire	56.26	56.34	41.42	46.78
Vermont	7.64	13.14 *	44.02	2.88 *
Massachusetts	48.17	25.52	35.84	58.58
Rhode Island	43.67	33.57	48.14	56.45
Connecticut	41.24	14.39	40.82	109.50

It would be an almost endless task to draw out the comparisons indicated above. We have put the two tables in juxtaposition and ask the reader to make his own comparisons between them. He will then understand and appreciate the keenness of the competition of which we have spoken.

We have now come to a very important part of this investigation. Thus far, the enrolled communicants of the Protestant Churches, consisting almost wholly of adults, have been counted

* Decrease.

over against the whole Roman Catholic population; for the number of Catholic communicants does not vary much from their entire constituency. Rev. Dr. Thomas Chalmers, of Scotland, and Rev. Dr. Robert Baird, of New York city, were accustomed, in their investigations, to multiply the communicants of the evangelical Churches by four, in order to ascertain the whole number of their adherents. But the conditions have changed somewhat, and now the multiplier should not exceed three and a half. Adopting this standard, let us first combine the evangelical and the non-evangelical Protestants in the computation. This gives us 2,676,527 as the Protestant population as compared with 1,367,000 claimed in the Roman yearbooks in 1890. These two estimates make 4,043,527, out of a total population of 4,700,745 in New England. Confining our final comparison solely to the evangelical Churches, we find them represented in 1850 by 1,347,894 adherents, and in 1890 by 2,376,990 adherents, an increase in forty years of 1,029,196, which is almost wholly native; while the Roman Catholic population, with its vast foreign accessions, in the same forty years increased 1,267,000, or only 237,804 more than the evangelical population. The Catholic increase is calculated upon estimates or conjectures, and the evangelical population upon registered members. There are many collateral facts and inquiries suggested by these studies upon which we have not entered, because not necessary to our purpose.

Daniel Dorchester

Art. IV.—FUNCTION AND FUTURE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN AFRICA.

This is a subject of double interest: first, because of its missionary value, and, secondly, because of its linguistic importance. The influx of foreigners to the Dark Continent—missionaries and explorers—gives the African tongues greater prominence than ever before, while at the same time it adds to their philological significance. Africa, therefore, furnishes a field for the solution of some of the knottiest problems known to man, linguistic as well as religious. The future can only determine the outcome. Again, the recent caustic criticism of Max Müller's position relative to the science of language, by America's greatest authority, the late Professor W. D. Whitney, of Yale, adds new interest to the subject of philology, while it demonstrates beyond contradiction that linguistic science is still in a transition state and that it has not yet reached the status of an exact science. Until this shall take place we may expect differences of opinion in regard to many important philological questions. Whether "the science of language is physical or historical, whether roots constitute a spoken language or are phonetic types that never enter into actual speech, whether isolating languages become agglutinative and agglutinative inflectional, whether dialects precede common language or common language dialects, whether the languages of the world have all been derived from one or two primitive centers or whether they have a diversity of origin," * all seem still to be matters of dispute. Yet, so far as the writer's own investigations have gone, the unity of language is just as much a settled fact as the unity of the race; and no one can doubt the latter but the most avowed skeptic.

Max Müller is reported to have said, at the meeting of the International Oriental Congress, that scholars eschew the question "whether it is possible to account for the origin of languages, or rather of human speech in general, because it is one to be handled by philosophers rather than by students of language." As plausible as this theory seems to be, a better view to take of the subject would be to regard the science of

* Sayce, *Science of Language.*

language as belonging to both philosopher and philologist; for, though the former may not always be a philologist, yet the latter must in a large sense be a philosopher. It is not the object of this paper, however, to settle disputed points of philology, but rather to offer some suggestions as to the probable outcome of foreign languages in Africa. The arguments that follow will be based on the presumption that the order of linguistic development is from the isolating to the agglutinative, from the agglutinative to the inflectional, or the dropping out of existence of present dialects and forms of speech, and the substitution of others of a more advanced character.

It is generally admitted, we believe, that the majority of all the languages known to linguists are for the most part agglutinative in character, or, in other words, that they are nearest the lowest stages of development, if we take root formations as the starting point; and that the inflectional element is represented by only a small proportion of these. If we adopt Professor Sayce's division of the languages of the world and classify the African tongues* accordingly, it will be found that the Hottentot Bushman, with all of its dialects and subdialects, belongs to the agglutinative, isolating, and semi-inflectional groups. The Bantu family, with its numerous dialects, is of the prefix-pronominal class. The Negro group, so far as is known, is agglutinative and isolating. The Nuba Fulah family is also agglutinative. The Hamitic and Semitic families are inflectional. Other scattering African tongues are variously classed as agglutinative, isolating, prefix-pronominal, polysynthetic, semi-inflectional, and inflectional. These divisions are not intended to indicate, because certain families are agglutinative or inflectional, that all are alike in form. Members of the same family differ from one another to a greater or less degree, in proportion to the nearness of kinship. It is generally conceded that languages of the same family pass one from another much more easily and readily than those of different families; for example, the agglutinative to the agglutinative, the isolating to the isolating, the semi-inflectional to the semi-inflectional, the inflectional to the inflectional. In speaking of the changes in language Sayce gives three causes for the same: first, imitation,

*See also special articles on the languages of Africa in the proceedings of the Ethnological Congress on Africa.

or analogy; secondly, a wish to be clear and emphatic; thirdly, laziness, sometimes referred to as the law of the least effort. Then the same authority adds that, if we choose to go deep enough, we might reduce the three to one—laziness.

This last suggestion should be somewhat modified, as we have numerous examples of peoples and tribes who gave up their native tongue for other reasons than those of laziness. Love of imitation has played an important part in producing linguistic changes; and yet we are forced to believe that necessity is as potent an element in the changes as either imitation, the wish to be emphatic, or the law of the least effort. How far it is true that the Celts of Cornwall, the Wends of Prussia, or the Huns of Bulgaria gave up their own tongue altogether and adopted that of their neighbors simply because of the love of imitation, and that only, is in our opinion an open question. When a pronunciation is once established it remains more or less fixed. When there is a change there is a reason for it, call it what we may. Philologists have noted instances wherein analogy has altered the whole structural complexion of language; and Sayce himself refers to special cases of the same. We give a few examples: the Coptic language was once an affix language, like the Egyptian or the Semitic tongue. It became a prefix language, denoting by prefixes the relations of grammar. This change is thought to be due to the neighboring Berber and cognate dialects. As an illustration of the desire to be clear and emphatic, the Negro Dinka language has been offered as an example. In this tongue the vowel of the singular is lengthened or sharpened to form certain plurals. For example, *ror*, which is the singular for "wood," has *rōr* for a plural; *nom*, "head," has *nim* for its plural; *lib*, "tongue," has *lyep* for its plural; *tut*, "goose," *tuot*, "geese." To form the passive voice of its verbs the "final *i* of the formative elements is lengthened." This "differentiation"* is supposed to be for the sake of clearness. It has been asserted that the origin of the tones in the Chinese language is due largely, if not entirely, to the same cause; and this is probably very near the truth.

The third cause of the change in language, which is attributed to laziness, is not so potential in its influence as the other

* Sayce.

two, except perhaps among the ruder and more barbarous tribes. That dialects and forms of speech have grown out of it is true; but just how far there is no way of deciding. Dialects seem to be the natural outgrowth of language,* whatever be the causes; for every tongue seems to have its dialects, numerous or otherwise. Among the Basques, whose country has less than a million of people, there are no less than eight principal dialects, with a number of subordinate ones, many of which are said to be mutually unintelligible. Civilization determines the character of a language; and wherever this is wanting dialects for the most part abound, as the tendency in language in its natural state is toward diversity. Intermarriage of peoples of different tribes and nations is frequently the basis of linguistic changes. Various influences may operate to modify one's speech, as, for example, climate. Diversity of pronunciation in the same country may be frequently accounted for through the agency of climate.

If, as has been said by a well-known English philologist, it is among the speakers of the agglutinative or polysynthetic tongues, when brought into contact with inflectional languages, that the difficulty of changing from one family of languages to another is best exemplified, it is by no means easy to state, even approximately, just what will be the outcome of the contact of African tongues with foreign languages. It is evident that the fittest must survive, and that two unlike languages cannot remain together in the same country and in the same community without one's influencing the other. The so-called American Negro dialect is not a fair example of the mixture of tongues. For the negro has been so long removed from his native speech and native influence as to have lost all traces of either. As an outcast in a foreign country he became easily susceptible to whatever linguistic influences were nearest him; and, therefore, without law or order, he garbled up whatever came within reach and made it distinctively his own. Humboldt tells us that the South American Indians find great difficulty in learning Spanish, and this is said to result from an embarrassment arising from the impediment they meet in attempting to use a language so different in structure from their own. The Chinese come to this country with no knowl-

*This view presupposes that language precedes dialects.

edge of English whatever; but necessity compels them to acquire some knowledge of the language, and they attempt it. The kind of English we have as a result is sometimes styled "Pigeon" English, which is neither English nor Chinese. In fact, the blending of these two tongues is utterly impossible, as they are too unlike in genius and structure. It is well known that in their attempt at pronouncing English the Chinese give the sound of *l* wherever the sound of *r* occurs in our language; and we are informed that the Japanese do exactly the reverse. In a recent article in *Scribner's Magazine* we are told that this people put *r* in the place of every *l*.

The Hawaiian language is a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian type, and contains only five consonants—*k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*—with an aspirate *h*, five vowels, and a vocalic *w*. This is a mere skeleton, as compared with the letters and sounds of our own tongue. One can easily conceive of the difficulty that arises when a native attempts to learn English. Notwithstanding these difficulties efforts will always be made, and there will always be a barbarous and imperfect blending of tongues whenever two or more peoples, distinct, like these, in language and thought, are brought together. As a result there will always be a borrowing of words and phrases, of sounds modified or unmodified, until one yields to the other or one becomes extinct.

The influence of civilization is a mighty lever in shaping the destiny of language. Dialects crumble before it, and the diversity of tongues drifts toward unity. The language of the intelligent must supersede, wholly or in part, that of the unintelligent wherever they come in contact, either by displacing it or fashioning it after its own mold. As the weaker languages and dialects of Europe have disappeared before the light of intelligence, so will the languages and dialects of Africa drop out of existence, one by one, it may be, as the same influence shall quicken and permeate the people. One by one will the stronger swallow up the weak, until the speech of the dominant people shall prevail, jargon first, perhaps, extinction later. Doubtless many more dialects than now exist have passed away, some of them leaving not a relic behind to tell the story of their existence, while of others bare skeletons of speech may be found here and there, but hardly enough to indicate their linguistic relations. The forces that produced these changes are still at work, but in a

greater degree; and, though we can make no definite statement as to the results growing out of the invasion of Africa by foreign languages, yet again we believe that the inflectional will survive the uninflectional languages of the world. No artificial language can stand the test of time. In fact, it will hardly gain a foothold, but, like Volapük, will die in its infancy.

Of European languages the Portuguese seems to have had the *entrée* first and to have first become fixed in an African colony. In Angola,* on the west coast, and Mozambique, on the east, the Portuguese has exerted an influence that has made itself felt, not only upon the natives as a people, but upon the language of the natives. As new ideas sprang up new words were needed to express these ideas; hence, the adoption of new words and expressions of a foreign character. It is said that travelers in the interior have found hundreds of natives who could speak and write Portuguese. Of course, the Portuguese must have undergone some changes and have become corrupted to the extent of receiving the native accent and intonation and the introduction of new words. It is also said that Brazilian immigrants at Lagos speak a corrupted dialect, filtered through America to Africa. Cust mentions a secretary, a native well versed in Portuguese, who had learned it from missionaries. Many of the natives of Ambaka read and write Portuguese; and their children and grandchildren seem to take it up as if it were their own vernacular.† The Spanish colonists in Algeria, Ceuta, and Morocco use the Spanish language, and likewise the inhabitants of the Niger delta. But the Spanish has not made the same progress as the Portuguese. This is certainly not due to any great difference between the two languages, so far as their structural relations are concerned, but rather to the lack of activity on the part of Spanish colonists, missionaries, and explorers in making their linguistic influence felt.

The Dutch language has taken hold on Africa, though in a corrupted form. To use the words of Cust, this language "has undergone considerable dialectal degradation, even among the colonists of whole or half blood; and the form of speech spoken by the Bastards, the Orlam, and the Griqua, as well as by the republican Boers, is very different from the Dutch of Holland, the words being corrupt in form, while there is misappropria-

* Cust's *Modern Languages of Africa.* † *Ibid.*, p. 44.

tion of meaning, barbarous modes of expression, and bold defiance of grammar."* The French language and the French people hold sway in large portions of Africa and seem to be on the increase in strength and influence. Even now efforts are being made by the French to secure the republic of Liberia. In French colonies French is the language used, whether pure or corrupt. Senegal and Gabun furnish examples of the influence of this tongue. The French Roman Catholic missionaries are active in the spread of the French language. The Italian is likewise widely diffused, especially on the Mediterranean coast. Like other tongues, it is assaulting the native speech where it is weakest. The Germans are pushing themselves and their language into the interior as far as possible and are determined not to be in the rear. The German authorities have instructed their agents to compile dictionaries of all the native languages spoken in their colonies. The influence and power of these compilations must be the same as those of all similar compilations, and in the end must serve to make the strong stronger and the weak weaker. The influence of missionaries, numerous translations of the Bible in African tongues, and commercial relations must in some way operate in the interest of the foreign languages.

The English language, more powerful than any of its competitors, is vying with its rivals and has made commendable progress wherever English-speaking representatives have found an entrance on African shores. Its influence is felt, not only upon native speech, but upon its rival sister languages as well. In West and South Africa, on the east coast, and in the interior English-speaking missionaries are found in large numbers. In many cases the English is the only medium of communication between native ex-slaves and English-speaking people. Churches, schools, and other agencies for disseminating light and truth dot English-speaking colonies. Cust says:

> Travelers allude to the jargon of Sierra Leone English, and state that the people of Lagos speak a patois of English which closely approximates to Yariba; that the Krumen, so largely employed in English vessels, speak a form of the English language difficult to describe; that the Grebo tribes speak an Anglo-African jargon for purposes of traffic, which is made up of native idioms interwoven with broken English words.†

* *Modern Languages of Africa*, p. 44.

† *Ibid.*, p. 47. On mixed jargons see Sayce, Whitney, and Max Müller.

Under such circumstances what may be the future speech of the natives remains to be seen. Possibly the native tongue may after a while become extinct and the interloper, in this as in other instances, take complete sway.

Albert S. Gatchet, of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, has on several occasions discussed the nature and peculiarities of the North American languages before the American Philological Association. In his paper on the affinity of the Cherokee to the Iroquois dialects Mr. Gatchet calls attention to the fact that in illiterate languages, like those of the North American Indian, one and the same term may be correctly pronounced in six or ten or twelve different ways, on account of the alternation or permutability of certain sounds. Then he calls attention to a phonetic law by which one may successfully compare vocables belonging to different languages. Suffice it, however, to say that, difficult as the task may seem, some of these Indians have learned to speak English well enough to make themselves understood, notwithstanding the low degree of civilization which they have attained. The Grebos of Africa are very low in the scale of civilization and possess a dialect so rude that, to indicate the person and tense of their verbs, they make use of gesticulations. Yet there is no reason, if these people or their descendants are only brought under proper influence and proper training, why they, too, may not adopt a new tongue totally unlike their own. We may not be able to conceive of such a tongue at present; but the time may, and we believe will, come when even the Grebo dialect will become extinct and when the people themselves will adopt a new tongue and become, through the power of the Gospel, a new nation in character and language.

We know the law of history, that a conquered nation always forsakes its own tongue for that of the conquerors when the latter are superior in civilization. The Celts who lived in Gaul in the time of Cæsar's invasion did so. On the other hand, when the Germans later invaded the same country they forsook their own speech for that of the conquered but more civilized foe. In Africa we find few armies, as a rule, to enforce the acceptance of any language. Then, too, such armies as there are include a large native contingent. But we do find, in every instance where a foreign tongue has been effectually introduced by an army, that the latter has been superior in civilization to

the natives. In Africa, besides, there are no contending classes among the foreign element—an upper and a lower—bringing in two dialects, a literary and a common one, and so lengthening the period before either the native or the foreign must inevitably perish. Missionary and similar efforts, affecting commercial and social relations, make the crystallization of anything that can be called a permanent form of speech likely, from another standpoint, to be extremely slow. The native character in its varied phases is to be considered, as also the fact that the assaults upon the native dialects, though many and from various points and oft repeated, are not delivered with a force determined to conquer, as in the instances we have mentioned. Christianity modifies all warfare, whether it be that of arms or of tongues; and so long as it is not the sole purpose, except in a few instances, to subdue the native tribes, we may expect any movement of change to be one of no very great rapidity.

If we take a still broader and more comprehensive view of language and its influence in all foreign countries to-day we may see the creeping movement of some toward a more universal use than others. While we are not prepared with statistics, we state on the authority of others that the English tongue is gaining a foothold over all others. Be this as it may, the very idea suggests a new difficulty—another knot in the problem before us. If the foreign languages in Africa do so influence the native speech that out of the two grows another new tongue, what influence will these foreign tongues have upon each other during this transformation? Shall we have a new set of dialects or of tongues, which in turn will be called upon to coalesce in their future history by conquering armies, as instanced in the birth of the French language; or will there be such a radical change as to cause existing native tongues to drop out of existence and the almost bodily adoption of the most powerful of the foreign languages?

If one can be said to reach a conclusion in what, from present data, must be largely looked upon as an inconclusive discussion, we may hazard the prediction from what we have before us, judging the present by the past, as to the history of peoples and the history of language, that there will come a day in the march of civilization through the Dark Continent when the agglutinative tongues of the natives, with others, will yield to

the more powerful inflectional tongues of foreigners; that the former will become extinct as such, new languages being built up, modified, as in the past, according to all the rules we know to have affected the changing speech of mankind—by necessities, environments, and the strength of the characteristics residing in the peculiar native sounds; and that the areas of these new tongues will in turn be enlarged by conflict and conquest among themselves. In short, the partition of Africa among the nations of the earth has brought this powerful factor of language as a compelling force in all the movements. Africa, on its way to a higher civilization, must and shall tread in the footsteps of Europe, only that the onward march will be a more vigorous and attractive one, lighted up by the arts and sciences of the present high civilization of the intruding powers which have transferred their tongues to its shores; and so, at length, the ancient glory of this continent, so long asleep, shall return to it with all this added modern splendor, so that it shall vie with America, the two being the greatest theaters of future events, as the trend of the present flow of immigration, on the one hand, to America, and, on the other, of conquest and new possession in Africa, would clearly indicate.

W. S. Scarborough.

Art. V.—OUR MEN AND WOMEN: MAY, 1892, AND BEYOND—AN IRENICON.

In a former paper we passed in review a few of the salient facts in our Church history illustrative of the status and activities of women, and then examined with care the action of the General Conference in 1888. It remains to review with like care the not less noted action of the year 1892, and then to inquire whether there be not a more excellent way to the attainment of harmony in sentiment and action than has as yet been adopted. In investigating the action of 1892 we shall find it conducive to clearness to resume the time-honored method of legal inquisition by question and answer. It will also facilitate reference if we continue the numerical series instead of beginning a new one.

41. Why was it proper for the General Conference to reopen the question of eligibility of women? Because by memorials and resolutions new action was asked for by influential representatives of the majority both of the ministry and laity of the Church.

42. What emphasized this obvious propriety? The fact that at the last session the General Conference had expressed a desire to hear from the Church; and now the Church, having shown its sentiments, desired to hear from the General Conference.

43. In order to intelligent new action of any kind, what needed to be settled beyond all controversy? The precise legal effect of the unprecedented action of 1888 and of the later action of the Annual Conference membership.

44. What resolution, adapted to effect this end in the most orderly and appropriate way, was referred to the Judiciary Committee? The following:

Whereas, A number of women were chosen by Quarterly Conferences as lay delegates to the Lay Electoral Conferences, and the Lay Electoral Conferences so constituted have elected lay delegates to this General Conference; [and,] *Whereas*, The names of two women appear upon the rolls of this Conference as reserve lay delegates; therefore, *Resolved*, That the Committee on Judiciary be, and hereby is, instructed to inquire and report at an early day, not later than May 20, whether the terms "lay delegates," "laymen," and "member of the Church in full con-

nection," as used in paragraphs 55 to 63 inclusive, express or imply distinction of sex.

45. What was the full report of the Committee? The following:

Understanding that we are to declare the meaning of the words, and not to express an opinion as to the wisdom of the law, and applying the well recognized rule of construction, that the intent of the lawmakers in using the language must govern, and that the meaning to be put upon the words by us must be the meaning put upon them by the General Conference and the Annual Conferences at the time they were adopted, and in the light of the history of the Church bearing upon the subject up to the time of the adoption of the provisions in which the words under consideration occur, and in the light of the discussions had at the time of their adoption, and of all the surrounding circumstances, and in view of the fact that the last General Conference, acting in its judicial capacity, after a very exhaustive discussion, definitely decided that women were not included in these provisions, and that the Annual Conferences and the Church have accepted and acted upon that decision, we are of the opinion that said words, as used in the paragraphs aforesaid, do not apply to both sexes, and that they include men only.

46. Was the report adopted? No. Dr. D. H. Moore, a member of the Judiciary Committee, presented the substitute reprinted farther on. Then, to give the whole remaining process in the exact language of the official record,

J. W. Hamilton presented an amendment to the substitute. W. I. Cogshall called for the previous question, which was ordered. Amos Shinkle, a layman, called for a separate vote on the substitute and its amendment. J. B. Faulks moved to lay the amendment to the substitute on the table, which did not prevail by a vote of 172 to 226. The question of a separate vote being taken by the laymen, it was not sustained. The amendment to the substitute was adopted by a vote of 234 to 174. A. B. Leonard moved that the question be divided at the point where the substitute ends and the amendment thereto begins, which was ordered by a vote of 206 to 169. A. B. Leonard moved to lay on the table the first part of the amended substitute, being the paper of D. H. Moore, which was carried by a vote of 280 to 100. The question being put on the second part of the substitute as amended, G. H. Bridgman, a ministerial delegate, called for a separate vote. The question of a separate vote being put to the ministerial delegates, 77 sustained the call. A count being made of all the ministerial delegates present, there were found present 289, and the separate vote was not ordered. The substitute was then accepted. On the question of the adoption of the second part of the substitute, it was adopted by 241 to 160.*

* *Journal of the General Conference of* 1892, p. 359.

47. What did the highest court in the Church assume when it directed its Judiciary Committee to inquire into the meaning of the term "lay delegates," and especially when it entertained the report and arguments of the majority of said committee? It manifestly assumed that the meaning of the law on this subject was legitimately open to question and in need of clearer determination.

48. What would have been the effect had the report of the Judiciary Committee been adopted? It would have settled beyond all legitimate question the meaning of the law, and in a sense adverse to the eligibility of women.

49. What was the effect of the entire omission to adopt the report and the actual adoption of Dr. Hamilton's paper? By this course the General Conference left the main question still open; and so it must remain until the completion of the voting authorized.

50. What was the use of the fifth resolution in the paper adopted? It was of no use so long as the paper was attached to the Moore substitute as an amendment.

51. Would it not have been better tactics in the majority to have laid it on the table instead of the Moore paper—that is, if all voters had been clear as to their bearings? Undoubtedly, since then the parallel between the new action and that of 1888 would have been complete in form as well as force. Several of the friends of woman's eligibility voted, or withheld their votes, in accordance with this view.

52. What, then, is the difference between the act of 1888 and that of 1892. Simply this: to its referendum the former prefixes, while the latter postfixes, a construction of the law, a construction that must govern in future elections in case the proposed amendment fails. If, therefore, the action of the former year was defensible, that of the latter year was defensible. If the action of 1892 was a burlesque on all right judicial procedures, no less can be said of the action of 1888. The one cannot be repudiated and the other defended. Their order in time alone constitutes a real distinction. The one was an original, the other a copy, slightly modified in form, but not in principle. Whoever, therefore, feels called upon sternly to reprobate the principle common to them both should remember that in manifest fairness we should direct our reprobation

primarily and chiefly toward the unprecedented act at New York rather than toward the precedented one at Omaha.

At this point it will serve a useful purpose to present in parallel columns, stage by stage, the essential agreements and the comparatively unimportant variations of these two famous actions—probably the two most peculiarly related inversions of proper legal processes to be found in the whole history of Christian jurisprudence, ecclesiastical or civil. We will call the thence arising conspectus

A BINOCULAR VIEW.

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1. In consequence of the election of women during several quadrenniums as reserve delegates, and at last, also, as regular delegates to the General Conference of 1888, and in view of a certain protest against the latter action, the question of the eligibility of women under the existing law was raised by the bishops.	1. In consequence of the renewed election of women as reserve delegates, and in view of weighty memorials and petitions, and also in view of the ministerial and lay majorities just given in the Church at large in favor of impartial eligibility, the General Conference of 1892 renewed the bishops' question.
2. Taking into account the conscientious convictions of the bishops and the formal protest addressed to them, one can hardly see how they could have done otherwise.	2. Taking into account the conscientious convictions of the General Conference and the credentials and memorials addressed to it, one can hardly see how it could have done otherwise.
3. The elections challenged by the bishops were referred to a special committee, seventeen in number, appointed by the bishops.	3. The eligibility question, renewed by the Conference, was referred to the Judiciary Committee, fifteen in number, nominated by the bishops.
4. The committee reported adversely to the eligibility of women.	4. The committee reported adversely to the eligibility of women.
5. According to our uniform usage and under our unwritten constitution, a decisive vote of the General Conference, sitting exclusively in its supreme judicial capacity, either adopting or rejecting the report of the committee, would have been entitled to full acceptance by all parties as legally and properly settling the due interpretation of the law for the time, and also as	5. According to our uniform usage and under our unwritten constitution, a decisive vote of the General Conference, sitting exclusively in its supreme judicial capacity, either adopting or rejecting the report of the committee, would have been entitled to full acceptance by all parties as legally and properly settling the due interpretation of the law for the time, and also as

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determining the proper course for all future Electoral Conferences to pursue until further legitimate constitutional action, legislative or judicial, relative thereto.

6. The report, as presented, was not put to vote. How many would have supported it, had a vote been taken, can never be known.

7. Pending the consideration of the report a motion was made to "consult the Church generally in such an important matter," and to do this by "submitting" an amendment to the second restrictive rule in such form that, in case it should be carried by the required majorities, the eligibility of women would be unequivocally expressed in our universally acknowledged written constitutional law.

8. The advocates of the eligibility of women desired no change in the restrictive rule, such as was proposed, but only an authoritative judicial interpretation of the term "lay delegates" in conformity with the meaning hitherto uniformily acted on in the Church, so far as any action had been taken.

9. Nevertheless, the form of the proposed amendment was just the one that the advocates of the eligibility of women would have chosen had they desired to put their understanding of the law into the written constitution in unequivocal terms.

10. The mover (Dr. Neely) did not intend to vote for the constitutional amendment proposed by him; but he did desire to give his opponents time and a chance to appeal to the Church in an effort constitutionally to enact their view.

11. The first decisive vote reached was on the acceptance of the Neely

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determining the proper course for all future Electoral Conferences to pursue until further legitimate constitutional action, legislative or judicial, relative thereto.

6. The report, as presented, was not put to vote. How many would have supported it, had a vote been taken, can never be known.

7. Pending the consideration of the report, and of the Moore substitute therefor, in order renewedly to "consult the Church," a motion was made to "submit" an amendment to the second restrictive rule in such form that, in case it should be carried by the required majorities, the ineligibility of women would be unequivocally expressed in our universally acknowledged written constitutional law.

8. The advocates of the ineligibility of women desired no change in the restrictive rule, such as was proposed, but only an authoritative judicial interpretation of the term "lay delegates" in conformity with the meaning provisionally established for it by the action of the General Conference of 1888.

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10. The mover (Dr. Hamilton) did not intend to vote for the constitutional amendment proposed by him; but he did desire to give his opponents time and a chance to appeal to the Church in an effort constitutionally to enact their view.

11. The first decisive vote reached was on the acceptance of the Hamil-

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amendment. By a majority of 249 to 173 it was accepted. This clearly implied a disposition to hinge the final settlement of the controversy, not upon a judicial declaration representing merely a majority of the Conference, but rather upon the issue of an appeal to the Church in the form of a constitution-amending vote.

12. After the acceptance of the Neely amendment the amended paper read as follows: "*Whereas*, After serious consideration and a free discussion for several hours they [the Special Committee of Seventeen] are convinced that, under the second restrictive rule, which was altered by the constitutional process, the Church contemplated the admission of men only as lay representatives; and that as it has never been consulted or expressed its desire upon the admission of women to the General Conference, they are compelled to report for adoption the following resolutions: (1) That under the constitution and laws of the Church as they now are women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference; (2) That the protest referred to this committee against the seating of Amanda G. Rippey, from the Kansas; Mary G. Nind, from the Minnesota; Angie F. Newman, from the Nebraska; Lizzie D. Van Kirk, from the Pittsburg; and Frances E. Willard, from the Rock River Conference, is sustained by the Discipline; and therefore they cannot legally be admitted to seats; (3) That the secretary of the General Conference shall notify the legally elected reserve delegates from these Conferences that the seats herein referred to are vacant; *But since there*

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ton amendment. By a majority of 234 to 174 it was accepted. This clearly implied a disposition to hinge the final settlement of the controversy, not upon a judicial declaration representing merely a majority of the Conference, but rather upon the issue of an appeal to the Church in the form of a constitution-amending vote.

12. After the acceptance of the Hamilton amendment the amended paper read as follows: "*Whereas*, It is conceded that only the principle —not the plan—of lay delegation was submitted to the Annual Conferences by the action of the General Conference of 1868, and was, by the concurrent action of the Annual Conferences and the General Conference, incorporated into the second restrictive rule; and, *Whereas*, The plan by which the principle was made operative was the action of the General Conference alone, and is therefore statutory, and not constitutional, and is subject to amendment and interpretation by this body; and, *Whereas*, The General Conference of 1872 exercised this right of interpretation (see *Journal*, page 443); and, *Whereas*, A decided majority both of the laity and ministry has declared in favor of the eligibility of women as members of the Lay Electoral and General Conferences, therefore, *Resolved*, That the General Conference holds that in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' ought to be understood, and must of right be understood to include all the members of the Church who are not members or presidents of the Annual Conferences; [But] *Whereas, The claim is made by the*

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is great interest in this question, and since the Church generally should be consulted in regard to such an important matter, therefore, *Resolved*, That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates may be men or women,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference;' so that it will read, 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates may be men or women.'"

[The above paper of 1888 is here printed as one sentence, for the reason that, as adopted, it constituted one proposition, whose division the majority refused to permit, and for or against which, as an indivisible unit, every member had to give his aye or no. The paper in the opposite column is printed in the same way, although it later was divided. In each case the beginning of the amendment is marked by the use of italics to distinguish its preamble. In the paper of 1892 I have introduced in brackets the word "but," as the author of the matter following it undoubtedly would have done had he prepared it as an amendment to Dr. Moore's paper, instead of as a substitute for the committee's report. These merely clerical or editorial features of the present reprint cannot possibly mislead, first, because the natural and only self-consistent legal interpretation of the text demands them, and, second, because the reader is duly notified of them in equally prominent type alongside the documents. A far more serious liberty was that taken by the official daily organ of

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Judiciary Committee of the General Conference that women are now ineligible to membership in the Lay Electoral and General Conferences, therefore, *Resolved*, (1) That we submit to the Annual Conferences the proposition to amend the second restrictive rule by adding the words, 'and said delegates must be male members,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference,' so that it will read: 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates must be male members;' (2) That this proposition be submitted to the Annual Conferences held during the autumn of 1895 and the spring of 1896; (3) That in the month of October or November, 1894, there shall be held in every place of public worship of the Methodist Episcopal Church an election, at which every member in full connection who is not less than twenty-one years of age shall be permitted to vote upon the following proposition: 'Shall the second restrictive rule be amended by adding the words, 'and said delegates must be male members,' after the words, 'two lay delegates for an Annual Conference,' so that it will read, 'Nor of more than two lay delegates for an Annual Conference, and said delegates must be male members;' (4) That said election shall be held under the direction of the preacher in charge and two laymen, who shall be chosen by the Quarterly Conference or Official Board, or in case they fail to elect, then by the voters present at the hour of opening of such election, who shall superintend the details of the election, and within ten days thereafter shall report the result of

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the General Conference when, without notice or explanation, it suppressed the duly adopted preamble of the Neely amendment, and printed the remainder as a "fourth" resolution of the Committee's report. This mutilated and re-numbered document appears to have misled the editor of one of our Church papers, for in a recent criticism of the first part of this *irenicon* he reproduces it as the true and complete form of the action of the General Conference.]

13. A well-known friend of the eligibility of women moved a division of the question; but on the motion of a well-known opponent of the cause the motion for a division was laid on the table.

14. The then ensuing all-determining (aye and no) vote left women ineligible to the next General Conference, and thereafter, unless the constitutional amendment "submitted" should receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and of two thirds of the members of the next General Conference.

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the election to the presiding elder of the district, who shall report the same to the presiding bishop of the next Annual Conference, to be canvassed by the Conference and entered upon the Conference journal; *provided*, that in the case of the failure of the preacher in charge to be present at such election the same may be held in his absence. That public notice of said election shall be given by the preacher in charge to each congregation at least twice during the thirty days preceding the election on the occasion of public preaching, whether on the Sabbath or on week days, in the church or other place where he preaches, with seven or more days intervening between notices; (5) That if the amendment so submitted does not receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and two thirds of the General Conference the second restrictive rule shall be so construed that the words 'lay delegates' may include men and women, and thus be in harmony with the legislation of previous General Conferences."

13. A well-known friend of the eligibility of women moved and carried a division of the paper at the point where the amendment began; and on motion of the same friend the first part was laid on the table.

14. The then ensuing all-determining (rising) vote left women eligible to the next General Conference, and thereafter, unless the constitutional amendment "submitted" should receive the votes of three fourths of the members of the Annual Conferences and of two thirds of the members of the next General Conference.

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15. The total action was one of unusual interest to all students of our constitutional history, especially to all who in the interest of conservatism favor a permanent limitation of the present constitutionally unlimited judicial powers of a General Conference majority, from the fact that in this instance, before giving any force present or prospective to a pending construction of the law, the General Conference voluntarily connected with it a provision for consulting the Church generally.

16. Provision was subsequently made for consulting the laity by a plebiscite, and, as always since the first instance, without discrimination in suffrage on the ground of sex.

17. Nothing in the total action provided a way in which, in the proposed consulting of the traveling elders and the laity, expression could be given to the sentiments of those who believe that, of right, women should be eligible to the Electoral Conferences, where they may have a voice in the selection of the lawmakers who are to regulate the various forms of woman's work in the Church, but who hold that women are scripturally or otherwise ineligible to the office of lawmakers in the General Conference.

18. Nothing in the total action of 1888 barred the next General Conference, or any subsequent one, from judicially reviewing the action and pronouncing for or against its legality.

19. If in its desire to "consult the Church" the General Conference had set forth an interpretation of the law with a provision that it should govern in future elections in case it were first approved by vote

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of a majority of the members of the Annual Conferences, such action would have been unprecedented, it is true, but viewed as a prudential peace measure it would have been defensible as conservative, straightforward, and according to the analogy of all *legislative* referenda.

20. Instead of this the General Conference set forth an interpretation that should govern in future elections in case three fourths of the Annual Conference membership and two thirds of the next General Conference should fail to approve a submitted constitutional amendment of precisely contrary effect.

21. The indirect and inverted form of this referendum became a fruitful source of misunderstandings. This was only natural, for while the abstention of the majority from peremptorily settling the whole issue by a single exercise of its own supreme judicial authority could be ascribed to pure magnanimity, it was equally possible to describe the total action as an ingenious scheme, invented to accomplish by indirection what the majority feared they could not carry by a fair and square vote of the General Conference in a strictly judicial action, and what they feared they could not carry in the form of a constitutional amendment that should directly express their view.

22. As they believed they had a right to do, the majority honestly considered the total action a self-evident manifestation of their self-restraint and generosity—an act as noble and praiseworthy as it was unprecedented.

23. As they believed they had a right to do a minority honestly considered the total action to be a

1892.

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triumph of party strategy, a clever method of accomplishing by indirection a betrayal of sacred interests.	triumph of party strategy, a clever method of accomplishing by indirection a betrayal of sacred interests.

The foregoing parallel is as instructive as it is curious. Especially helpful will it be to the hundreds in our ministry and to the thousands in our laity who have come into their present relation to the Church since 1888, and to the still greater multitude who only within the past four or five years have begun to take interest in the study of our constitutional law and its history. Great numbers even of our preachers and official laymen have never seen a copy of the *Journal* of a General Conference, nor do they know that such *Journals* are in print and purchasable. Familiar as may be the above-quoted official documents to the eyes of two or three hundred of the subscribers to the *Methodist Review*, the percentage of its readers who could intelligently explain the difference between the two senses in which the term "the Neely amendment" is used is lamentably small. Yet it is precisely to the pastors and official members that the millions of our membership must look for information if there is to be any intelligent voting in the elections that the General Conference has ordered and that are now taking place. Might not the Book Concern, or some wealthy friend of intelligent suffrage, render the Church an important service by reprinting, for widest possible distribution, this concise comparative view of the two historic acts that have created the present situation and all its embarrassments?

As already seen, under Question 52 and elsewhere, the majority of 1888 and the majority of 1892 are in a common boat. There is no room for criminations and recriminations. In the latter year the mistake of 1888 simply returned to embarrass its authors. The party victorious at New York and the party victorious at Omaha should now good-humoredly shake hands over the drawn game, mutually forgive, and make a new beginning. And this time, as ever, the aim should be, not to find a way in which one set of honest and conscientious Christian brothers can get a victory over another, but rather to discover the things in which all honest and conscientious Christian brothers can agree. The present moment I deem a propitious

one for an irenic endeavor of this kind. No large number in the Church are satisfied with the present situation or are very proud of the party moves that have created it. No one expects a satisfactory solution of the problem from the elections about to be held. Some new and pacificatory proposition is exigently demanded.

In venturing, in the interest of brotherly harmony, to propose a new constitutional amendment I am but renewing a mediatorial office reluctantly undertaken as long ago as 1891. In that year I was publicly called upon to show my sentiments touching this whole matter. This I did in a series of six articles, entitled, "The Status of Men and Women in the Methodist Episcopal Church." These articles were printed in *The Christian Advocate* of New York, in the *Western Christian Advocate*, and in part reproduced in other journals of the Church. In them I discussed the subject, not in the one-sided manner of those who deal with it merely as the problem of a single sex, but rather as the apostle dealt with it when he wrote, "Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord." As just at that time the tension of the parties in controversy was at its height, I counted it a most gratifying evidence of the truth and balance and fairness of the views set forth that, among all the tens of thousands of readers before whom these articles were spread, not one conservative, and not one radical, ever sent me by letter, or in printed form, one word in dissent from my central positions. As long ago as last January I reprinted the substance of the same articles in an Appendix to my little book, *Constitutional Law Questions Now Pending;* and again I have been gratified to find that not one reviewer whose notice has reached me has dissented in the least from the positions therein laid down as true, fair, and apostolic. At Omaha I voted with the majority, not because I liked the action that then prevailed, but because I deemed it the least harmful of the three evils to which the premature adoption of the "previous question" had restricted us. That action I have never intentionally defended, except in the interest of fair play and just judgment as between the majority of 1888 and the majority of 1892.

My own idea of the true solution, both before and at the time —as Dr. Hamilton with his characteristic manliness has pub-

licly stated—was very different. It was set forth just before I started for Omaha in an earnest *irenicon* addressed to the opponents of woman's eligibility, and entitled "An Easter Offering." * In that appeal I made fraternal overtures for harmony and, to promote this object, submitted a definite proposition based upon the principles which in the serial articles had seemed so acceptable to both parties. In so doing I by no means assumed that harmony could be had only by accepting my particular proposition; on the contrary, I earnestly requested others, on their part, to propose whatever from their point of view seemed to promise the earliest and most satisfactory solution. Unfortunately for the peace of the Church, neither my proposal nor the generous motion of Dr. Potts to submit for a second time Dr. Neely's amendment to the second restrictive rule found the least response on the side of the party addressed, and as a consequence events took the course they did. The report of the Judiciary Committee represented the *ultimatum* of the uncompromising conservatives, the Moore resolution the *ultimatum* of the uncompromising radicals. Neither was satisfactory to the majority of the Conference; and as the Hamilton paper gave time for further deliberation and, like the original Neely amendment, recognized that in so important a matter the decision should not rest with a chance majority of the General Conference, it was adopted and further time allowed. In the discussions that have since been had new light has come to many minds; and if I am not mistaken the way has been prepared for some measure less open to reasonable criticism.

Without longer waiting for others to take the initiative, and nothing daunted by the fruitlessness of my former overture, I here and now venture to express the hope that, some time before the next General Conference, the members of some strong and just and influential Conference will adopt and send around to their brethren of the other Conferences the following proposed addition to the second restrictive rule, to wit: "Women, duly qualified, may be chosen as lay delegates by any Electoral Conference the male members of which, by a two-thirds vote, have declared their judgment and desire that women should be eligible; provided, that in no case more than one half of the delegation or reserve delegation shall be women."

*See *Zion's Herald*, April 21, 1892, and the *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 3, 1892.

For lack of space I cannot here amplify and support this proposition as it deserves. The candid reader, however, will quickly note its five salient points and their adaptation to harmonize reasonably progressive and reasonably conservative minds: (1) the plan provides for the eligibility of legally qualified women; but (2) never unless the men of the Electoral Conference electing have formally declared it their judgment and desire that women should be eligible; and (3) never unless the majority of the men desiring it amounts to two thirds of the whole number present and voting;* and (4) never in numbers exceeding one half of the delegation and reserve delegation of the electing Lay Electoral Conference; and (5) the method proposed for embodying all these provisions in our fundamental law is one respecting whose regularity and fairness there can be no question. Taken together, they promise a safe and equitable solution of all our embarrassing difficulties by a simple application of the principle of option on the part of those unquestionably entitled to personal choice, within the legal limits, in the selection of their representatives.

In placing the foregoing proposal before the Church I am perfectly well aware of the risks I run. Nobody that has been active for or against the old party measures will be satisfied either with my history of the past or with my suggestion for the future. Neither radical nor conservative wants what my amendment proposes. On both sides its provisions easily lend themselves to partisan attack in argument and in ridicule. Within two weeks from the time of its publication it will very likely be possible for the editors of the Church papers to kill every prospect of its success. If that shall be the result of my anxious and prayerful appeal to the fair-mindedness of the Church I shall not indulge in self-reproach. I shall have been faithful to my own conceptions of duty, and shall not envy any man the responsibility of having successfully opposed a measure at once reasonable and timely, proposed solely in the interest of brotherly harmony.

*I have made this majority thus high for the reason that I desire to approach my more conservative brethren in a spirit manifestly generous. If they shall feel inclined to respond in a like spirit, it is possible that they will call two thirds excessive, and will insist that any majority of the men of an Electoral Conference present and voting should suffice; particularly as, according to the facts fully rehearsed in this *irenicon*, no General Conference has ever as yet judicially decided in any perfectly legitimate and defensible way that under the existing constitution and laws women are not already as eligible as men.

Of course, some uncompromising ultra-radical is afire with eagerness to tell my readers that all compromises are necessarily illogical; that of all compromises yet imagined this one, with its invariable location of the all-deciding option in the hands of men, would most of all sin against the equal rights of men and women in the Church of God, etc. But wherefore, my brother, should we get warm? If all this is so clear and pertinent, why be in such haste to point it out? Let us take a moment or two for sober thought. Do "equal rights" necessarily mean identical responsibilities and duties? You cannot maintain that. If in the home the father and mother have equal rights in the children, they have not identical duties and functions with respect to them. With men and women in the Christian State and in the Christian Church the same is true. Young as is Christian sociology as a science, it has got forever past the "equality" of the French Revolution. It has reached one generalization that is at once a law of nature and a law of God. It is that "in all normal and useful cooperations of equal men and women the initiative must be with the man or with men, the consummation with the woman or with women." * Our proposed amendment is in exact accordance with this law. It assumes the fact, grounded alike in history and in human nature, that the relations of equal men and women to the *economia* of the Church are not identical or even interchangeable. It places the initiative and the responsibility of the initiative precisely where in all similar cases God has placed them, to wit, in the hands of the men. Any doctrine of equal rights that canno adjust itself to the most fundamental law of human society is as shallow and groundless as the Jacobinism out of which it is borrowed.

Here, on the other hand, is an equally ardent despiser and rejecter of all compromises, the uncompromising ultra-conservative. He, too, is impatient for a chance to pillory my proposal. In his eyes the admission of one woman to the General Conference, though occurring but once in a hundred years, and by the unanimous choice of all the men in the universe, would ruin everything; the principle that men have an exclusive divine right to govern the Church would be as truly violated as by the adoption of the Moore resolutions, and without the

* See *Constitutional Law Questions Now Pending*, pp. 191–200.

apparent equity and big-heartedness of that radical measure. As between the new proposition and the Moore resolution very likely the good brother is ready to declare his preference for the latter. Let me beg him also to take a little time to think before rushing into print with suggestions so cheap and commonplace. Let him turn back his files of cherished arguments on his own side of the question and reread Professor Curtis's profound paper on "St. Paul's Principle of Man's Primacy," printed in *Zion's Herald* June 3, 1891. That paper the Church has recognized as the ablest and deepest and truest discussion of its theme yet produced. The stanchest conservatives have referred to it as unanswerable, as indeed it is. They have rejoiced in it the more because written in radical Boston, and by a theological professor all of whose colleagues were favorable to woman's eligibility. In that rejoicing I myself have fully shared. I urged its original publication. And why? Because my beloved colleague and former pupil showed so well the possibility of intense personal conviction in a truly judicial mind, showed so well how to do fullest justice to one truth without ignoring or denying its counterpart. No man has more powerfully emphasized the primacy of man according to inspiration and the harmful ignoring of this primacy by superficial popular writers on the "rights" of women. But at the end of his discussion what is his conclusion? This:

> As to the admission of women into the General Conference, my conclusion, based upon the preceding discussion, is as follows: (1) Church government is not a matter of precise divine specification, and yet it must be in harmony with the Scripture principle of man's primacy. . . . (2) As a matter of mere theory the admission of women into the General Conference would not necessarily violate the principle of man's primacy. If women enter the General Conference, not as a matter of seeking, but at the desire of the Church, for the general good of the Church, and if they were members of the Conference in such a way that all ultimate decision rested with the men, St. Paul's principle would, it seems to me, be intact.

There spoke a conservative who is not one-eyed, a conservative after my own heart. What he wrote helped one party; but it helped at once and equally the other also. Whether my proposition will meet his approval I know not; but its author believes it to answer all the conditions prescribed. If under its provisions any woman ever enters the General Conference it will be, "not as a matter of seeking, but at the desire of the

Church, for the general good of the Church;" and she will be a member of the Conference in such a way that all "ultimate decision" as to her return will be in the hands of the men of the Church. By what other measure can the conservative hope so definitely, and expressly, and instructively, to commit the Church to the perpetual recognition of man's primacy, as taught by the apostle Paul?

What I propose, then, is no compromise of principles, radical or conservative. It is rather a coordination and just harmonizing of principles mistakenly and too long arrayed against each other. In its support I appeal to the broad-minded and the fair-minded in both the ancient parties, and above all to that great and blessed multitude who have entered the Church or been promoted to her ministry since party lines were drawn in this matter and controversies begun. With my faith in the breadth and fairness and scriptural loyalty of the Church I find it hard to believe that an earnest appeal in behalf of this or of some similar irenic proposal, which this may haply call forth, will be in vain.*

*The foregoing article was sent to the printer before the writer received any intimation that critics would be unable to wait until the whole of the *irenicon* was before them. As it proved to be longer than the rules of the *Review* allow, it has been necessary to cut out several paragraphs. Under these circumstances it has been impossible to make suitable additions in reply to published expressions of dissent. Only at the end of the bracketed note under Statement 12 in the "Binocular View" have three sentences of an explanatory character been introduced. The earlier part of the note appears as originally written.

William F. Warren.

Art. VI.—TENNYSON'S THEOLOGY.

Tennyson was not a materialist, like Lucretius, a secularist, like Horace, a moralist, like Pope, or a revolutionist, like Shelley. While inherited religious tendencies and training inclined him toward conservatism, his highly emotional nature made him revolt against the extreme dogmas of Calvinism and the ecclesiastical pretensions of Anglicanism. His large-hearted catholicity at times led him, as a member of the Broad Church party, beyond the limits of strict orthodoxy. His views on theological matters resemble those in the essays and sermons of his intimate friend, Frederick Denison Maurice. Tennyson's theology is characterized by the same vagueness and indefiniteness. It is interwoven with the idealistic philosophy of Kant, and tinctured with Platonism.

I. *Liberal Tendencies.*—During the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were three intellectual movements or schools of thought in Great Britain: the High Church or Oxford movement, led by Newman, Pusey, and Keble; the latitudinarian or liberal party, headed by Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, and others; and the radical or utilitarian school of Bentham and the two Mills. As the son of a cultured rector of the Established Church, and the grandson of a man conspicuous among the Lincolnshire gentry, in whose veins flowed noble and royal blood, it would seem to have been a foregone conclusion that Alfred Tennyson's Tory predilections must land him in the High Church party. Such was not the case. His lot was cast for three years (1828–31) at Cambridge, where the influence of such liberal theologians as Thirlwall and Julius Hare was dominant. His association with Maurice and Carlyle also led him in the same direction. But probably the strongest agency that drew him into the ranks of the Broad Churchmen was his own poetic heart. He retained to the last his membership in the Church of his fathers, and was opposed to disestablishment. However, his admiration for the Episcopal body as an historic institution and his love for its beautiful service did not keep him out of that current of thought which was gradually breaking down the walls of Anglican exclusiveness and intolerance.

In this revolt against the traditions and prejudices of the past which clung to the Established Church as a national institution two great poets, Shelley and Byron, had prepared the way. Tennyson followed, but afar off. He did not attach much saving grace to some of the Thirty-nine Articles, and he discounted the claims of the historic episcopate; but he sincerely revered the old Church. He had a dislike for polemics, and was grieved at the rancor and animosities of theological factions. Many of the foremost intellectual men of England were arrayed on one side or the other. Besides the Broad Church leaders already mentioned, there were Hampden and Milman, of Oxford; F. W. Robertson, Alford, and Kingsley; and, in later times, Stanley, Farrar, Haweis, Roberts, and Momerie. They had their counterparts in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in such preachers as Phillips Brooks and Heber Newton. Besides these apostles of liberalism, there were eminent divines of other Churches who may be classed among the leaders of the newer religious thinking, as it is called. Some of them were Unitarians, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—James Martineau, Stopford Brooke, Joseph Parker, Tulloch, Drummond, and others, in Great Britain; Channing, Bushnell, Theodore Parker, Emerson, Beecher, Collyer, Lyman Abbott, T. T. Munger, Professor Swing, and others, in this country. There was one man, in particular, to whom Tennyson was greatly indebted both intellectually and spiritually. The poet and philosopher, critic and theologian, Coleridge, was indeed a mighty force in his life. This man, if any one, was the pioneer of liberal thought in England.

In all lands and ages the pivotal conception of theology is and must be the idea of God. Around the idea of God, such as men in their weakness and blindness or perversity conceive it, cluster various doctrines or truths, more or less distorted, which make up what we call theology. The belief and practice of these doctrines as to our relations with God, which also involve the question of our eternal happiness, whether formulated in creeds or not—these are the elements of religion. Some men emphasize forms and ceremonies and observances. Others lay stress on the spirit rather than the letter; they depend less on the efficacy of pomp and magnificence, whether barbaric or refined, and more on fundamentals. Ecclesiastically speaking,

these are the two wings of the Christian army. The conservative clings fast to an elaborate ritual, to some complicated system or discipline. The liberal, caring less for the externals of religion, for the sensuous accompaniments of public worship, believes in a plain service as distinguished from a stately pageant. He prizes principles more than impressive spectacles. Without disregarding the abstract, he gives prominence to the concrete —that is, to life, conduct, character.

"Liberalism" is a word that is often used rather hazily and ambiguously. Perhaps no one has succeeded in catching its meaning and defining it so concisely, and yet so perfectly, as has that incomparable master of English prose, John Henry Newman. He has put the essence of the whole matter into a single phrase. He calls liberalism "the antidogmatic principle and its developments." Of course, the antidogmatic principle, carried to extreme, brings one to free thought. With some the whittling process goes on until one cherished belief after another is lopped away, and Christianity for them becomes only a name. Such are radicals, iconoclasts. While it is true that liberalism "accepts no dogma on the mere authority of a Church," it is far removed from unbelief or infidelity. Full credit can be given to Tennyson's breadth and liberality without making him a freethinker; for he certainly was not an irreligionist. His liberalism is not to be interpreted as secularism or watered evangelicalism. In religion, as in politics, he avoided "the falsehood of extremes." Archdeacon Farrar, who knew the poet well, says, "His religion was that of an early Christian, before the pure faith of the Gospel had been defiled by the turbid ecclesiastical influxes of the third and fourth centuries." He was decidedly free from cant and hypocrisy, from bigotry and sectarianism. He was a lover of truth, and did not imagine that his countrymen possessed it all. Much as he loved and revered the Hebrew Bible, he prized the wisdom that he found in the sacred writings of other races of the Orient. In this largeness of outlook the author of "In Memoriam" was a few decades ahead of his times.

Tennyson's theological views have been likened to those of Maurice, a profound thinker and scholar, who concerned himself not only with books, but with the practical interests of men. In one of his best personal poems the laureate assures Maurice

of a hearty welcome at Farringford, where he could find relief from the acrimonious controversies of churchmen, which the poet greatly deplored. His simple creed also resembled that of another distinguished clergyman, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who, though a high dignitary of the Established Church, thought it was overburdened with the usages and dogmas of the past. "Alas," says the scholarly Dean of Westminster, "that a Church that has so divine a service should keep its long list of articles! I am strengthened more than ever in my opinion that there is only needed, that there only should be, one, namely, 'I believe that Christ is both God and man.'"

There was another note in Tennyson's religion, besides his weakened sacerdotalism, which claims attention. He showed a leaning toward Universalism, as other poets had before him, from Milton down to our own times. He entertained, or at least "admitted," the hope of universal salvation. This is the purport of the fifty-fourth ode of "In Memoriam," beginning

> Oh yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill,
> To pangs of nature, sins of will,
> Defects of doubt, and taints of blood.

The "larger hope" that he faintly trusted likely means about the same as Farrar's "eternal hope." There seems to be a parallel between Tennyson's position and that of our own Whittier. However much one may feel disposed to differ from the laureate's attitude toward this doctrine or that, one cannot question his grand sincerity and deep spirituality.

II. *Religious Teaching.*—"In Memoriam" is something more than an elaborate elegy or an artistically constructed mosaic of "swallow-flights" of song. Bryant's striking imagery in "Thanatopsis" clusters around one sentiment, which is a common one to all reflective mortals—the feeling of sadness and pensiveness aroused when musing on the grave; the poem is, as Beecher called it, "pagan." George Macdonald calls that most plaintive of lyrics, "Break, break, break," "pagan." But "In Memoriam" is a Christian poem. Its spiritual teaching is healthful and elevating, being grounded in evangelical truth. Its author recognizes our relations to God as the Creator and Sovereign of the universe. He teaches that God is manifested in his works. He is a mystery; but so is

the "flower in the crannied wall." Deity is incomprehensible, and yet knowable, not by searching and arguing, but by direct consciousness. The heart going forth in earnest prayer to the Supreme Being feels the heavenly Father near, as the poet sings in ode cxxiv. Deity is infinite, and yet personal. True, there is a tincture of an almost colorless pantheism in one of Tennyson's poems, "The Higher Pantheism:"

> The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains—
> Are not these, O soul, the vision of Him who reigns?
>
> Is not the vision he? tho' he be not that which he seems?
> Dreams are true while they last, and do we not live in dreams?
>
> Earth, these solid stars, this weight of body and limb,
> Are they not sign and symbol of thy division from him?

This is far from being the pantheism of Spinoza or the monism of Hartmann. It is more like the view of Malebranche, which makes the Eternal One an all-pervading presence in the universe, or like that of Goethe, who calls the visible world his garment. It reminds one of the pantheism of Wordsworth and Shelley, who got glimpses of the soul of nature in its "naked loveliness."

Several poems in Lord Tennyson's last volume, published after his death, throw light on his notion of theism. In "Akbar's Dream" is this remarkable passage:

> I can but lift the torch
> Of reason in the dusky cave of life,
> And gaze on this great miracle, the world,
> Adoring That who made, and makes, and is,
> And is not what I gaze on.

This does not make God and the world of the same substance, as does Spinoza. God is separate from the world that he made; and yet he is in it and part of it, though not in the sense of the pantheist who deifies the cosmos of which man is a sentient part. In a certain sense it may be said that matter is of God; it is derived from him, "of whom," to use the words of St. Paul, "are all things." He is the source of the universe; and yet he is infinitely superior to nature. "For with thee," says the psalmist, "is the fountain of life." Other modes of being have a beginning—they are transitory and imperfect. He alone is from everlasting to everlasting, unchang-

ing, absolute. The act of creation is his prerogative, and only his. The universe is a manifestation of divine energy. Matter represents force—it is an expression of his will. The visible world is an exhibition of creative power in God; but to say that he created it out of nothing, that he calls it into existence merely by his "imperial word," is hardly an adequate explanation of its origin.

Deity is transcendent, and yet immanent. There seems to be a grain of truth in the old Alexandrian doctrine of "emanation," as there is also in the Hindoo teaching of "the divinity of man." Back of nature, whose stability is apparent only, is a spiritual principle. That conception of the universe seems most reasonable which makes mind antedate matter. The assumption of an intelligent, willing, planning, shaping, power is at the basis of the idealistic philosophy. The infinite precedes the finite. This postulate is preferable to the materialistic theory, which makes mind flow from matter or a mode of matter. "The noblest ministry of nature," says Emerson, "is to stand as the apparition of God." Of the divine immanence Tennyson once spoke in conversation with his niece:

> I firmly believe that, if God were to withdraw himself from the world around us, and from within us, for but one instant, every atom of creation, both animate and inanimate, would come utterly to naught; for in him alone do all beings and things exist.*

In keeping with this frank and reverent declaration is the sentiment of the lyric called "Early Spring," beginning

> Once more the Heavenly Power
> Makes all things new.

As reported by Miss Weld, the laureate added, "He can and does answer every earnest prayer, as I know from my own experience." This conception of God is something other and more than Matthew Arnold's famous definition—"the Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." Continuing, the poet said:

> Whatever is the highest of all must be the Deity, call it by what name you will. Wherever life is, there God is, specially in the life of man. We are all sons of God; but one alone is worthy to be called the Son of man, the representative of the whole of humanity. That to my mind is the

* *Contemporary Review*, March, 1893.

diviner title of the two; for none dare apply to himself this title, save Christ, who is the representative of the whole human race.

Further on is this weighty remark:

I do not care to make distinctions between the soul and the spirit, as men did in days of old, though perhaps the spirit is the best word to use of our higher nature, that nature which I believe in Christ to have been truly divine, the very presence of the Father, the one only God, dwelling in the perfect man. Though nothing is such a distress of soul to me as to have this divinity of Christ assailed, yet I feel we must never lose sight of the unity of the Godhead, the three persons of the Trinity being like three candles giving together one light.

Hardly anywhere in English poetry can be found a better statement of the mission of the Saviour, the Son of God made flesh, than in "In Memoriam" and in Tennyson's other writings. He teaches unmistakably the divinity of Christ, the incarnation of Christ, the sinlessness of Christ, the saving power of Christ, the resurrection of Christ, and the second coming of Christ. These doctrines are set forth, either by direct assertion or by implication, not only in "In Memoriam," but in other poems, notably in the "Idylls of the King." No attempt is made by the poet to demonstrate them; as in the Scriptures, they are assumed as undoubted verities.

The singer of "Locksley Hall," stirred by the mighty events of his time, rejoices in the era of progress and enlightenment for the people; but he notes regretfully that something is lacking—"Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers." In ode cxiv of "In Memoriam" he places reverence before reason, deploring the iconoclastic temper of "the younger day" of science and the "march of mind." In his later years he was alarmed at the increasing prevalence of rationalism, which discredits miracles and seeks to explain away the supernatural. In the epilogue to the "Idylls," "To the Queen" (1872), he mentions, among other evils of the times, the "fierce or careless looseners of the faith." To Miss Weld he once said:

Alas! that we should hear this cry ["What is truth?"] repeated in our own age, and that men should fail to find their soul's craving for truth satisfied by Christianity. The great spread of agnosticism and unbelief of all kinds seems to me to show that there is an evil time close at hand.

In much the same mood he breaks forth time and again in some of his later works, such as "Locksley Hall Sixty Years

After," and especially in "The Promise of May," a single passage of which may be taken as an example:

> Scorn! I hate scorn. A soul with no religion—
> My mother used to say that such a one
> Was without rudder, anchor, compass—might be
> Blown every way with every gust and wreck
> On any rock.

III. *Views on Immortality.*—Says an American clergyman:

> Tennyson's "In Memoriam" marks a great "divide" and new upland in our century's outlook toward immortality. That service to human thinking would have been, of itself, an immeasurable gift to the world, had the laureate written nothing else.

An English writer remarks:

> "In Memoriam" did its work for the generation to which it was addressed. It is doing its work still by the very vagueness and uncertainty of its teaching. Faith to-day is in solution. A questioning age feels, like Tennyson, the need of a larger hope to give nobility to life; but it cannot stifle the doubt whether man is, after all, more than a phantom passing through a world of shadows.

In "In Memoriam" it is the poet's object to soothe his own sorrow and to minister consolation to other bereaved souls by falling back on man's intuitions of the eternal verities and by fixing a settled belief in justice and recompense hereafter. The grounds of belief are the immortality of love and the superiority of wisdom to knowledge, meaning scientific research "cut loose from faith." The poet, keenly mindful of all that Hallam's friendship was to him, instinctively feels that such love is "too precious to be lost;" he holds that faith or religious consciousness perceives "the truths that never can be proved" in the present life. In all this his instinct and reason are reinforced by revelation.

Tennyson's appeal to the feelings as the surest criterion of the highest truths is entitled to respectful consideration. A reviewer in the *Quarterly Review*, of London, for January, 1893, well sums up the case from the poet's standpoint:

> His appeal is to the heart against the intellect. His position is throughout emotional, intuitive, subjective. The supremacy of love is the keynote of "In Memoriam." Love is the interpreter of man to himself and, therefore, of God to man. It is that within us which is most godlike

and nearest to the source of life. When it bids us trust it would be, argues the poet, folly to reject the deepest utterances of our human nature.

Not all will admit such an appeal to be valid as argument. If it be criticised as unphilosophical or unscientific we may reply that the singer modestly owns the insufficiency of his "brief lays, of sorrow born." In the same way some of the greatest minds—Socrates, Plato, Plotinus, Augustine, Anselm, Descartes, Kant, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle—rested on the intuitions or spiritual perceptions. If Tennyson errs, he errs in good company. Here the heart of the believer is a better judge than the head of the skeptic; its deliverances are more trustworthy, as the decisions of the man in his best moments. It is wise to

> Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
> And cling to faith beyond the forms of faith.

Of the future state the poet feels confident:

> My own dim life should teach me this,
> That life shall live for evermore.

His nature or temperament, as a poet-seer, is such that he is easily persuaded. The argument or evidence for immortality as presented in "In Memoriam" will probably be regarded as inadequate, except by those who wish to believe it. No proof that human ingenuity can devise or suggest amounts to demonstration. It is a matter of faith. It is much, however, to find that here consciousness and revelation are at one.

Once, in conversation with Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, the laureate "spoke of the futility of mere argument about immortality, . . . it being wholly a matter of instinct and unprovable." She replied that "conservation of force went a great way toward proof." It does not, certainly not for personal immortality. It does not even prove the perpetuity of the human race, as the poet shows in odes liv–lvi of "In Memoriam." Force persists and influence remains when the individual passes on to "join the choir invisible."

Realizing that "all the arguments are about as good on one side as the other," as he expressed it, the laureate aimed to "throw man back more on the primitive impulses and feelings." To a man having the acute sensibilities of a poet the

internal testimony, the "warmth within the breast," is exceedingly vivid. To a less emotional man this appeal to the heart, with its longings after immortality, is not so powerful. The instinctive desire for continued existence beyond the grave varies in different men; yet there seems to be present in all—the savage as well as the civilized—"the sacred passion of the second life." It is hard to say how much of weight is to be attached to the experiences gained in the state known as ecstasy. The Christian's chief reliance must be that Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light.

The Christian philosophy of "In Memoriam" is mingled with Platonism and Neoplatonism; and there is more or less of the mystical in the poems of later years. Tennyson's intellectual curiosity as to some interesting questions of speculative theology led him into fields which cannot be explored by human reason. The old doctrine of Pythagoras and other thinkers as to preexistence (held indefinitely by Shelley and Wordsworth rather as a conception susceptible of poetic treatment than as a belief) is hinted at in "The Two Voices:"

> Moreover, something is or seems,
> That touches me with mystic gleams,
> Like glimpses of forgotten dreams—
>
> Of something felt, like something here;
> Of something done, I know not where;
> Such as no language may declare.

The same thought or fancy is referred to in ode xliv of "In Memoriam," and also in "Crossing the Bar:"

> When that which drew from out the boundless deep
> Turns again home.

A similar idea, not of metempsychosis, is found in the last line of the concluding ode of "In Memoriam:"

> Until we close with all we loved,
> And all we flow from, soul in soul.

This is suggested, perhaps, by Eccles. xii, 7: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." There is a passage in the epilogue whose interpretation has vexed many a student of Tennyson:

> By which they rest, and ocean sounds,
> And, star and system rolling past,
> A soul shall draw from out the vast
> And strike his being into bounds.

It is not improbable that this stanza may contain an allusion to the speculation, in Plato's *Timæus*, of souls coming from their abodes in the stars into human bodies on this earth. One thing is clear from ode xlv, and from that strange poem, "De Profundis," namely, that the history of the soul or ego begins with this life. Although the preexistence of the soul, as a personality or self-acting agent, is not seriously taught by Tennyson, there is no mistaking his confident expectation of conscious life hereafter. He firmly holds the distinct individuality of the spirit "beyond the second birth of death:"

> That each, who seems a separate whole,
> Should move his rounds, and, fusing all
> The skirts of self again, should fall
> Remerging in the general Soul,
>
> Is faith as vague as all unsweet:
> Eternal form shall still divide
> The eternal soul from all beside;
> And I shall know him when we meet.

In ode xliii of "In Memoriam" he takes as a theme the unconscious state of the dead until the resurrection; but this view is at variance with the general tenor of the poem as a whole. The place of the departed is not a vast chamber of spirit-sleepers, if such can be imagined, whose dreamless slumber is undisturbed through the remaining cycles of time. Heaven is a theater of life and joyous activity, where there is blissful intercourse with friends gone before and blessed union with the God of light and love. It is a home made glorious by the presence of Christ. Thus, while there are echoes in Tennyson's metaphysical and religious poems of Alexandrianism and of Buddhism, he does not go to the full length of the Oriental philosophies in advocating the transmigration of souls or the sinking of self in the "universal Spirit."

Eugene Parsons

Art. VII.—PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH-PILESER—A CHRONOLOGICO-HISTORICAL STUDY.

It is the purpose of this paper to present a solution of the chronologico-historical difficulties apparently arising out of the biblical mention of the three names, Pul, Jareb, and Tiglath-pileser, which mention has until very recently been supposed to indicate that these were three different persons, each being king of Assyria at or during the same historic period. Of these appellations the only one clearly found in the Assyrian records is that of Tiglath-pileser, the third ruler of that name on the throne of Nineveh, or Asshur. The attempt to identify Pul with Porus has not as yet attained to a satisfactory result. The conclusion which seems to have met with most favor on the part of the large majority of recent investigators is that Pul and Tiglath-pileser are but different names for one and the same person.

This conclusion, first suggested by Sir Henry Rawlinson, seems to be authoritatively confirmed by the writer of 1 Chron. v, 26: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria [וְאֶת־רוּחַ תִּלְגַּת פִּלְנֶסֶר מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר], and [better, 'even,' the וְ in וְאֶת evidently indicating opposition] the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria [Asshur], and he carried them away, even the Reubenites," etc. (better, "to wit" or "namely, the Reubenites," etc.; the לְ simply making more definite the preceding ם֫, them).* There is no evidence that Pul, when he invaded Israel under that name, being then, as below suggested, the rebel king of the rebellious city Asshur, removed any of the trans-Jordanic tribes, or, indeed, took away any captives; and the most probable reasons for the use of these two names in this connection would seem to be that they are names of the same king, and that under the latter name this king, at a time subsequent to the payment to him of tribute by Menahem, had carried away the Reubenites; and, therefore, the verb "carried away," of which this doubly named king is the subject, is put in the singular number.

This at once brings before us the difficuly in the chronology.

* Nordheimer, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 868.

For the date of Pul, as given in the Bible, is contemporaneous with that of Menahem, who reigned from about B. C. 770 to 760, while the Assyrian records place Tiglath-pileser B. C. 745 to 727. It is certain, also, that Tiglath claims Menahem as tributary king. "The chief passage [making this claim] occurs in the annals of Tiglath-pileser: . . . 'Tribute of Kustaspi of Kumuch, of Rezin of Damascus, of Menahem of Samaria,'" etc.* Assuming the substantial accuracy of both Assyrian and biblical dates, there is yet an interval of at least fifteen years between the last year of Menahem and the first year of Tiglath's reign; and, therefore, that the latter may have received the tribute which both records state was paid, Menahem's date must be brought down at least fifteen years, or else Tiglath's exercise of Assyrian kingly functions must have exceeded the time recorded upon his monumental remains by fifteen years, and have begun at least that much earlier.

Canon George Rawlinson says that Assyrian history is "shrouded in a partial darkness for a space of nearly forty years.† During this period Shalmaneser III reigned ten years, Asshur-dayan (Assur-dan, Smith) III eighteen years, and Asshur-lush (Assur-nerari, Smith) eight years (ten years, Smith).‡ Rawlinson continues:

> The brevity of these reigns, which average only [a little over] twelve years apiece, is indicative of troublous times and of a disputed or, at any rate, a disturbed succession. The fact that none of the three monarchs left buildings of any importance or, so far as appears, memorials of any kind marks a period of comparative decline, during which there was a pause in the magnificent course of Assyrian conquests, which had scarcely known a check for above a century.§

As bearing upon our present purpose it is noted that in the eleventh year, according to Smith, of Assur-dan III the city of Asshur was in revolt, and that this revolt and the extensive rebellion of which it was the center were not suppressed, if at all, until six years had passed. The revolt would fall in the eighth year of Menahem (763), just eighteen years earlier than the beginning (745) of the reign of Tiglath-pileser. During the

* Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (English translation), vol. i, p. 315.

† Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 122, American reprint.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122; George Smith, *Assyria from the Monuments*, p. 6, reprint.

§ Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 122.

reign of Asshur-dayan, no fewer than three important insurrections are recorded.

> It is remarkable that into this interval falls also the famous era of Nabonassar, which must have marked some important change, dynastic or other, at Babylon. . . . Attempts were made to suppress these revolts; but it may be doubted whether they were successful.*

It may also be noted that the leader of the revolt in the city of Asshur is nowhere named in the accounts given of the civil war, which is reported to have continued for six years. The disaffection was sufficiently widespread to make it probable that whoever the leader was he would assume to himself the title, and exercise as far as possible the authority, of a king of Asshur; and it is significant that no king who, by usurpation or otherwise, is known or supposed to have established his own throne upon the ruins of a preceding dynasty has given any separate account of his previous struggles and history or any detail of his exploits before he obtained the crown, except, perhaps, where they could be so given or grouped as to be credited or made to appear as performed after he had ascended the vacated throne, the exact dates being for this purpose carefully suppressed. The account given in 2 Kings xv, 19, 20, of the appearance and operations of Pul accords well with the theory that has been advanced, that he was a rebel assuming to be king of Asshur, and that this irruption was rather of the nature of a raid than of a regular expedition for permanent occupation or conquest. There is nothing said of his carrying away, at that time, any other tribute or spoil than the one thousand talents of silver; in such circumstances, indeed, money would be to him of the greatest service and value, and the enormous tribute paid seems to indicate his great necessity. He is no more heard of in Israel, and his name does not appear in the account of this period given on the monuments. Yet Tiglath in his records claims to have received tribute from "Rezon of Syria, Menahem of Samaria," the record being in this order. †

This juxtaposition of Rezon (Rezin) and Menahem may also have its special significance. In the chronological arrangement by George Smith, on page 191 of the *Eponym Canon*, the reign

* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 125.
† George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 278.

of Mariha (Mari) ends B. C. 770. He inserts the name Hadara as successor to Mariha, B. C. 770 to 750, on the authority of line 11, extract xvi, page 121, of the *Eponym Canon:* "Hadara (?) the house of the father of Rezin of Syria." He, however, notes this as questionable, as there is no other authority for it; and the meaning is certainly doubtful. The better opinion would seem to be that Rezin was the immediate successor of Mariha, and was therefore contemporary with Menahem. On this view the tribute may have been, and in all likelihood was, taken in the same year, and under the same name Pul, as that of Menahem, and on the march from Asshur, before reaching Samaria; and the order of the names would then agree with the order in which the tribute was taken. It is significant, too, that the tribute was paid by the Syrian in money, for example: "Eighteen talents of gold, three hundred talents of silver, two hundred talents of copper, twenty talents of somladuni," etc.* The date given by Smith for the fragment in which "Hadara" (?) is found is B. C. 734 to 732, about the time of Tiglath's expedition to help Ahaz against Syria. It may further be noted that in the enumeration of countries subjugated from the first to the seventeenth year of his reign Tiglath does not name Samaria, or Beth Khumri, but does insert "the tribute of the kings of Syria" and "Yau-hazi of Judah;" all which goes to show that in these seventeen years he received no tribute from Samaria and accords with the biblical history. From this it would appear that it was not earlier than his eighteenth year that he received tribute from Hoshea, and that the tribute of Menahem was paid prior to the first year of his successful dethroning of the dynasty against which he had been "combatting," in order to secure their throne.†

If, now, we adopt the theory that Pul was the leader of the revolt of Asshur, and the same as the otherwise unknown usurper who in 745 was acknowledged as king of Assyria under the name of Tiglath-pileser, we have only to conceive of him as having struggled persistently against what, at first, was adverse fortune throughout the eighteen years' reign of the indolent and luxurious kings who occupied the throne, and at length reaping the reward of his long contest in the complete overthrow of the ruling dynasty. Of the family and race or origin

* George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 274. † *Ibid.*, p. 285.

of this monarch we know absolutely nothing. As before intimated, it does not seem to have been the custom of the kings who forced their way to the throne to give an account of their rebellious or treasonable career; but, rather, whatever of exploits they may have performed prior to their arriving at undisputed sway were mingled with those which had occurred during their legitimate reign. So, in his narrative of his conquests there does not seem to be any special attempt at a consecutive order or any design to fix the date of the several matters described as affecting northern Israel, but simply a purpose to state the fact that, at some time and place, certain things had been done by him or under his authority. Among other things, he had taken tribute from Menahem; but when he does not indicate. He names ten talents of gold and one thousand talents of silver as having been received, but whether from Pekah or Hoshea, whose names precede in immediate connection, he does not clearly state.* The name of "Azariah of the land of Judah" occurs several times in the record which he makes; but these records are so imperfect that it seems impossible to clearly and indisputably determine what relation he sustained to Azariah, whether as friend or foe. It cannot certainly be shown from his tablets that Azariah, contrary to what we gather from his prosperity as outlined in the biblical history, paid tribute to Tiglath. It is certain that when he gives a list of the tributary kings and States he does not number among them Azariah; nor does he include the kingdom or a king of Judah among them until the list appears in which Ahaz, as king of Judah, under the cognomen of Jahu-Ahaz, is found. If the Azariah of Tiglath were intended to be the Azariah better known in Scripture as Uzziah, then he was contemporary with Menahem. If, therefore, Uzziah had paid tribute to Assyria, it is a very singular omission that is made, that in the list of tributaries, among whom are the names of Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria, neither the name of Azariah nor of the kingdom of Judah is to be found.†

This omission, and the ambiguity of the fragmentary records, capable as they seem of having a different application, suggest that this Azariah may be the name of "the son of Tabeal," who was for some reason supported by Rezin and Pekah in his pretensions

* *Records of the Past*, first series, vol. v, p. 52, lines 17, 18. † *Ibid.*, p. 48, lines 29–33.

to the kingdom of Judah. This theory has, indeed, been adopted by Lenormant, who relates that "Eniel, king of Hamath, Rezin, son of Benhidri, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, formed a confederation against him [Tiglath] with Ashariah [Azariah] son of Tabeal, whom these princes had put forward as a pretender to the throne of Judah in opposition, first to Jotham, and subsequently to Ahaz."* It was to overcome this confederacy and defeat the "son of Tabeal" that Tiglath was employed by Ahaz; and in response to his urgent call, in the early years of Tiglath's reign, he advanced against the Syrians, routed their armies, killed Rezin, subdued Syria, and took possession of Damascus. Prior to that time Hoshea had rebelled and had slain Pekah, but had not as yet secured the throne; and it confirms the view of the existence of anarchy or civil war in Israel from about the fourth to the twelfth year of Ahaz that, at the *durbar*, or court, which was held at Damascus at the close of the war for the protection of Ahaz, there was no representative of the kingdom of Israel present among the many who then paid their homage to the great king. It does not appear that the northern kingdom was at this time invaded by Tiglath, the rebellion of Hoshea and the consequent civil war rendering such invasion altogether needless for the protection of Ahaz and his kingdom. It was after this and as above suggested, not earlier than in his eighteenth year, that Tiglath favored the cause of Hoshea and claimed to have appointed him to rule over Samaria, the throne of which Hoshea had obtained possession of four years previously, in the twelfth year of Ahaz, he having then apparently overcome all competitors and ended the civil strife. The tribute to the Assyrian king secured him from danger of invasion and conquest, and was a means, also, of confirming him in the kingdom. We may emphasize and repeat the statement that Hoshea had rebelled in Pekah's seventeenth year, the twentieth year of Jotham's reign, dating from the beginning of his regency or household rule, and the sixteenth and last year of his sole reign, and that Hoshea had slain Pekah three years later; but not until the twelfth year of Ahaz did he secure the throne, in the possession of which he was more effectively established four years later by Tiglath-pileser.

* *Manual of Ancient History of the East*, vol. i, p. 389. Compare 2 Kings xv, 37; Isa. vii, 1-6.

The absence of a representative of the Israelitish kingdom at the Damascus court lends strong confirmation to Hosea x, 3: "For now they shall say, We have no king, because we feared not the Lord; what then should a king do to [rather, 'for'] us?" This is an evidence that there was a period of civil war and kingless confusion in Israel during the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah.

Accepting the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser, and the substantial accuracy of both the biblical and Assyrian chronologies and order of events for this period, we may find a clew to the solution of the problem as to King "Jareb" (Hosea v, 13; x, 6). By general consent the word יָרֵב is defined "combatant," "struggler," etc. If Pul, as king of Asshur, or Assyria, received tribute from Menahem he must have been the leader of the rebellion of the city Asshur, and, under that name and with assumption of the royal title, must have continued the struggle for the eighteen years which elapsed after the reign of Menahem, until, reinforced by the rebellion of Kahla, he succeeded to the throne in 745; and he certainly was entitled to such an appellation as the "fighting king" (Cheyne) or "combatant" or "struggler" (Ewald). The expressions in chaps. v, 13, and x, 6, are in perfect keeping with the character and circumstances of an adventurer, such as on this theory Pul must have been. So, also, is the sarcastic raillery of the prophet: "When Ephraim saw his sickness, and Judah saw his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and [Judah] sent to King Jareb* [the struggling king]: yet could he not heal you [Ephraim], nor cure you [Judah] of your wound." And so is the additional reminder of their folly: "It shall be also carried unto Assyria for a present to King Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel." The sacrifice was useless. It was a matter to be ashamed of that they had been taken in by a mere adventurer. Pul did nothing to help his vassal, but simply withdrew from the border and appeared no more under that name either to trouble or assist the despoiled monarch or Israel. It is not necessary to assume that Menahem was aware of the true character of Pul. It was sufficient that the Assyrian had following enough to enforce his demands, and that his claim to be king of Assyria, or Asshur, was not, and could not there be,

* The only Assyrian king to whom Judah sent was Tiglath-pileser.

disputed. But Menahem may have afterward discovered the true state of affairs; and we may thus account for the fact there is no further mention, either in the biblical account or on the monuments, of Menahem's having repeated the payment of tribute, this first and only tribute having been paid near the close of his reign, thus giving some forty years to this combative usurper, Pul-Jareb-Tiglath-pileser, from the time of his assumption, prior to the death of Menahem, of the title of king of Asshur—more than half that period being for the Assyrian empire one of semi-anarchy—to his determined and desperate struggle against the reigning dynasty, in which he finally conquered and succeeded to one of the most prosperous reigns in the history of Assyrian nationality.

By this view or interpretation of the surviving historical records of this period, whether found in the Jewish books or on the exhumed monuments of the buried cities of the Assyrian empire, it will be seen that no violence is done to either. On the contrary, the substantial agreement thus brought out certainly tends to the possibility of increasing confidence in the accuracy of both these sources of information, and in the marvelous achievements of the gifted scholarship which has rescued from the oblivion of the dust the language and deeds of a people lost for ages. It serves to remove a difficulty once thought to be insuperable, and enlarges confidence and the hope that, in the order of Providence, such advances and discoveries will be made as will cause the word divine to be ultimately and universally accepted as the product of an inerrant inspiration.

Joseph Horner

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In general the mitigation of the barbarity of ancient penal codes is creditable to a Christian civilization, inasmuch as the penalties were in many particulars disproportionate to the offense and wantonly cruel. But modern penology runs too much to leniency toward some atrocious crimes. We count it to the credit of California that, in that State, the penalty for train-wrecking is death. It should be so everywhere. We are amazed to see prominent and influential journals characterizing such punishment as excessive. The wrecker of a train, especially if it be a passenger train, knowingly and deliberately takes the responsibility of manifold murder. So far as his act can do it he inflicts upon an indefinite number of entirely innocent persons, against whom he can have no grievance, the most horrible death, by mangling and, possibly, roasting alive. His crime is so immensely devilish that he deserves to be exterminated like a mad dog or a deadly reptile for the mere attempt, even if it fails. On the one hand, considering justice, it would be no more than just, were it possible, to inflict on him, when his infernal plan succeeds, as many maimings and deaths as he has caused; and, on the other hand, considering the interests of the public, it is plainly necessary for the law to protect inoffensive and defenseless people from being fiendishly slaughtered by wholesale. We can imagine nothing more incongruous, absurd, and stupid than for a community to construct and retain for itself a criminal code under which a murderer who kills one person by ordinary means should suffer death, while he who wrecks a train, and crushes and kills two or a dozen or more, may escape with lighter punishment.

As the laws stand in nearly all our States, there is, if we are correctly informed, little likelihood of the infliction of the death penalty on any train-wrecker, however fatal the results of his crime. For although, under the common law, a verdict of murder in the first degree may be asked for in any case where killing can be proved to have been premeditated, yet there is always room for the train-wrecker's counsel to argue that his client did not intend or desire to kill anybody, but only to rob or to inflict

annoyance and damage on the railroad company, for which corporation the average juror has little sympathy; and such a plea can be made that it will be difficult to obtain from any jury under any judge a verdict of murder in the first degree, notwithstanding the train-wrecker must have known, if he had any sense at all, that his wicked act might cause the death of many. In all probability the severest verdict will be only one of manslaughter and the sentence imprisonment, from which the first demagogic or indulgent governor that happens along may pardon out the diabolical destroyer of blameless and valuable lives.

The State of California, in affixing the death penalty to train-wrecking, and the State of North Carolina, in making arson and burglary similarly punishable, are wise. In North Carolina to set fire to a dwelling or business house in which anyone is sleeping, or to break into the same, is made a capital crime, because the offender knows that death may result to the inmate of the building; the law presuming in the case of the burglar that he enters prepared to do murder if detected and pursued.

Having passed in earlier life through a period in which we proved to ourselves that capital punishment ought to be abolished, we have for some years repented of our folly. Observation and study have convinced us that the duty we owe to the criminal classes themselves, as well as the necessity of protecting the interests of society, requires us in general to make penalties adequate, sure, and swift, to the end that transgressors, finding their evil way properly hard, may be effectually discouraged therefrom.

MILK FOR BABES.

Tracts for Spiritual Reading is the title of a book of 484 pages, by the Rev. J. Furniss, C.S.S.R., "designed for First Communions, Retreats, Missions," etc., published in New York, in 1879, by the Excelsior Catholic Publishing House, and bearing on its second page the official approbation, given at its previous publication in Ireland, of William Meagher, vicar-general, in these words: "I have carefully read over this little volume for children, and have found nothing whatever in it contrary to the doctrines of Holy Faith; but, on the contrary, a great deal to charm, instruct, and edify our youthful classes, for whose benefit it has been written."

A few extracts indicate the peculiar character of portions of this manual of religious instruction for children. "In the morn-

ing before you get up make the sign of the cross and say, 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph, I give you my heart and my soul.' For this you get one hundred days indulgence." "It is impossible for anyone to save his soul who is not devout to the blessed Virgin and protected by her." The book relates that St. Bridget had a son Charles, who enlisted as a soldier and led a wicked life. After he was dead Jesus Christ appeared to St. Bridget and told her that the soul of her son was saved. St. Bridget wondered how it could be that his soul was saved when he had led a bad life. Jesus told her how this happened. He said, "Although Charles was wicked, still there was one very good thing he did: he loved my dear mother Mary, and he often prayed to her; so when he was dying my mother prayed to me for him, that he might repent and not go to hell. Now I never refuse anything that my mother asks me for, so I gave Charles the grace to repent."

Infant piety is set forth as follows: "When F. Blasucci was a little baby, not a day old, he was seen to lift up his little arms and fold them on his breast like a cross."

The efficacy of the sign of the cross is illustrated thus: "When St. Alphonsus was a baby he was carried to St. Francis Jerome. St. Francis made the sign of the cross over him, and said he would live to be ninety years old, and be a bishop, and do great things for Almighty God. All this happened afterward." And thus: Two priests saw three fiery devils in the room of a dying person in Rome. One of the priests made the sign of the cross and sprinkled holy water on the place where he saw the devils standing. Then the devils went away, leaving behind a frightful smell, like brimstone out of hell.

The history and protective power of the brown scapular are explained: "In the year 1246, on the 16th of July, the Blessed Virgin appeared to St. Simon Stock, a Carmelite monk, living in the County of Kent, England. She brought with her a brown scapular and invested him with it. She then spoke these words: 'He who dies in this scapular will not go into the flames of hell. This scapular is a sign of salvation and of safety in dangers.' Children, you should wear the holy scapular in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary." And then it is narrated how a little boy who wore the scapular, falling into the sea and sinking to the bottom, felt the scapular pulling him up and was soon out of the water on the dry land.

The book teaches that hell is just four thousand miles away, in the

center of the earth, and gives little children some glimpses of it. St. Frances, of Rome, a very holy woman, was taken to hell once that she might come back and tell what she saw. The following is part of the description: "Look at the floor of hell. It is red-hot, like red-hot iron. Streams of burning pitch and sulphur run through it. The floor blazes up to the roof. Look at the walls; the enormous stones are red-hot, sparks of fire are always falling down from them. Sometimes when you get up on a winter's morning you see the country filled with a great, thick fog. Hell is filled with a fog of fire. In some parts of the world torrents of rain come down which sweep away trees and houses. In hell torrents, not of rain, but of fire and brimstone, are rained down. Storms of hailstones come down on the earth and break the windows in pieces; but in hell the hailstones are thunderbolts, red-hot balls of fire. See that great whirlwind of fire sweeping across hell. Look how floods of fire roll themselves through hell, like the waves of the sea. Take a spark out of the kitchen fire, throw it into the sea, and it will go out; but take a little spark out of hell, less than a pinhead, throw it into the ocean, it will not go out. In one moment it would dry up all the waters of the ocean and set the whole world in a blaze. Fire on earth gives light, but it is not so in hell; there the fire is dark."

We recall the sculptured representation of the fortunes of the lost on the front of the old cathedral at Ferrara, in Italy, as we read: "Little child, if you go to hell there will be a devil at your side to strike you. He will go on striking you forever and ever without stopping. The first stroke will make your body as bad as the body of Job, covered from head to foot with sores and ulcers. The second stroke will make your body twice as bad as the body of Job. The third stroke will make your body three times as bad as the body of Job, and so on. How, then, will your body be after the devil has been striking it every moment for a hundred million years without stopping?"

Holy St. Frances also saw the great devil chained down in the center of hell. "He was sitting on a long beam which passed through the middle of hell. His feet went down into the lowest depths of hell; they rested on the floor. They were fastened with great heavy iron chains to an immense ring in the floor. His hands were chained to the roof. One of his hands was turned up against heaven, to blaspheme God and the saints who dwell there. His other hand was stretched out, pointing to the lowest hell. His tremendous and horrible head was raised up on

high and touched the roof. From his head came two immense horns; and from each horn smaller horns without number branched out, which, like chimneys, sent out fire and smoke. His enormous mouth was wide open; out of it there was running a river of fire, which gave no light, but a most abominable smell. Round his neck was a collar of red-hot iron. A burning chain tied him round the middle. The ugliness of his face was such that no man or devil could bear it. It was the most deformed and horrible thing that ever was or will be. His great, fierce eyes were filled with pride and anger, with rage and spite and blood and fire and savage cruelty. There was something else in those eyes, for which there is no name; but it made those on whom the devil's eyes were fixed to tremble and shake as if they were dying. One of the saints who saw the devil said she would rather be burnt for a thousand years than look at the devil for one moment."

More particulars about hell are authoritatively given to the little folks, as follows: "St. Teresa says she found the entrance of hell filled with venomous insects. If you cannot bear the sight of ugly vermin and creeping things on the earth, will you be content with the sight of the venomous things in hell which are a million times worse? The bite or the pricking of one insect on the earth sometimes keeps you awake and torments you for hours. How will you feel in hell when millions of them make their dwelling place in your mouth and ears and eyes, and creep all over you, and sting you with their deadly stings through all eternity?"

The children are also edified in the faith by being shown a number of sample dungeons in the prison of the lost. In the First Dungeon, this: "Come into this room. It is very small. But see: in the midst of it there is a girl, perhaps about eighteen years old. What a terrible dress she has on—her dress is made of fire. On her head she wears a bonnet of fire. It is pressed down close all over her head; it burns her head; it burns into her skin; it scorches the bone of her skull and makes it smoke. The red-hot, fiery heat goes into the brain and melts it. You do not, perhaps, like a headache. Think what a headache that girl must have. But even more. She is wrapped up in flames, for her frock is fire. If she were on the earth she would be burnt to a cinder in a moment. But she is in hell, where fire burns everything, but burns nothing away. There she will stand forever scorched and burning. She counts with her fingers the moments as they pass away slowly, for each moment seems to her like a

hundred years. As she counts she remembers that she will have to count them forever and ever." In the Fourth Dungeon, this spectacle: "Look into this little prison. In the middle of it there is a boy, a young man. He is silent; despair is on him. He stands straight up. His eyes are burning like two burning coals. Two long flames come out of his ears. His breathing is difficult. Sometimes he opens his mouth, and breath of blazing fire rolls out of it. But listen! There is a sound, just like that of a kettle boiling. Is it really a kettle which is boiling? No. Then what is it? Hear what it is. The blood is boiling in the scalding veins of that boy. The brain is boiling and bubbling in his head. The marrow is boiling in his bones." All this, and much more of the same sort, is taught to children as perfectly literal, without a single intimation that any part of it is figurative or symbolic. The dire and deadly consequences of wickedness cannot be overestimated; but the "penny dreadful" style of presenting eternal realities does not promote a wholesome and worthy effect in the heart of a little child.

Near the end of this balmy, dewy, and delectable volume prepared for the instruction and nurture of childhood in the Romish Church, a warning is given against Protestant "schools, in which children lose their holy faith." "Dear little children, they want you to come to their school in order to make you Protestants. It cannot be because they believe the Protestant religion to be the religion of Jesus Christ that they want to make you Protestants, for they know right well that the Protestant religion was made, not by Jesus Christ, but fifteen hundred years afterward by a wicked man called Luther, who broke his vows to God, and confessed that he made the Protestant religion to please the devil and spite the pope." A recent visitor to China writes: "The 'Temple of Horrors' is one of the sights of Canton. It contains representations of future punishment that are vivid enough to make even a Chinaman sober. Each little chapel contains representations of the torments of the damned. In one they are being boiled in oil, in another encased in a hollow tree and sawn asunder down the whole length of the timber, and so on through a dozen different progressions of every conceivable torture. In each scene the god of the lower world is presented in some horrible form, and the poor culprits who are waiting their turn are standing in the background with terror on their faces. This temple is farmed out every year to a speculator who pays large rent for it, and receives all the offerings of the worshipers in return,

and is said to make a fortune out of it. The practical Chinaman is not unwilling to make money, even out of a subject so horrible. The place is full of money-changers and various offices, and seemed a strange mixture of sordid avarice and ghastly superstition." In the city of Tsi-nan, China, the Roman Catholic church has on its walls a lurid fresco of devils pitchforking human souls into a flaming pit. The Romish priest in charge when questioned about it says, with a grimace and shrug, "O, that is for the Chinese!" It seems, from the volume before us, that it is also considered proper nourishment for the tender souls of the sweet little children of Christian lands. A missionary, ten years in China, now sitting at our side, says that paganism, in its most abominable fabrications, has never devised anything in the way of religion so diabolical as this book contains.

In this most frightful book, which bears on its title-page, in token of Church authorization, "*Permissu Superiorum*," the vicar-general sees, he says, "a great deal to charm, instruct, and edify" the youthful classes "for whose benefit it has been written." Is this the sort of milk for babes that the "Holy Mother Church" of Rome gives forth from her bosom to her nurslings in the closing decades of the nineteenth Christian century? Were it not better for infancy to be suckled by a she-wolf on the Roman hills? To such books as this, thrifty and unscrupulous professional infidels frequently resort for ammunition to use in their assaults upon the Christian religion, which they caricature as grossly as Furniss's *Tracts for Spiritual Reading* misrepresent it.

AN EMINENT EDUCATOR.

Nothing is more agreeable than to assist in rendering to exalted merit and distinguished services the grateful honor which is their just and proper due. A long and powerful life, like that of Joseph Cummings, devoted almost entirely to the work of education in our highest institutions, is worthy of recognition and record on some imperishable page of the literature of the Church of which he was a loyal and laborious servant. Hence the biographical article by Dr. King in our present issue and, in addition, the editorial remembrance which follows. Of this record Methodism in general will thankfully approve, while among the readers of the *Review* must be very many, scattered over the whole earth, to whom this portraiture will have peculiar interest, from the fact that they

are conscious of bearing within themselves ineffaceable marks of the influence of the strong and sturdy personality of that great educator whose character and work receive somewhat tardily, here and now, the portrayal which it were indecent for any to begrudge or for the *Review* to omit through negligence.

Our first impressions of Dr. Cummings were received on entering college as a freshman. Those first impressions are vivid still. But if they or the other memories of student days were all our stock we would have but small qualification for writing intelligently concerning him. The relation between student and president is not one certain to insure correct appreciation or absolute agreement on all points. The pupil sometimes finds discipline distasteful and regulation irksome, thinks the hand of government a hard hand, and entertains grave doubts whether the men over him, who, by some accident wholly mysterious to his piercing intellect, have been lifted to positions of control and superintendence, are really the wisest and most reasonable men in the world. Through this tumefied and tympanitic stage of mental development most students are apt to pass. In the army a superior officer can command anything from subordinates and privates except their solid approval; that it is practically impossible for him always to command. In school and college it is not much easier for authority to win the unanimous and constant approval of those over whom it must exert itself.

The very position of undergraduate is unfavorable for getting a fair and proportioned view of the man or men who sit in the seats of instruction and government. It only gives a view from the underside. In the Doré Gallery in London was one picture remarkable among the rest only for one singular peculiarity, namely, the point of view from which it was painted. Its scene was a wheat field, and the point of view was that of an observer lying flat on his back on the ground, seeing grain and wild flowers standing over him against the sky. It is a strange experience to be looking at a wheat field from its underside; and if one had no other view he would have a very odd and incomplete idea of what a wheat field really is. The undergraduate's view of the faculty has the misfortune to be from a single point and from the underside. Furthermore, the student is too near his instructor to be able to gauge dimensions and make a just estimate. A man standing with his face close against the stone wall of a building, in actual contact therewith, with no chance to stand off from it, may not be able to tell whether the building is a smokehouse, a

jail, a warehouse, or a cathedral. But at the distance of ten, twenty, or thirty years away from the undergraduate standpoint one sees the instructor in perspective and has standards for comparing and a base for measuring height, breadth, and outline; and if there be any skill in the observer he ought, with such a base line of observation, to take measurements not entirely inexact.

Standing off from the edifice of Joseph Cummings's life, one sees a somewhat massive structure, built of something which resembles granite; of Doric simplicity, not everywhere smooth; rough-hewn in finish at some points; touched here and there with Gothic ruggedness and austerity and—shall we say?—sublimity; not so symmetrical and faultily faultless in its grace as the Parthenon on Minerva's mount; not breaking anywhere, like St. Mark's at Venice, into fretwork of pinnacles and domes; but a solid structure, presenting a buttressed and imposing front, with lofty and substantial towers. It is not too much to say that the edifice of his life was a temple dedicate to the living God and filled with worship—worship directed mostly by the maxim, "*Laborare est orare*"—a temple of which, as we contemplate it, we feel like saying, in words adapted from Bishop Coxe's hymn,

> We mark its goodly battlements,
> And its foundation strong;
> We hear within the solemn voice
> Of an unending song.

Beyond dispute and without figure, his was a strong, noble, consecrated life, concerning which we note here a few definite and distinguishing facts.

I. Dr. Cummings was an example of the prevailing power that is in original and developed manhood, rather than in elaborate equipment. He got his growth and training in the primitive simplicity of fifty years ago, when our educational institutions were few and small and poor. Comforts were scanty, luxuries unknown, apparatus not worth mentioning. He was equipped in the days of comparatively meager facilities, when the power for winning had to be in the man, since it could not be in the facilities. Those who set out for success then knew they must achieve it by sheer force of manhood. Ours is the day of vastly increased advantages and elaborate equipment; and it is possible for individuals to exaggerate the value and efficiency of such things, so as to depend too much on the benefits of improved opportunities and modern methods. At any rate, we have more need now than

they had half a century ago to bear in mind continually that still the power must be in the man ; it cannot reside in the implements, mere information, machinery, or methods. In the work of life there is no substitute for man-power. If any fledgling graduate of to-day expects to surpass the fathers by the possession of superior tools and other advantages of outfit, or thinks that these things render success more sure for him than it was for the fathers, he makes an egregious and probably fatal mistake. Polished implements, skilled tuition, and expert training are furnished by colleges and universities now to whoever will apply. But the great problem which remains ever on our hands, and pushes us harder than any other, is how to match the tough, hardy, resourceful, and masterful manhood of the fathers; and we would better learn enough of history and biography to understand that this is a job of pretty large dimensions. An occasional look at such a man as Joseph Cummings will help to impress that important lesson on us.

II. Dr. Cummings was an example of roundabout knowledge and development. He was educated on the old plan, before specialization had divided and subdivided education into fenced lanes and close compartments. Perhaps it is permissible, possibly it may be wise, to remind ourselves that, in general, we have to purchase any one thing at the cost of something else, and that whatever may be the undeniable benefits of the modern plan of electives, which permits study to run into narrow lines for the sake of intensity and thoroughness, that plan cannot have all the advantages, and they who follow it rigidly must forego some results obtainable under the old curriculum. In the present state of human knowledge it is necessary for some to make the sacrifice of breadth and roundness which the specialist incurs ; but there is always need, also, of men of circular culture, of large and impartial development, of general knowledge, not critically exact to the last *minutiæ*, but affording comprehensive views which cover all departments and see their relative importance from a central standpoint. And this is the type of man needed, qualified, and likely to be selected for positions of headship and general superintendence. For this particular type, as well as for specialists, there will be increasing demand. How deep, exact, and exhaustive President Cummings's knowledge was in any particular line we cannot say ; but we are sure that in correct general comprehension his mental vision was Baconian, that it boxed the compass of knowledge and swept round the three hundred and

sixty degrees of the circle of culture. He was a large, broad-minded example of all-around development, and so occupied for almost forty years the presidential sphere with a fullness and sufficiency rarely equaled.

III. Dr. Cummings stands as an example of rugged stalwartness bracing to contemplate. A Frenchman says, "The Teutons have no nerves; they have sinews." The French are precisely the people who ought to know about this; for the German sinews were on exhibition on French soil in 1870, when the "giant in the spiked helmet" marched from Berlin to Paris. The French, on the contrary, have more sensitiveness than strength; and the Teutonic race is worth more to the world than the Gallic, because power is better than hyperæsthesia, because firm, patient, plodding endurance is better for the individual and for this workaday world than exquisite sensibilities. It will be an evil day for us if overrefinement ever leads us to cultivate our nervous sensitivity at the expense of our sinews. We sometimes fear the tendency of our civilization sets that way. Refined sensibilities and elegant accomplishments do not make essential and potential manhood. What Clive's friend says in Browning's poem is true:

> Power is power, my boy, and still marks the man.

Joseph Cummings is of value as a model to help us against the possibility of such a mistake. Sinewy, sinewy he surely was; brawny, brawny all men knew him to be. He had a Herculean frame, "limbed like the old heroic breed." All his stalwart strength of body and brain, of sinew and soul, he bent to the most incessant and prodigious industry. He was as certainly built for heavy loads and hard pulling as are the fine big oxen in Portland brownstone quarries; the mildness of the ox was not in him, but the strength was. His strength was not like that of a trained athlete from the gymnasium, but rather of a yeoman from the farm. By night, as well as by day, he toiled terribly. Sydney Smith would have advised him, as he did Brougham, to content himself with doing three men's work. In his student days a member of the class before his reports that no other college boy studied so many hours as he. As president he made himself a man of all work, hesitating at nothing that brain or hands could do, counting no drudgery beneath him. The bell for recitation used to find him sometimes digging drain ditches or postholes in the field which is now the athletic grounds behind

the college at Middletown. In imagination we can see him now, as we saw him then, come hurrying in from the field to the recitation room, with the clay on his shoes, the dirt on his clothes, soil on his hands, and sit down to his desk, mopping the sweat from his forehead, as we students filed in and he called the roll and opened the text-book to begin.

How much the influence of such a man was worth in fostering a rugged and laborious manliness in his students cannot be measured. But one thing is certain—if any bachelor of arts went out of Wesleyan between 1857 and 1875 with uppish, dainty, or effeminate notions it was in no degree the fault of the sturdy president. A New York Fifth Avenue tailor tries to bring us to a pessimistic state of mind with the appalling information that since James Buchanan we have had only one well-dressed president in the White House—Chester A. Arthur. Only once in thirty years has drawing-room elegance graced the presidential chair of the nation. We are disposed to give thanks for this. Ours is not an age of *sartor resartus*. We do not go to the tailor for the measure of a man. Gaunt, rustic, awkward Abraham Lincoln, in his loose-fitting habiliments, old shawl, and rusty hat, was worth more than all the merchant tailor's presidents we ever had or can have. Joseph Cummings was nearer akin to Abraham Lincoln than to James Buchanan.

IV. Inside this rugged, stalwart man was a big, warm, tender heart, which showed itself upon occasion to sick students and others who were in need and who have not yet forgotten it. Camped one night in Palestine, in the green vale of Urtas, just above Solomon's Pools, we lay awake in our tents in the middle of the night and listened to two sounds which can never be forgotten. One was the conics, barking faintly on the hills in the Syrian moonlight; and the other was the gurgle of a stream, flowing through its rocky channel somewhere underground and passing beneath our tents on its way to fill the great pools beyond us. Deep down under the surface of Dr. Cummings's nature one could detect, in favorable hours, a vein of tenderness, flowing like a sweet stream through a rocky channel in secret depths, and coming to the surface here and there with its largess of sympathy and refreshing for the parched necessities of the suffering and the troubled. The writer cannot forget that he had personal experience of that tenderness manifested to him by the president's kind words and considerate manner when, in his junior year, he was summoned to the deathbed of his mother and two weeks

later returned to college with a heavy heart. Dr. Cummings met with affectionate gentleness the returning boy, who now, at the distance of many years, is glad of an opportunity to bless him for it publicly. Many others would like a similar chance to give thanks for similar kindnesses.

V. Dr. Cummings was an example of a man occupying a high position, meeting its obligations, exercising its functions, and overcoming its difficulties with uniform success. Every official position must bear its own responsibilities and face its peculiar and inevitable difficulties. The chair of government is not a cushioned seat. Whoever is ordained to govern may be appointed to honor, but is certainly consigned to trials many and various. Sooner or later governing becomes arduous, and must be conducted through tangled embarrassments and divided counsels and against opposition more or less pronounced and troublesome. The man who was president of Amenia Seminary, Genesee College, Wesleyan University, and the Northwestern bore the heavy burdens of his office, discharged its delicate duties, and faced its difficulties always courageously, and generally with prevailing ability, though not without exciting opposition.

VI. Dr. Cummings was an example of a man who, within the limits of his own nature and construction, managed his capacities as well as he could, working them up to their greatest power, highest speed, and utmost result. God makes each individual a present of his own nature and its contents. The individual can only accept it and do the best he may with it. Every self-studious person finds something in himself he would like different; he is conscious of defect, unless he is a fool. Everyone would be glad to possess all possible elements of manhood, raised to their highest power and harmoniously balanced, but knows he does not; knows, also, that no man does. Everybody lacks something which somebody else has. To say that William H. Seward had not the Grecian finish, Roman dignity, and statuesque repose of Charles Sumner is not disparagement, but portraiture. Every human constitution must endure the limitations and carry the liabilities of its peculiar make-up. Perils and perquisites are both on board. A clipper and a man-of-war cannot exchange either advantages or disadvantages. Each must put up with its own build. The man of ardent temperament cannot have the deliberation of the cool; nor the sluggish and lymphatic the vivid and magnetic warmth of the mercurial; nor the timid the dash and gayety of the fearless; nor the impulsive the safety of the

cautious. Down the coast from Maine to Georgia go schooners loaded with ice ; little danger of explosion or fire at sea in such a craft. Across the ocean go steamers loaded with petroleum, doubly endangered by furnaces and cargo. It is a proportionately greater achievement to bring a cargo of gunpowder safe to port than a cargo of cheese. There was no possibility of making the fiery Luther like the mild Melanchthon ; and if it had been done we would have had no Reformation. The Reformation was an engine that required a hot fire under the boiler to make it go. With only the cool mildness of Melanchthon the driving wheels would scarce have made a revolution, and the great train of religious progress would never have got started on its steep upgrade.

Dr. Cummings could not be Dr. Fisk or anybody but himself; and it is common sense for us to be glad of it, because for the sake of utility, as well as picturesque variety, it is better to have one Fisk and one Cummings than a brace of duplicates. If the fifth president of Wesleyan could not reproduce the placid spirit, the gentle and delicate amiability of the first, we know that, in tug and toil of body and brain, Joseph Cummings could tire out Wilbur Fisk three hundred and sixty-five times in every year. What wonder, if the man of tremendous energy shows an indomitable, unyielding, and sometimes imperious will, that can illy brook opposition? What wonder, if, in the depths of this strong and intense nature, as in the heart of Luther, there were some volcanic possibilities? What wonder, if he were capable of wrath, which made him formidable to confront, as several students knew, learning by experience the truth of the poet's lines,

> 'Tis easy to face passion in a passion ;
> But it is a daunting thing to look upon,
> When the blood is going its mild pace in your own veins.

But Joseph Cummings's indignation was righteous; or, at least, beyond doubt, it always meant to be, and so was righteous in intent. If the impetuous, glowing forces of his being made perpetual self control less easy for him than for colder and feebler natures, we yet have reason to rejoice in his mettlesome and spirited energies, because he kept them always pulling mightily at the heavy loads to which he harnessed them.

VII. Dr. Cummings stands as the one most conspicuous example of a chief educator permitted by Providence and the Methodist Church to devote a lifetime, almost solidly, to educational superintendence. Has any other college president in Meth-

odist Episcopal history piled up so large an aggregate of service? The name of Wilbur Fisk represents the educational work of American Methodism in its early stages; and he is justly entitled to prominence by his firstness in time, by his beautiful character, by his fine influence on our denomination, and by his preferring his presidency to the episcopacy for the last three years of his life. But his record as an educator covered only twelve years—four at Wilbraham and eight at Middletown. Stephen Olin sat in professional and presidential chairs not more, all told, than twenty years. Matthew Simpson was only eleven years an educator; E. O. Haven, about twenty years; John P. Durbin, sixteen years; John McClintock, fifteen years; Edward Thomson, fourteen years. Other able and faithful presidents we have had; but in almost every case the educational work was only an episode in the man's career.

In contrast with these Joseph Cummings packed thirty-eight years with educational work, "good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over." The only Methodist president we can recall who approaches him in length of educational work is Dr. Frederick Merrick, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, whose presidency, however, was only fourteen years. Aside from him, Dr. Cummings, in round numbers, doubles in years of educational work any president the colleges of our Church have ever had. These figures force on our minds the question whether, if you measure by the laborious years spent and aggregate amount of successful work done, Joseph Cummings does not stand alone in the first century of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the great college president—a question not to be answered by partiality or prejudice, but solely by the record.

VIII. We believe it is not certainly known who it was that first said he liked the sort of man that "brings things to pass." Dr. Cummings was one of that sort, a man of large practical wisdom and executive ability, inventive, enterprising, progressive, and influential. A jury of farmers, mechanics, and business men would have called him a practical man, a man of affairs. His work in the main was administrative, his professorship incidental; though he was not destitute of masterly ability in the recitation room, where his endeavor was rather to educate than instruct, to provoke and evoke mental action on the student's part rather than to load him with information. To the method the branches which he taught were favorable. He was not so much a technical scholar as an educational captain. His students used

to think that if he had entered political life in his native State he would have made an astute statesman, a fit senator from Maine for the national Congress.

One is surprised, at first, to find the bibliography of his life so small—the printing of only a half dozen review articles, the publishing of only a dozen sermons and addresses delivered on various occasions, and the editing of Butler's *Analogy*, with notes, an index, and a life of the author. This does not seem a large result for a man of his ability to leave in type. The entirely honorable explanation is that his life was not consecrated to making books. It was devoted to making men and building great institutions ; and the results are not on library shelves, but fixed in strong colleges or fluent in human lives, through which they flow abroad in all the earth, leavening, reduplicating, and compounding *ad infinitum*.

IX. Dr. Cummings's life was on the whole a climax. Doubtless its final epoch was its noblest. It might have been foreseen that his last years would likely be his best. He was capable of learning by experience and improving on his own past. He had vital force for a long growth. It would take accumulating years a long time to tame the powerful passions of his blood. The fire of youth would keep on burning under this man's white hairs. Many years would only mellow and sweeten and enrich his nature. Also, the providential progress of his career carried it to a climax. We cannot but note and cannot help rejoicing that when, at the age of threescore, he found himself by the movement of events remanded to the pastorate, which to a man of sixty, accustomed to work in educational harness, could hardly be the most congenial field, there opened for him a fresh educational opportunity ; so that, in a region far removed, on a new and unencumbered field, he entered upon the grandest opening and the largest usefulness of his life. His biographer will find that the most fragrant, beautiful, and blessed chapter is the one that covers the last nine years, which were lived a thousand miles from the scenes of his previous life, on the shore of Lake Michigan. The report is that in that time the number of his students doubled, from nine hundred to eighteen hundred ; that two hundred thousand dollars of debt were paid off ; and that three elegant buildings were added to the property.

The Caledonian Canal in Scotland starts from the level of the sea at Inverness. Up among the hills it goes, through lock after lock, from plane to plane, with purer and clearer water at every

stage, till it reaches summit level in Loch Oich and with calm and open face contemplates the near sky. So did Joseph Cummings's life progress; and Providence spaced it into stages and locked it up from level to level, till finally it rested at the top of his ascent—broad, clear, and peaceful, with the stars of the sky reflected in its bosom, and sweet winds from out the heavens rustling its borders with whispered intimations of the infinite and the eternal beyond.

President Cummings was not an old man when he died at seventy-three. Some men are more aged at fifty than he at threescore and ten. Dr. Whedon retired from action at forty, feeling himself an old man, and actually took to reading Cicero's *De Senectute* for consolation in what he regarded as his declining years. Dr. Cummings never retired, never wore an air of looking toward sunset, never bade the world good afternoon, never stood still in the furrow waiting for the *angelus* to ring. He took no note of the time of day; he was not the sort of servant that earnestly desireth the shadow; he kept digging away, as the unnoticed evening fell, just as sturdily as when his day was at the morn. In meridian might he heard the undesired summons to lay down his tools.

If it were assigned to us to put a monument above his dust we would set up a tall and rugged monolith of granite quarried from the coast of his native Maine. On it we would put his last words, the question to Dr. Brayton, his physician, the night before he died, "Has my record been a good one?"—a question which points all men to his record; and the record itself is his superb and undecaying monument. Under that question might be cut deep in the stone these great words, "He that overcometh shall inherit all things;" for his course was a victory first and last. When he stood venerable with years and honors on the heights of his life it was in sight of a height that is higher, to which he has now surely mounted.

The *Wesleyan Bulletin* said, "Death brought him the first rest he ever knew." We, for our part, scarce can think of such a nature as his being contentedly at rest; for his preferences and passions were never for repose, but always for action. Rather must we think that "yonder, worlds away, in the heaven's heights far and steep, he still strives and thrives, fights on, fares ever there as here," "more than conqueror," through the Christ who lived and died for men, who is Helper of the weak, Brother of the mighty, and Saviour of the sinful.

THE ARENA.

"OUR MEN AND WOMEN—AN IRENICON."

In the *Methodist Review* for September my esteemed and learned friend, President W. F. Warren, makes a notable effort to so adjust the already too much discussed woman question, in relation to the General Conference and to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as to satisfy those who take what many deem to be the only tenable grounds clearly stated in the Scriptures and claimed, from a physiological point of view, by the latest and best scientists in reference to the brain, the blood corpuscles, and the general physique of woman as compared with man. These biblical and physiological truths and facts should have so settled this matter in our Church, as they have in other large Churches, as to have brought this unwelcome and unprofitable debate to a close long ago. Indeed, it should never have been mooted. But as Dr. Warren offers an *irenicon* to some features of which strong exceptions may be taken, I modestly name a few that, I think, cover the whole ground.

1. There is no need of "a better understanding of scriptural and legal principles," particularly if the latter be based on the past history of the Church and on the physical and mental constitution of woman.

2. Placing confidence in the Scriptures and in the distinctive and sexual characteristics of woman, "each party has [not] been contending for principles essentially true." The principles are diverse and cannot be harmonized in any ecclesiastical amalgamation.

3. I do not think it historically true "that from the beginning of American Methodism all duly appointed class leaders have impliedly been entitled to membership in . . . Quarterly Conferences," etc. Male leaders have ever been so entitled, not female. The latter have not claimed or availed themselves of such membership, because neither the preachers appointing them nor they themselves recognized such right. Having been a Methodist preacher for more than fifty years, officiating in four States and in Conferences now covering the territory included in three Conferences, I never appointed or recognized a woman class leader as entitled, in fact or in theory, to a seat in Quarterly Conference; nor did I ever have one in that office who thought herself eligible to that body. Her reports were duly made either to her pastor or through another to the Quarterly Conference. So far as my knowledge of Methodistic usage goes this has been the uniform practice.

Of the so-called "facts" presumably "admitted by all parties," those included in sections 3 to 10 have no relevancy to the main question. The election of women to Lay Electoral Conferences in 1871 and 1872 was un-Methodist and without warrant. The action of the General Conference in 1872, in reference to the exclusion of persons from office on account of sex, was, in the opinion of many, an unwise action. The sections numbered 13, 14, 15 have nothing to do with the principal question. The officers

of the General Conference, as stated in sections 16 and 18, could do nothing else in reference to the "three women elected as reserve delegates" than they did do, until the body of which they were officers had taken action. That body acted unwisely in not granting those women seats in the General Conference.

The Central Mission Conference of India, referred to in section 20, has no legislative or mandatory authority or power; and its doings have no more relevancy to the main question than has the late synodical election of a woman to a seat in the Wesleyan Conference in England. The movement in the West, a little prior to the General Conference of 1888, and the agitations following it were not a little discreditable to the Church; and the action of the bishops thereon was wise and in harmony with the genius and history of universal Methodism. To the statement of historical facts on pages 738–741 little exception need be taken; but to the idea that, because of that strange history, "they [the women] were neither legally eligible nor legally ineligible" to membership in General Conference, I take unqualified exception. They are not now nor ever have been eligible to membership in that body, notwithstanding its wabbling efforts to make them members.

However well intentioned are the irenical pleas of Dr. Warren in reference to the strange, complicated, and diverse doings of several Electoral and General Conferences on this question, it had been better if the matter had not been broached at all. The peace, the character, and the prosperity of the Church call for a summary ending of the whole matter by the General Conference of 1896. The more that shall be done to make woman eligible to membership in the General Conference and to the ordained ministry the longer continued will be the efforts to put the Church out of harmony with the revealed will of God and the essential constitution and relations of woman. Whatever more may be said in Dr. Warren's next paper, it cannot change the divinely constituted and fundamental facts in the main question. The consensus of the Churches and the trend of Christendom are against the abnormal movement to bring woman out of her broad, dignified, and sacred spheres of privilege and duty in the family and the Church.

BOSTWICK HAWLEY.

Saratoga, N. Y.

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF INDIA AND MALAYSIA.

THIS is what might be called a sub General Conference, or branch of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a central and representative organization, intended to meet the growing wants of Methodism in Southern Asia. The need of such a unifying and cooperating body was felt and requested long before the conservative General Conference authorized its organization. There seemed to be a fear that it meant some kind of secession. Nevertheless, in 1881, an organization meeting the need was formed in India and met twice. In 1884 the General Conference sanctioned this organization substantially as it existed. The Conference, as it met in February last, represented six Conferences in

India, Burmah, and Malaysia. A roll of sixty-three delegates was called, twenty-one of whom were women. These represented work in sixteen languages and over a territory larger than the United States. As will be seen, the Conference is not trammeled by the traditions of the home General Conference. A large wing of the body consisted of women. Thus, the progressive character of this model General Conference may be seen. The conservative home General Conference will doubtless work out in time the problem of woman representation. The importance, ay, necessity, of it in this part of the world will appear from the statement that at this session important questions of policy and legislation came before the Conference—on deaconesses' work, zenana or woman's home work, the ladies' college, girls' boarding schools, and other matters—in which the voice and counsel of women were indispensable.

To indicate something of the scope and importance of the work that came before this General Conference of the East, mention may be made of the following regular committees which dealt with the matters involved: Publication, Education, Sunday Schools, Church Property, Woman's Work, Revivals, State of the Church, Conference Claimants, Epworth League, Temperance, and Salary of Missionaries. These committees worked upon questions involving the interest of nearly three hundred million of souls, speaking many languages. Twenty-two institutions of learning were passed in review, and in addition legislation was effected touching over one thousand minor schools. The interests of four publishing houses, at Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras, and Singapore, were considered. From these houses eight regular periodicals are issued, in seven languages. Agents and editors made their reports. Elections for the new term of two years were held.

The merest reference may be made to some matters acted on, all having an important bearing on the great work of Methodism in this Eastern world. A manual was ordered to be prepared grouping the orders and legislative acts of this body during twelve years. This, with an Annual Conference Manual sanctioned, will constitute a kind of addendum Discipline for this part of the world. Courses of study were adopted for foreign missionaries, for foreign deaconesses, for native deaconesses, for trained nurses, and for general lay workers. A committee was appointed to secure and prepare text-books when required, to be translated into different languages. An important action of the Conference was the formation of a "Financial Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India," consisting of the Bishop of India, *ex officio*, four ministers, and four laymen, said board to be located at Calcutta. This board is duly "registered" under the Government Act, and thus becomes capable of holding all property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India the use of which is not provided for by the Missionary Society or any other legal board. This Financial Board corresponds to the General Conference Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A similar Financial Board was ordered to be formed for our work in Malaysia, as the government there is separate from India. By act of this Central Conference session, the

headquarters of the Church were fixed at Calcutta, which thus becomes for the work what New York is to Methodism in the United States. An executive committee is appointed at each session of the Conference to act on important matters in the interim of sessions.

This brief statement indicates something of the vastness and hopefulness of the outlook of one of the youngest of the great missions undertaken by the Methodist Episcopal Church in foreign lands. A few words of Bishop Thoburn, from his address at the opening of the late session, are just in place here :

To state the conclusion of the whole matter in as few words as possible, I would say that we must familiarize ourselves with the idea that God has called us to found a mighty Christian empire in this Eastern world. That may seem like the whisper of ambition ; but on the other hand, if this world is ever to be converted and become in very deed a Christian world, Christian men and women in many lands must become perfectly familiar with golden visions of this kind. . . . If we are not laboring to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ among men we are certainly laboring in vain ; and if we are engaged in this stupendous calling it is an act of simple faith in the calling, and in Him who calls, to recognize the fact that we are laying the foundations of a mighty empire. There is no other name for it ; no other language could express the fact. Let us not shrink from the full recognition of this stupendous fact, which God would have us comprehend in all its height and depth, and length and breadth.

The following statistical summary may be studied by anyone who wishes to know the exact facts. The statistics have been carefully collected from the Annual Conference Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, and are believed to be accurate and reliable. A few items are lacking from Malaysia, so that the totals are slightly under the actual amounts :

		Totals.
Church membership:		
Probationers	36,640	
Members	18,508	
		55,148
Baptisms in 1893 :		
Adults	11,967	
Children	6,770	
		18,737
Educational institutions of all grades		1,249
Pupils in " " "		32,243
Sunday schools		1,864
Sunday school pupils		70,156
Native Christian community		72,220
Foreign and Anglo-Indian missionaries	84	
*Wives of " " "	75	
Lady missionaries of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society	45	
Anglo-Indian assistants	95	
Native ministers—Conference members	90	
† Local preachers	362	
† Exhorters	668	
Christian teachers	1,030	
Bible readers	449	
Colporteurs	49	
Other paid workers	101	
Total of paid workers		2,897

* All unpaid. † Some, connected chiefly with English churches, unpaid.

	Rupees.	
Mission property:		
Value of churches	796,342	
Parsonages	515,198	
Other mission property	1,309,437	
Total value of mission property		Rupees. 2,620,977
Moneys collected in India * for all purposes and from all sources in 1893		411,701

Bareilly, India. T. J. Scott.

THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

The divinity of Christ is not more plainly asserted in Scripture than his humanity. He speaks of himself almost invariably as the "Son of man." Matthew records thirty-one instances where he thus designates himself, and only one where he alludes to himself as the "Son of God."

As the Son of man he inherited a human, not a superhuman, nature. His humanity was the common humanity of his maternal ancestry and liable to everything to which they were liable. In Heb. iv, 15, we are told: "For we have not a high Priest which cannot be touched with the feeling [συμπαθῆσαι] of our infirmities [ἀσθενείαις, 'weaknesses']; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin." How are we tempted? By direct assaults of the tempter and by the sinward tendencies of our weakened human nature. He was "in all points tempted like as we are," the only difference being that he never yielded. A superhuman humanity is a contradiction in terms, an irreconcilable duality of ideas. In the humanity of Christ there was neither any superhuman quality nor was there the perfection of the nature prior to the fall. In the latter case a new creation would be required and the whole line of progenitors from Abraham must be disowned. The sacred record traces his genealogy back to Adam, calls him "the seed of the woman," "the seed of Abraham," "the seed of David," showing his humanity to be not only truly human, but warped and biased and weakened by transmission through seventy-five generations of sinners. The idea of the immaculate and impeccable character of the humanity of Christ occasioned and, indeed, required the dogma of "the immaculate conception" and its resultant belief—the union of Deity and humanity in the person of the Virgin Mother, instead of in the person of Christ.

Shall we not rather believe that the weakened and degenerated human nature inherited by him was purified and energized by his innate Godhead, yet underwent no transmutation nor exceeded the standard pronounced by the Creator to be "very good." If his human nature was different from that of the race in general his incarnation would be no more to us than if he had taken on him "the nature of angels." The argument of the second, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews is to prove his relation to us and the identity of his humanity with ours. He was tempted, "was compassed [or laid round about] with infirmity," "learned obedience by the things that he suffered," "increased in wisdom," and "was

* Malaysia not included.

made perfect through suffering"—all which expressions are applicable only to a weakened and peccable human nature. The obedience of an impeccable being would be no vindication of the law, no evidence that it was "holy and just and good." Christ vindicated the law by placing himself on the level with humanity—sin-weakened humanity—and then rendering perfect obedience.

Let us not detract from the merit of Christ by robbing his life of all character; and there can be no character where there is no option. Let us not rob ourselves of the benefit of his example by holding that no parity exists between his ability and ours. And let us not minify his humanity by denuding it of its crown of excellence, leaving it an emasculated humanity, incapable of right as of wrong, a mere machine on which the divine power acted arbitrarily and irresistibly, as it does not on humanity.

Marysville, Kan. THOMAS SCOTT.

ATONEMENT A SUBSTITUTE FOR PENALTY.

IN the March–April number of the *Review* Dr. Miley's theory of atonement was under discussion by Dr. McChesney, but was not quite satisfactorily disposed of. To me the theory seems not only inadequate, but seriously faulty. Dr. Miley discriminates his theory from the "satisfactional" view very sharply, designates it the "rectoral or governmental" view, and distinctly holds that it is "a substitute for penalty," and that its value is measured by the office of penalty in moral government. Now, against this theory I desire to urge the following objections:

1. Penalty has no office of reconciliation whatever in the governmental system, while the sufferings of Christ look to this as their objective aim. It has no power to cancel guilt, no power of justification, no power of regeneration, no power of sanctification. Nor has it for the sinner any power of reformation or reinstatement. Nor, indeed, has it any power for conserving moral government. But the death of Christ is the meritorious ground for all this.

2. Penalty, as expressive of all the bad consequences of sin, is one of the great obstacles to reconciliation and reinstatement; whereas the atonement in Christ looks to the lifting of the penalty as one of its triumphs, and to the counteracting of sin as that which inaugurates penalty.

3. Penalty only operates deterringly, and can never expiate the offense by which it has been superinduced; whereas the death of Christ looks to the deliverance of the sinner from his sinful state and the bad consequences it entails.

4. Atonement has its chief value in accomplishing just what penalty could not do, that is, in clearing the guilty and inaugurating righteousness. Hence, "what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Carey, O. L. C. WEBSTER.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

"THE REVIVAL AND THE PASTOR."

This is a timely and valuable book for preachers, and for laymen as well, just issued by our publishing house. There are two classes of books very difficult to prepare, the one consisting of books intended for devotional purposes, and the other of books rich in suggestions for the salvation of men. The author of such works must have a deep religious experience, as well as spiritual and intellectual qualities of a high order. The *Imitation of Christ*, of Thomas à Kempis, is a classic among devotional manuals. So also is the *Tongue of Fire*, by the Rev. William Arthur. How many have been stimulated by these priceless books to higher thinking and nobler living eternity only can disclose. The late Dr. J. O. Peck's book, *The Revival and the Pastor*, will fitly take its place as a work essential to every young pastor in the prosecution of his duties as a minister. It has an introduction by Dr. J. M. Buckley, and is published by Hunt & Eaton in an attractive and convenient form.

Those who knew Dr. Peck only as a missionary secretary, in which capacity he was so eminently successful, did not always know that in his pastoral life he was, while a powerful preacher, also a most successful revivalist. His pastorates were for his churches "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." To human view he fell at his post all too soon. But in this book he has left a legacy to the Church by which, being dead, he yet speaketh. It is fitting that the "Itinerant's Club" should commend this work, because it is so eminently adapted for the study of our young preachers, especially at this period of the year. Our preachers are already making plans for special revival services, and everything that will help them in this work should be welcomed.

This book commends itself in that it emphasizes the great mission of the preacher. The direct work of the preacher is to win men to Christ—in other words, to save souls. "A genuine revival of religion is a gracious work of the Holy Spirit, unto righteousness, in human souls, characterized by unusual intensity and breadth of operation and commonly limited as to time." With this comprehensive definition as his thesis the author proceeds to develop his important subject. The discussion includes the nature of revivals, the relation of the pastor to them, the plan of evangelists, the preparatory work, the method of conducting the services, and the duties growing out of them, concluding with instances of remarkable conversions and counsels to young converts. Indeed, it answers almost all questions one is likely to ask, and is a discussion of the subject by one whose success in conducting revivals was and is unquestioned. What were the elements which made him so successful? He was conscious of the power of divine grace in his own salvation. He realized that converting power is not in man, but in God.

It would be impossible in the compass of this notice to give any descrip-

tion of this book which would do justice to our estimate of its importance to the young minister. It should be read for stimulus in the great work of soul-saving. There is danger lest the minister forget his main business. He may unconsciously grow into the habit, if not the belief, of regarding his work as completed when he has attended the prayer meeting and preached his sermons on the Sabbath. He must not be content with this. He must not be satisfied until he has used his best endeavors to lead men and women to Christ.

It shows also the duty of the preacher in preparing for revival services. As the seed must be sown before there can be any prospect of a harvest, so the pastor must prepare "the way of the Lord." It is well known that all successful workers in revivals make careful preparation by enlisting the church and securing the cordial cooperation of all Christian workers in advance of the formal efforts. Some instruction as to how this can best be accomplished is very important, especially to the young preacher. In Dr. Peck's book he will find a wise guide. Then, too, the actual conduct of the revival, the proper utilization of the forces which, as a pastor, it is his duty to command, and cognate themes are clearly and fully discussed. Indeed, it is a cyclopedia of information on the subject of revivals.

The book is also important in presence of the unfriendly attitude which many persons seem to have against the old-fashioned revivals. They regard them as antiquated, and say that the Church has outgrown them. They do this in spite of the fact that they themselves, and most of the earnest Christians in the Church, were converted in such revivals. They need to be shown how revivals may be conducted without the excesses and abuses of which they complain. That the Church cannot dispense with them is clear. They have been the source of her power since the day of Pentecost. The great Wesleyan movement is designated as the Wesleyan revival. The great revival under Jonathan Edwards is still the glory of New England Congregationalism. The Methodist churches trace their advance movements by the number of their revivals. They cannot, they must not, be dispensed with; but wherever errors have crept in, these should be corrected. One of the best means of doing this and of promoting apostolic revivals would be the circulation of this book, *The Revival and the Pastor.*

Space will not allow of extended quotations. A passage in chapter VII, on "Revival Power," suggests a danger, and also a remedy. It is a careful discrimination between the human and divine agencies. "The extra meetings, with unusual interest gathering around them; the intensified type of preaching, adapted to move the heart and will to action; the fervent prayers, filled with anxious pleading for the salvation of the impenitent; the solemn or joyful hymns, which awaken the emotions and stir the soul with hope or fear; and the appeals of pastor and relatives to the unconverted to escape a burning hell—all are human agencies. . . . To the sinner or skeptic a revival is nothing else. And in too many revivals, it must be confessed, there is too much dependence on this human machinery and too little reliance on the dynamics of our holy religion. . . . From the

patient study of the subject of revival power in Christian history the conviction will strengthen, that the Church is tending in the wrong direction when it multiplies and depends so much upon machinery and seems to realize so little its absolute helplessness without divine power. Stand at the beginning of Church history and study the facts. Christ is the great Teacher sent down from heaven. The whole philosophy of Christian conquest is contained in the New Testament. It has the seal of divine authority. It is simple and sublime, ample and almighty. What is this philosophy? Not machinery, but power."

OPPORTUNISM IN THE MINISTRY.

THE ministry is a body of men connected with a Christian organization, whose object is the conversion of the world. Divers orders of ministers have been instituted. There are also individuals of various talents in the ministry, and each one is adapted to some special work. To find the place which each shall fill and the work for which each is adapted is the duty alike of the individual and of the organization. In some Churches this work is committed to the authorities, with absolute power to determine the specific field which the minister is to occupy. This is so in the Roman Catholic body, and also in our own Church. In one sense, the authority of the Church is absolute. In another sense, the minister himself determines his position by his own talents and capacity. It is the natural desire of those in authority to assign each person to the sphere of activity for which he is specially fitted.

In the ministry, as elsewhere, there is a desire to secure positions of greater prominence or, perhaps more strictly, of larger usefulness, and, consequently, a tendency to change from the smaller to the larger field. While this is natural and to be expected, it is not always wise, and sometimes is positively injurious, not only to the work, but to the man who secures the more prominent place. This question of change is one of the most perplexing questions which confronts the minister of the Gospel. In the Methodist Episcopal Church it is specially perplexing, because of the frequent opportunities for change. The appointments, although oftentimes practically for a term of five years, are in law made for one year only, and a transfer to another field of labor is possible at any session of the Conference. The Annual Conference sessions become points where the question is likely to arise, "Shall I seek a change of appointment this year or shall I remain until the close of my term?"

There are some who are scarcely ever satisfied with their assigned work. They are always seeking something which they, at least, hope will enlarge at once their usefulness and happiness, as well as their ecclesiastical position. This class of persons may fitly be termed, in modern nomenclature, opportunists. The new word "opportunism" has recently come into existence. It is only found in the later editions of our lexicons. The *Century Dictionary* defines it thus: "The principles or practices of opportunists, in any sense of that word; quickness to grasp favorable

opportunities and to modify one's conduct or policy in accordance with them; in a bad sense, the sacrifice of consistency and principles to policy." It is often used in the bad sense. The same authority employs an illustration taken from the *British Quarterly Review:* "Opportunism is becoming more and more a characteristic of all classes of politicians." Webster defines the term. "The art or practice of taking advantage of opportunities or circumstances, or of seeking immediate advantage with little regard for ultimate consequences."

There is a true and a false opportunism. When one anxiously awaits all opportunities to do good, when he seeks for them as for hidden treasures; when every change that occurs around him is looked upon as a fresh basis of action for the welfare of humanity and for self-improvement, he is an opportunist of the best kind. Many such there are among ministers and laymen. In the lower sense, an opportunist is one who is ever seeking means to improve his circumstances. This sort of opportunism is hindering the usefulness and lessening the tone of many of our most promising young preachers. Let us suppose a case. A preacher has been assigned to an appointment where he finds a people who cordially cooperate with him in all his efforts, a field adequate to his best powers for doing good, and yet, perhaps, in his estimation not as large as he is qualified to occupy. The people are loyal and devoted, and they say to one another, "We have a preacher who is precisely adapted to this place, and we hope he will long remain with us." In the same proportion in which the people appreciate his services he becomes restless and uneasy, and wonders when the time will come when he may leave this limited sphere for one where his abilities may have more abundant room. Instead of satisfaction with his present sphere, he looks anxiously for some place to open for him at the next Conference. If he were an opportunist of the best kind he would say, "I have found my opportunity and I will cultivate this field until Providence shall open my way to another sphere." He would settle down to his work cheerfully, and his success would be glorious. But if his opportunism is of the false kind he embraces the first opportunity to leave. His people are discouraged and wonder whether, after all, he is sincere in his devotion to his work. They soon attribute to him, often unjustly, mercenary or ambitious motives. Great damage is thus done to the cause of Christ. A false opportunism has destroyed many a promising career; while a steadfast devotion to one's work, regardless of fame or reward, has enabled many a preacher to do good work for the Master, and in the end to find that what he has sacrificed with a single eye to God's glory has given him the highest and noblest rewards possible.

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: I inclose a list of questions prepared for the third year's examination in the Des Moines Conference. I thought, perhaps, our experience in this might be suggestive to your department, which, by the way, is the one to which I first turn when I receive my

Review. The present plan was adopted at the session of 1892, and is now in the second year of its use. In our class we have the examinations at three different times of the year: about April 1, July 1, and at Conference time, which, with us, is usually the middle of September. So far the results have been very satisfactory. The plan gives a fair chance to the candidate, a better opportunity to the examiner, and does not crowd all the work of examination into one day, as under the old plan. It places in the hand of a member of the Conference, convenient to the undergraduate, test questions, which are opened and answered in his presence with no consulting of authorities. This insures perfect fairness and impartiality in the examinations. The Committee of Examination continue for four successive years, thus avoiding any confusion of plan by a change in the examiners. In our Conference a grade of seven in a scale of ten is necessary for passing the examination and for advancement to the next year. The following list of questions will indicate the character of the examination in one branch—that of hermeneutics:

1. Define the term "hermeneutics?"
2. State the rank and importance of this science in theological studies?
3. Name the eight sacred books of other religions with which our author compares the Bible?
4. State as briefly as you can the origin and peculiarities of the languages in which our Bible was written?
5. Name three evidences, each, for the human and divine element in the inspiration of the Bible?
6. Name the four degrees of inspiration suggested by our author?
7. What three qualifications should an interpreter of the Bible possess?
8. How many different methods of interpretation can you name?
9. State five important things to be considered in interpreting a scriptural passage?
10. Distinguish between a fable and a riddle, and give an instance of each?
11. Define a parable, and state wherein it differs from an allegory?
12. What three principles should be followed in interpreting types and symbols?
13. What can you say of the magnitude and scope of scriptural prophecy?
14. State some principles to be used in interpreting prophecy?
15. What does our author say in regard to a "double sense" in prophecy?
16. State some causes for the alleged discrepancies in Scripture?
17. At what three points of controversy are there alleged contradictions of science in Scripture?
18. What can you say in regard to the growth of the revelations of Scripture?
19. How does the progress of biblical science in this century compare with the past?
20. State the present condition of biblical interpretation?

Mount Ayr, Ia. C. L. Nye.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM.

It was generally known at the beginning of this year that the Sublime Porte had graciously granted to the Palestine Exploration Fund a firman, which was a permit for a two-years' excavation in Jerusalem. After the usual diplomatic correspondence the work was auspiciously commenced, under the direction of the Fund and in direct charge of that enthusiastic young American explorer, Mr. F. J. Bliss, already favorably known to the readers of the *Review* (see May–June number) from his labors at Tell-el-Hesy. Having spent several weeks on the ground awaiting formal permission from Constantinople and studying the topography, Mr. Bliss, with a force of experienced diggers, three of whom had worked when boys under Sir Charles Warren at Jerusalem and Jericho more than twenty-five years before, began work on the twenty-third day of last May.

Though several attempts have been made during the past fifty years to collect archæological data in the city of Jerusalem, and though explorations, more or less thorough in their nature, but on a limited scale and under peculiar disadvantages, have been carried on in this ancient city by Robinson, Warren, Conder, Schick, and others, none has had such promise of a rich harvest as this one under the management of Mr. Bliss. Though former excavations have been comparatively meager in results, there are many reasons why it should be otherwise with the present one. There never was a time when a larger number of enthusiastic biblical scholars have felt such a profound interest in, and such respect for, archæology. Never have the secrets of the buried past been more welcomed than to-day; and in no age have the ruins of ancient countries been more thoroughly explored than in our own. Zeal in this regard is not confined to any one country or people. Not only Great Britain and America, but France and Germany, are taking more than usual interest in turning the search-lights upon the silent ruins and tells of the Holy Land. Quarterlies devoted to such researches are now published in English, German, and French—the *Quarterly Statement*, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, *Zeitschrift des Palæstinischen Vereins*, by a society of Germans, and the *Revue Biblique*, by learned French ecclesiastics. Scarcely an issue of our leading theological magazines appears without recording some important discovery which throws much light upon some disputed question.

Just at present the eyes of scholars are turned upon Jerusalem. At no time have there been so many men in that ancient city qualified to carry on the work. Especially worthy of mention are the labors of Herr Schick, the architect, who has lived for many years in the Holy City and who, in his capacity of builder, while superintending the excavations for new houses, has had rare opportunities to become acquainted with the antiquities of the city. Mr. Bliss, in his article in the *Quarterly Statement* for

July, makes special mention, also, of the work of the French Dominican and Augustinian friars, several of whom are engaged as professors in the School of Biblical Studies at the St. Stephen's Convent. These learned monks devote much time to the topography of the Holy City. They make regular tours with their students around Jerusalem, and at least twice a year more extended ones up and down Palestine, on either side of the river Jordan. The results of their investigations are regularly published in their organ, the *Revue Biblique*. It is scarcely necessary to add that some of the most interesting and instructive papers regarding modern Jerusalem have come from these French professors.

The site of the excavations now in progress is outside the city wall and south of the Armenian and Jewish quarters. Several shafts have been sunk in the vicinity of the English burial ground—that is, about a thousand feet south of the southwest corner of the wall. Some years ago Henry Maudsley traced for six hundred and fifty feet what was believed to have been the first wall of Jerusalem, which he called "the Rock Scarp of Zion." Mr. Bliss will endeavor to trace the same eastward, in accordance with the description of Josephus. Those who have studied the topography of Jerusalem know well that the walls and extent of this ancient city, captured and recaptured, built and rebuilt, so many times, must have changed greatly, if not every time the city was destroyed, yet in the course of ages. It is generally agreed that the present wall, built between 1536 and 1542 A. D., is nearly one fourth of a mile north of what has been termed the first wall. The area to be explored is believed to be the exact spot called the "city of David," where stood his own palace, that of his son Solomon, and, according to many, the Millo. Here also is the tomb of David, supposed to contain the remains, not only of David, but also of Solomon and other kings of Judah. The site selected is by general consent, if not the most ancient, yet the most interesting part of Jerusalem. Let us, therefore, hope that the present excavations will throw much light upon the early history of Israel. It is to be regretted that the space to be explored does not include the Temple area; for who can doubt that within those sacred precincts many an ancient treasure of inestimable value lies buried? Strange, indeed, will it be if subterranean vaults and passages are not discovered leading from the ancient palaces to the Temple or into some secret treasury.

It has been a source of surprise to many that, notwithstanding the labors of Warren, Conder, and others and the fact that much money has been spent from time to time, no such discoveries have been made in the ancient capital of Judah as in Egypt or Babylonia. With the exception of the Siloam inscription, accidentally discovered by a schoolboy who had the misfortune to lose his footing while wading in this pool, no ancient inscriptions have been brought to light in Jerusalem. That more historical documents have been found in the capitals of Egypt and Assyria than in the sacred city of the Jews must not be accounted for entirely upon the assumption that the former were more important and contained more inscriptions than the latter. One significant fact should

never be lost sight of, namely, that almost all the great discoveries in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates have been made among the ruined palaces, temples, and sepulchers of lost empires, where the few and uninfluential natives offered but little or no resistance. Jerusalem, however, has always been, from time immemorial, a city of considerable strength, numbering many thousands of inhabitants. Perhaps no city, ancient or modern, has had so much to render it sacred. Both Moslems and Christians, divided as they are into so many sects and nationalities, regard almost every rod of Jerusalem as holy ground not to be desecrated by the pick and spade of foreign adventurers, even though the latter may show positively that all their excavations are in the interest of science and civilization. It is vain, therefore, to expect that Jerusalem will ever be explored as Thebes and Nineveh have been.

It is exceedingly fortunate that the space selected is comparatively free from edifices of any kind. There are no sacred or military buildings which can interfere with the progress of the work. The few private residences or properties scattered here and there will not be difficult to manage, especially since the Turkish government is in full sympathy with the movement. It is also understood that the governor, Ibrahim Pasha, "a man of great intelligence and unquestioned integrity," will in every way further the efforts of the Fund. In short, the Ottoman power, the home officials, as well as public sentiment, are all favorable.

At the last advices from Mr. Bliss the work was progressing in a very satisfactory way. Almost every one of the many shafts already sunk had some story to tell. The continuation of the "Rock Scarp of Zion" has been traced, and the foundations of a very large tower have been exhumed. Many coins of different ages, a tessellated pavement in blue, red, yellow, and white, some Jewish pottery "belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries B. C.," one entire earthen lamp, fragments of Roman tiles, one of them bearing the stamp of the tenth legion, pieces of Roman glass, and some other articles have been unearthed. Several rooms and cisterns have been cleared out. One of the latter, some fourteen feet deep, contained several skulls and other human bones, some of the former showing clear marks of violence. There was nothing in this cistern to reveal any of the secrets connected with the ghastly find.

It is to be hoped that money will pour into the treasury of the Palestine Exploration Fund during the coming eighteen months, so that the excavations now in progress at Jerusalem may be pushed forward with diligence worthy of the undertaking.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE PLAIN OF JERICHO.

It is now more than twenty-five years since Lieutenant Warren, R.E., engaged in exploring what was supposed to be the site of ancient Jericho. The results of his excavations are so well known as to exclude the necessity of repeating them. This same spot was visited last spring by Canon Tristram and Mr. Bliss. Their visit, owing to the engagements of the

canon, had to be cut short; but the curiosity of Mr. Bliss, ever eager for adventure, was so aroused that, with an artist friend who could make drawings, he again returned to these venerable ruins, which he examined with considerable care, though in the very nature of the case not as thoroughly as desirable. He was, however, convinced that the ruins of Tell-es-Sultan and those of Tellul Abu el 'Aleik furnished "three distinct marks of Amorite or pre-Israelitish pottery, namely, a 'ledge-handle,' the palliened burnishing, and a peculiar molding, the material of the ware also being similar." His experience at Tell-el-Hesy entitles him to speak with authority upon the subject of Palestinian pottery.

Near the base of the mound called Tell-es-Sultan, which is supposed to be the veritable site of the Jericho stormed by Joshua, Mr. Bliss found traces of a "mud-brick wall *in situ*." The sight of this ancient wall produced a peculiar effect upon him; for, after describing it at some length, he concludes with great warmth of feeling by saying: "If Tell-es-Sultan is a mass of *débris*, caused by the ruin of several mud-brick towns over the first Jericho, then there is no good reason to suppose that this wall is the very wall which fell before Joshua."

Some two miles from these ruins the canon and Mr. Bliss accidentally came upon three low mounds out of which workmen were engaged in quarrying stone. The regularity of the trenches from which the stone had been taken was of such a nature as to attract immediate attention. Upon closer investigation these mounds proved to be the ruins of an immense structure, thirteen hundred and fifty feet long by about six hundred feet wide, the walls of which varied in thickness. Everything about this huge edifice indicated that it had been a place of great splendor. It was furnished with water by means of an aqueduct, which connected it with a neighboring hill. Some of the walls must have been of very fine marble, fragments of which, as well as pieces of plaster with elegant frescoes in many colors, were found in large quantities among the *débris*. There were, also, unearthed several broken columns, pilasters, and some very fine stuccowork. The Arab laborers engaged in removing the stone from these ancient walls for the construction of a new edifice assured Mr. Bliss that they had found several inscriptions in some foreign language—probably Greek or Latin—which, as they could not understand them, were either destroyed or reburied among the rubbish. There were no unmistakable data found to aid in determining the age of these walls. Though both Mr. Bliss and Canon Tristram were at first inclined to regard them as the remains of the palace bought by Herod the Great from Cleopatra, the former is now convinced that they could not have been built earlier than 600 A. D., and possibly several centuries later.

Mr. Bliss fully believes that these tells in the plain of Jericho contain many a secret and, for that reason, should be systematically explored. Such a work, he thinks, would be attended with results as varied as they would be valuable. "Light would be thrown on its pre-Israelitish history, on the times of Christ, on the early Christian period, and upon that of the Crusades."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

DENOMINATIONAL COMITY IN FOREIGN MISSION FIELDS.

In his report, as Director-General of the Missions in South Africa, in the *Allgemeine Missions Zeitschrift*, Rev. B. Buchner complains that the rivalry of the different denominations in the mission field is hurtful to the common cause. He says, "The greatest sinners in this respect are the Methodists and the Church of England." The Church of England goes where it pleases, on the theory that it is the State Church, in the British colony as well as at home, and, of course, holds that it is the only true Church. The Methodists, Dr. Buchner says, "follow the rule that all their members must be kept in the Church at all hazards; and to do this they will go to no end of trouble in visiting their converts, even if, perchance, these converts move to a long distance."

Of the merits of this case in South Africa it is not in our way to write; but charges have been made of a similar character against the Methodist Episcopal Church in India. There was, and is, in India a general recognition of the economy of distributing unoccupied territory among the several missions. Our own Missionary Society has recognized this method strictly through most of its history; but in later years the whole policy has been opened to discussion. In the development of the general work it was manifest from the start that, unless very exceptional conditions obtained, this policy could not be applied to great cities like Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Naturally, the development of work of the several societies from those centers would result in the interpenetration of the missions in the outlying territory. Thus, at least one general exception could not fail to arise. Besides this, whole sections of the country were claimed to have been assigned to societies which could not, or did not, develop the work. Several millions of people in a great stretch of territory could scarcely be excluded from the missionary labors of societies which could do successful work because the society claiming to "occupy" them had a single missionary in the field and no funds or agents to push forward their plans. Some very flagrant cases of such "occupancy" came to be conceded as a second class of exceptions to the practical application of the rule.

But later on, as the several missions grew, it became manifest that some could do kinds of work which others could not do, and that these must needs interpenetrate the geographical divisions. The demand for a revision and modification of the policy was apparent. It goes without the saying that some would have held to the original policy as still the best. But there were providences that enlarged the number of exceptional cases quite beyond the control of all the missions. Christians found specific opportunities for advancing the kingdom of God in districts to which they were providentially removed; or communities were led to Christ

through a definite agency which seemed to them the best agency for their nurture, and they chose their relation with that agency.

Altogether it became plain that, while the principle of the original compact was still to be recognized, the cases demanding exceptional treatment were so numerous that no rule could artificially cover the situation any longer, and that the whole case must be relegated to common sense and a fraternal Christian spirit. The discussion culminated in the Calcutta General Missionary Conference, the largest body of missionaries in the world meeting at short stated intervals. Before this Conference Bishop Thoburn read a paper on "Missionary Comity," defending the modification of intermission work as under certain conditions a providential necessity.

From the entrance of William Taylor into India the Methodist Episcopal Church in that land has confronted "a condition, not a theory." In his remarkable address before the Central Conference of India, a delegated body meeting biennially, Bishop Thoburn made reference to the strictures and criticisms on the Methodist Episcopal missions in India, on account of their new policy of recognizing divine providences as overriding the traditional, artificial, geographical division. He maintained that many of the charges made against them were unjust, and that, having been led by great success to do work among depressed classes whose relationships crossed all political and geographical lines, they had only followed the indications of divine Providence. He declared that thousands had been gathered in thus who would have otherwise remained heathen. He distinctly recognized that this policy was to be pursued with discretion and full regard for all interests of other societies, and that Methodism would not enter fields where others were already doing successful work. Nor would she accept agents from other missions without first consulting such missions; in fact, it were better not to take them at all, but to raise up agents of her own. The bishop said, "Indeed, I very sincerely doubt if any score of missionaries in India have yielded so many disputed points as I have done in my official capacity during the past five years." It is among the recognized advantages of our having a bishop in India that a central administrative authority can thus expound definitely the purpose and plan of our whole Church in the empire. The editor of the *Harvest Field*, an able monthly Wesleyan magazine published at Madras, said, in reviewing this episcopal address, "It is not often that we can find one person with full knowledge speaking on behalf of one Church working in various parts of India;" and it is small matter of surprise that he should add, "There is a ring of victory running through it."

We are not "set for the defense" of the Wesleyan Church in South Africa against such charges as those of Dr. Buchner above mentioned; but if they have no better foundation than those brought against us in India they scarcely need that any rejoinder be made to them.

THE ROMANISTS AND BIBLE CIRCULATION.

Missionary Schaub, in *Die Bibel in China*, recalls some facts which are of interest as showing the permanent policy of the Roman Catholic

Church in the matter of the free distribution of the Scriptures. The priests at Seu-Ka-Wai, near Shanghai, took much interest in the discussion of the great General Conference of Protestant Missionaries at Shanghai as to whether the distribution of the Bible, without note or comment, by the great Bible societies, was productive of such results as justified the expense and toil involved. That the circulation of the Scripture text, without any introductory or explanatory notes, among heathen or non-Christian people totally unfamiliar with the facts narrated might be a subject for diversity of opinion is readily conceivable; but whether this is the occasion of the Roman Catholic opposition to Bible distribution is quite a different matter.

But the Romanists have done something in foreign missions by way of translations. In Mexico, for instance, they translated portions of the Scriptures into some of the vernaculars. This was the case with the gospel of Luke, which was translated into Nahuatl. A copy of this translation was found a few years since, and, after revision, an edition of it was printed at the Methodist press in the city of Mexico for use among the Nahuatl tribes—the Aztec race of Mexico, numbering, according to varying estimates, from one and a half to three millions of people. But this translation was never designed by the Romanists for general circulation. It was only a handbook to help the priests in presenting the Gospel orally to the Aztec races.

Yet it appears from Mr. Schaub's *résumé* that they went further than this, though under external pressure, in China. Father Ricci, in the early days of the Jesuit missions to China, excused himself from translating the Scriptures into Chinese on account of lack of time, though he found time enough, as is well known, for the translation of Western mathematical works. When persecution came a high State official, who had become a Catholic Christian and who defended the Christians, proposed the translation of the Scriptures, that the people might judge of their doctrines from first-hand sources. But nothing was done in this direction at that time except to render into an easy literary style certain portions of the Scriptures, such as the gospel lessons of the Ritual, to which were added explanations. This was the work of Father Dias, a Portuguese, republished in eight volumes, much esteemed by both Romanists and Protestants. Again in 1660 the demand was made for original sources of information regarding the Christian religion. The charge was made by the natives that many parts of the Scriptures had been suppressed. This resulted in a granting of the papal permission for a translation or close rendering of the Bible into Chinese. But it does not appear that any such translation was ever printed and circulated, though Mr. Schaub finds what seems to him satisfactory evidence that such a translation was made and still exists somewhere in manuscript. An Italian traveler visiting Peking in 1696 affirms that "the missionaries have translated the works of St. Thomas and the Bible." Mr. Schaub thinks there must be several translations in manuscript; for a member of the East India Company procured a copy of one in Canton in 1739, which

work, "now in the British Museum, contains a gospel harmony and St. Paul's epistles."

All this, however, gives no indication of anything different in the policy of the Roman Catholic Church at any time, in any part of the heathen mission field, from that which is known to be its policy to-day—to withhold the Bible from the people. The Roman Catholic missionaries are deserving of great credit for much of their literary productions in the vernaculars of the mission fields of the world, and much greater use might be made than has been done of some of these literary survivals; but the contrast between their policy in regard to the distribution of the Bible and that of the Protestant missions, which have always sought in every land to render the sources of our religion accessible to every Christian and to every heathen, remains as a permanent difference in the missionary methods of the two parties.

Apropos of this discussion, we may say that the objection to the circulation of the Scriptures in China is not on the ground of the poverty of the translation. The Chinese Secretary of Legation at Washington, in his address at the Parliament of Religions, did charge that the translation is a poor one; but the Rev. Timothy Richards replies that this could not be because of the employment of an incompetent person to do the work, since the most literary viceroy in the empire to-day, Wang T'au, employs the same scholar who translated our standard Scriptures to do his literary work. A new translation, too, will soon be given to the public.

Nor can the opposition be based on the lack of demand among the people of the world for the opportunity to study the sources of the sacred truths of Christianity at first hand. The British and Foreign Bible Society report in China thirteen thousand more books sold in 1893 than in 1892 by colporteurs, and double the number at the book depots. The people of India exhibit a like desire for access to the original literature of the Christian religion. The *Madras Christian Magazine* says that the growing demand for the Scriptures in the vernaculars of that presidency has necessitated the printing of larger editions than in former years and the opening up of fresh centers of distribution. The Japanese have shown a like eagerness for the text. About ten years ago a "Scripture Union" was started in Japan, which now reports a membership of 13,000, with a traveling secretary. The Bible House at Yokohama sold 4,806 Bibles, 16,265 Testaments, and 16,534 smaller portions of the Scriptures in 1893, more than a million copies having been previously circulated. The demand for the Bible in Italy is well-nigh phenomenal. Dr. Alexander Robertson, writing to the *Rock*, says, "The Italians have become Bible buyers and Bible readers." In Uganda, Equatorial Africa, the eagerness of the people to receive the Bible in their own tongue, which leads them to give their most precious treasures for it, has moved Monsignor Hirth to seek permission from Rome to circulate a Romish version; and the French Roman Catholic Missionary on the Congo, Monsignor LeRoy, has appealed for a like permission, and is reported to have suggested that the Roman Catholics form a Bible Society!

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Ernst Scharfe. Among the Germans the scholars and thinkers are by no means confined to the professors in the universities. Much of the very best and most influential work is done by the pastors. Of this class of pastors is Scharfe, who has contributed to the theological magazines articles of value and who commands the respect of the best thinkers of Germany. In a recent book (*Die Petrinische Strömung der neutestamentliche Literatur*—The Petrine Stream in the Literature of the New Testament) he investigates the literary peculiarities of the First Epistle of Peter, the Gospel of Mark, and the Petrine addresses in the Acts of the Apostles, to show that the style in all three is so much alike and their theological contents so evidently identical as to prove their common origin. To his mind, therefore, it is plain that there is far more of Peter's work in the New Testament than most critics will allow. The argument in favor of his view, drawn from the comparison of the style in the three portions of the New Testament by him attributed to Peter, seems very unsatisfactory. The argument from style is generally of but little account, and is always exceedingly difficult of judicious application. In this case it is less valuable than usual for reasons now to be given. Even if we admit, without question, that Peter was sufficiently acquainted with the Greek to have written in that language it would still remain to be proved that he actually composed anything but the first epistle. Even this is declared to have been written by Silvanus, at the behest of Peter. While, therefore, it represents the views of Peter, it might be possible that its literary style is that of Silvanus, instead of Peter. With regard to Mark's gospel it is not pretended, except by Scharfe, that Peter composed it or any part of it. It cannot be more than the gospel, as conceived by Peter, written down in Mark's own style. The same must be true of the Petrine addresses in the Acts. They are, at most, Luke's reproduction, in his own style, of Peter's thoughts. On the supposition that Peter inspired all three the theology would be essentially the same. But if we are to suppose a greater or less freedom on the part of Mark and in Luke, not to mention Silvanus, there must be some other way of accounting for the supposed similarity of style. As a writer Scharfe is clear, and he has a power of representation which few men of any country possess.

Professor Dr. Georg Runze. Among those who have given attention to comparative religion in Germany he stands in the front rank. Specially interesting is his treatment of the faith in the immortality of the soul, and particularly where his inquiry is along psychological lines. He raises, first, the question, What are the causes and conditions under which the doctrine of immortality has been psychologically developed? and,

secondly, Why is it that the doctrine is not everywhere equally strong, is often weakest where culture is highest, and not seldom is denied, even by those whose standpoint is religion? In order to answer these questions he studies the motives which prompt the belief. He finds that the doctrine originates, first, subjectively, out of the fear of death, on the one side, and the desire to conquer the grave, on the other; secondly, out of the activity of the phantasy, especially out of dream life in its analogy with real life; thirdly, out of the inexplicable mystery which forces itself upon us in death, and with which a sort of intellectual terror combines, bringing us face to face with the question, After death, what? and, fourthly, out of the postulates of the ethical will, both negatively, especially out of the demands of the conscience, and positively, out of the effort to reach perfection and in the consciousness of the infinite worth of the human personality. These four motives have often appeared in combination and especially associated with the belief in God. But while all four of them work together in the Christian doctrine of immortality they are often found operating separately, or even destroying each other. It will be seen that by this classification Runze does away with the geographical and ethnological method of treatment. Regardless of geographical location or racial lineage, he attempts to find the psychological causes which have produced or prevented the belief in immortality. There may be a question as to whether he has succeeded in exhausting the subject from this standpoint; but there can be no question as to the superiority of the method. Ignoring race distinctions, it studies the existence of the faith, not only in its forms, but in its producing causes. Races the most unlike in other respects may hold the doctrine of immortality in the same form and from the same causes.

Professor Dr. F. Kattenbusch. Little is heard, comparatively, of the University of Giessen, although some of Germany's ablest theologians, as, for example, Kattenbusch, are there. He is a firm believer in the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. He regards it as a mere prejudice, arising in some cases from a philosophical system, to reject miracles as impossible. On the other hand, those who allow the possibility of the miraculous in history must not at once accept the resurrection of Jesus. But the resurrection of our Lord will stand the test of the most critical examination. It is, in fact, demanded by what is related prior thereto concerning him. Jesus himself seems to have felt that he would not be fully revealed except by his resurrection. He felt that his calling did not end with his life upon earth. Not merely was it his thought that, on account of the richness of his life upon earth, his influence would live after him, but it was only a rich life in his estimation because he was able to overcome death. Hence, it is credible that the apostles should have believed themselves to have seen him after his resurrection. The expectation of Jesus and the belief of the apostles agree. The question is not, whether the dead have risen and reappeared, but whether Jesus, who claimed to be the Messiah of God, arose and appeared. What would be incredible

in reference to anyone else is credible with regard to Jesus. To his character resurrection and reappearance are so agreeable as to make them credible, and even to be demanded. Along with all this Kattenbusch holds, with the majority of modern theologians, that this whole revelation of Jesus, including his resurrection and heavenly state, is a fact which each Christian can know by his own experience. So that, while he would hold, that the resurrection is a part of the foundation of our faith, he would not regard the proof of it as arising from the record so much as from our own experiences. What we have hitherto pointed out in the *Review*, namely, the mystical tendency which arises from a decreasing emphasis upon the Scripture record, finds here another illustration.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"**Religionsphilosophie in Umriss**" (Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion), by Professor Dr. Rudolf Seydel. After the death of the gifted author, in December, 1892, this book was published by Professor Schmiedel, one of his former pupils. One of its striking features is its strong defense of the employment of metaphysics in theology. The author thinks that in the development of theology the historical, empirical method is not sufficient. A religious system is to be thought out in ideal form; and to this our adherence is to be given. To our thinking no greater mistake could possibly be made than this oft-repeated experiment. If this can be done apart from revelation, then everyone having a different ideal will have a different system. There would then be no possibility of a true religious communion. If, however, a valid system can only be formed with the aid of revelation, then the method proposed by Seydel is a failure. The Christian revelation, especially when its fullness and extent are considered, is a proof that the philosophic method is insufficient. Not from man's study of man's nature and religious needs, but from God's study, if we may so speak, must come the religious system demanded for the best interests of humanity. Men, profiting by the revelation of God in the Bible, may flatter themselves that they are devising a perfect system; but in truth they draw their inspiration from the book. Other features of the work before us please us more. For example, when he describes religion as being not *a* relation, but *the* relation to God, a seeking of God himself, who, when found, is himself the totality of blessedness to the soul, he utters a great truth. He carries this idea so far as to say that, since God is the highest conceivable object of our religious endeavor, we cannot make him the means for the attainment of any other object more worthy; that is, God is everything to those who hold communion with him. When he comes to the characterization of faith, in comparison with love and hope, we must differ from him again. Love is, indeed, the root of religion, as he says, and hope is, perhaps, well defined as the pleasurable feeling connected with the belief in a favorable final outcome; but faith is not an immediate knowledge of that outcome.

Faith is not knowledge, and if it were it would not be immediate. Faith, in any form which affects practical life, is almost exclusively a matter of feeling, not of intelligence, and, so far as it relates to the future life, is scarcely distinguishable from hope.

"**Die Wissenschaft der Christlichen Lehre**" (The Science of Christian Doctrine), by Professor Dr. M. Kähler. This is a thoroughly revised edition of a work which appeared in parts during the years 1883, 1884, and 1887. It takes up the whole theological system, under the heads of apologetics, dogmatics, and ethics. Very interesting in these days is it to find Kähler affirming that, not alone from the portrait of Jesus, as found in the gospels, but also from the faith of the apostles concerning him, are we to obtain a true conception of his person. To this view it is objected by some that, if we are to take into account the experiences of the apostles, we cannot know but that these are not so much real as imaginary—the product rather of their wish than of their actual experience. But Kähler is not troubled by this objection, being convinced that the apostles were thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Jesus when he still lived upon the earth. To Kähler Jesus was not merely he who appeared in the flesh, but also he who rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and overcame guilt, sin, temptation, and death. But this Jesus we know only through the testimony of the apostles. Even the resurrection of Jesus, therefore, he regards as a part of the foundation of our faith, as well as of its contents. It was as much a part of his revelation as were his life and death. Hence, we must accept all that is told us by the apostles concerning Christ. The attempt to disconnect Jesus from the utterances of the apostles concerning him is not agreeable to Kähler. And rightly does he maintain that the whole New Testament is necessary to an understanding of the true nature of our Lord. We may not take as little or as much of the New Testament as we please and reject all the rest. Jesus is there portrayed to us as a personage who came from heaven, lived on earth, died, rose again, and went back to heaven, and who is now active there in our behalf. The record of him throughout is so harmonious that the things recorded cause no surprise. To a reflecting mind it would create surprise if less or other were related of him. The apostles may, indeed, emphasize certain phases of his character and life; but they add nothing which could in any way rob their utterances of trustworthiness.

"**Paulus in Athen**" (Paul in Athens), by Professor Dr. Ernst Curtius. A work on such a subject from such an author demands attention. Curtius begins by discussing the address of Paul on Mars' Hill. Contrary to the usual opinion, he thinks that this was delivered, not on Mars' Hill, but in a room in the market place known as the Areopagus. He finds a number of evidences of Hellenic culture in the address itself, and then passes on to a consideration of the Pauline epistles, in which the effects of Hellenism are, as he thinks, very apparent. Some of these evidences

are in the form of stylistic correspondence with heathen writers; others are in the form of direct quotations; and still others are reproductions of heathen thoughts, similes, references to customs, or methods of argumentation. Thus, Curtius takes sides against those who regard Paul as a Christianized rabbin. Between their view of Paul and that held by Curtius there is not much preference. Both are wrong. Paul was so completely under the control of Christianity that he was no longer either Jewish or Hellenic. From Christ, not from Judaism or from Hellenism, Paul drew his inspiration. It is our decided opinion that too much is made of these apparent similarities between Paulinism and Hellenism. Comparing the Hellenistic element in Paul with the Judaistic, we find the former to be very small indeed; and especially small is it in comparison with the distinctively Christian elements in his writings. On the other hand, it is a groundless fear experienced by many when evidence of a heathen influence in the Pauline writings is brought forward. That the great drift of his doctrines was affected by that influence no one would assert. That there should be an occasional truth known to heathenism which might be useful even to an inspired writer surely no one would deny. The danger from the side of Judaism is not feared by those who dread the slightest mention of a heathen influence. And yet the essential features of the Judaism of Paul's time would, if introduced into his system, as surely rob it of its Christian character as would the essential principles of heathenism. Only those who would have the apostolic writings absolutely the product of an inspiration which left the writers no room for the exercise of their own human faculties will be alarmed to find Paul under the influence of Hellenism when he writes. All the Hellenism found in Paul utterly fails to make him less or other than a Christian.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Evangelical Social Congress. The last session was held in Frankfort-am-Main during pentecost week. The congress is composed of representatives of various political and evangelical theological parties, and has for its purpose the introduction of better social conditions, especially with a view to the furtherance of morality and religion. The recent session was attended chiefly by preachers, professors, politicians, and high public officers. The woman question came up for discussion, and the majority were inclined to allow women representation in the congress. Professor Dr. Cremer, of Greifswald, spoke on the subject of the "Social Question and Preaching." He thought it contrary to the duty of a preacher to treat social questions from the economic and political side; but yet the preacher dare not pass such questions by. Preaching must emphasize the fact that all a Christian is and has he is and has because of the grace of God, and that he should, therefore, feel that it is given him, not for himself alone, but in order that he may be a blessing to others. Professor Dr. Harnack, the great Church historian, had been appointed to treat the

subject in the light of history. He thought the social obligations of the Church were more weighty to-day than ever before, not because poverty and misery are greater or churchly benevolence less or self-sacrificing workers fewer, but because of the greater education and independence of those with whom we have to deal, because our conscience is awakened as to our duty to all the members of society as never before, and because large masses of the people are alienated, not only from the Church, but also from Christianity. The highest social obligation of the Church is the preaching of the Gospel, the truth which makes free, and the faith which recognizes the fact that the salvation of the soul is independent of earthly conditions, and which attacks and overcomes sin as the most fruitful source of all misery. The object of all the practical efforts of the Church should be to build up the individual congregation into a vigorous and helpful brotherhood. His address of two hours was received with tremendous applause, although one member of the congress, more zealous than wise, undertook to rebuke Harnack's supposed heterodoxy, but was speedily called down.

Institutions for Deaconesses and Lay Deacons. The central Deaconess Home in Berlin has 274 sisters in its service, of whom 29 entered last year as probationers. The work is carried on in 45 stations. The Deaconess Mother House in Breslau celebrated its twentieth anniversary last year, and has 178 sisters at work in 149 stations, within and without Silesia. These sisters have charge of a number of young women's societies having a total membership of 1,130. The Dresden Deaconess Home has 365 sisters, who serve a vast number of stations. The deaconess movement has spread far beyond the limits of Germany. The *Institut des Diaconisses unies*, in Paris, numbers 57 sisters and 18 pupils, who during the past year nursed 447 persons in the hospital, taught 120 children in the infant schools, and cared for 39 girls who needed oversight. They also conduct a refuge for women and children in Nanterre, a home for convalescents in Passy, and have charge of the Protestant prisoners in Clermont and other prisons. In Halifax a home for female evangelists has been established, the duty of the sisters being to carry the Gospel to the poorest and most depraved classes. The Deacons' Home in Basel recently celebrated its fifth anniversary. Twenty brothers have gone out from this home to different Swiss cities and there give Christian care to the sick. Methodism, too, has a share in the spread of this good work. The first deaconess home in Canada was recently opened in Toronto. Many young women have already applied for admission, and it appears as though the enterprise would prove very successful.

Seaman's Home in Naples. That in such a city a Protestant institution should be established and maintained on temperance principles gives evidence of progress. Perhaps such an establishment is more needed there than in most other ports of the world. The place is infested by an im-

mense number of people whose livelihood is secured as the agents of the most depraved inhabitants, and who leave no stone unturned to arouse, and then to gratify, the basest passions of the sailors. Since this home was established, in 1882, the number of different guests has been 970; and they came from forty different nationalities. The managers of the home have given away 63,000 pamphlets and 12,738 copies of the Holy Scriptures, and have pledged 8,260 persons to total abstinence. Its supporters are found, not only among Italians, but also among Americans, Englishmen, Swedes, Danes, and other nationalities. Everything possible is done to shield the visiting sailor from temptation.

The East German Young Men's League. There are now one hundred and eighty-five youths' and men's associations connected with this organization, with over ten thousand members in Brandenburg, Saxony, Pomerania, East and West Prussia, Posen, and the Duchy of Anhalt. The headquarters of the league are in Berlin. There also are situated the bureau for East Prussia, the treasuries for savings and mutual assistance, the warerooms for the storage of the unsold books written in the interest of the league, and the publishing house for the *Bundesbote*, the organ of the league, as well as a home for the members, in which such of them as find work in Berlin can secure healthful lodgings and the best of care. The means for the conduct of this important work are collected in part by voluntary contributions, but chiefly by means of an annual bazaar.

Rescue Stations and Refuges in Germany. A few years ago Germany had an army of vagabonds numbering over 200,000. These "tramped" from place to place, and often terrorized the inhabitants. Such is no longer the case. On the contrary, antibegging societies are found everywhere, and these undertake the support of rescue stations and refuges. Any needy persons applying at these places are furnished with work by which they can readily earn their food and lodging. No intoxicating drinks are furnished in these places. Recent statistics show that the number of these institutions amounted to 2,321, and that they had given out tickets for 1,662,606 breakfasts, 972,490 dinners, 1,871,551 suppers, and 2,223,000 lodgings, all for work done.

The University of Dorpat. The Russian government seems to be doing all in its power to cripple this Protestant university. It recently sent a message to the faculty asking how soon it would be possible for them to give their lectures in Russian. The faculty answered that it would be altogether impracticable for them to lecture in Russian, since the Protestant literature is in the German, and that if the lectures were in Russian preaching would have to be in Russian also, which is forbidden in Russia. The faculty sent their dean, Professor Volk, to St. Petersburg to persuade the Minister of Public Instruction to allow the theological faculty to continue in the old paths.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

Some of the famous men of the world have lately honored magazine literature with their contributions. Conspicuous as they are for their virtues, their social rank, their leadership of any sort, their judgment merits attention upon the current questions which move the nations. Because of what they are, they speak as oracles which men should hear. Prominent among these contributors to periodical literature is Mr. Gladstone, who writes in the *Nineteenth Century* for September on "True and False Conceptions of the Atonement." The basis of his article is one of the propositions mentioned by Mrs. Besant in her autobiography, to which, after a crisis in her experience, she once addressed herself—this proposition being "the nature of the atonement of Christ and the justice of God in accepting a vicarious suffering from Christ and a vicarious righteousness from the sinner." Of the twelve ethical considerations laid down by Mr. Gladstone it is not possible to speak in full. Regarding human redemption he says: "Man is brought back from sin to righteousness by a holy training; that training is supplied by incorporation into the Christ who is God and man; and that Christ has been constituted, trained, and appointed to his office in this incorporation through suffering. His suffering, without any merit of ours, and in spite of our guilt, is thus the means of our recovery and sanctification. And his suffering is truly vicarious; for if he had not thus suffered on our behalf we must have suffered in our helpless guilt." Of heavenly justice in accepting Christ's vicarious suffering the writer also remarks: "The atonement of Christ, so far from involving deviation from the established laws of divine justice, has its foundations deeply laid in the moral order of the world, and is an all-powerful instrument for the promotion of righteousness." Altogether, Mr. Gladstone's article is of exceptional importance. As a man of generous scholarship, until lately a great leader in English politics, and a Christian sage whose sun is westering in brilliant colors, he has here furnished a safe antidote to the poison of Mrs. Besant's autobiography.

In the *Contemporary* for September is a noticeable article by Andrew Carnegie, entitled "Britain and the United States: Cost of Living." The purpose of the paper is to show that the expense of living for the workingman is less on this side of the ocean than in Europe. The author quotes various statistics to prove the point. The reader will, however, be inclined to challenge some of the figures which Mr. Carnegie cites; as when he instances the price of a wearable suit as but $4.50, or claims that "in the center of population in the United States the cost of coal does not exceed 8*s.* per ton." In short, the general impression conveyed by the article is that its writer has, though in good faith, overstated the possibilities of cheap living in the United States. His conclusion, from his own standpoint, is as follows: "Whether America be the El Dorado of the workingman or not depends upon the workingman himself. He and his

family can now live for less than a family in Britain, if they will live as frugally. . . . That is to say, a pound sterling in the new land, judiciously spent for the necessaries of life by the workingman and his family, will to-day purchase more of these in the new than in the old home of our race —a fact probably fraught with far-reaching consequences upon both sides of the Atlantic in the not distant future."

The article on "Catholicism and Apaism," by Bishop Spalding, in the September *North American Review*, of course speaks from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. One matter of history, from that standpoint, seems especially noticeable—the reason for the presence of a permanent papal delegation at Washington. The bishop says: "The Faribault episode, in itself insignificant, became the occasion of sending a papal envoy here and of establishing a permanent papal delegation in Washington, which, from whatever point it be considered, is an affair of grave moment. From the beginning the American bishops, whenever consulted, strongly opposed the founding of such an institution here. When the question was put to the archbishops at their meeting in New York, in the fall of 1892, it was their almost unanimous opinion that it would be unwise to appoint a delegate for this country, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that the bishops, had the matter been proposed to them, would have taken the same view. The question of a delegation is, of course, not a question of faith, or morals, or discipline, or rule, affecting the whole Church, but one of ecclesiastical policy; and those whose knowledge of the country was most accurate and intimate believed that the establishment of a papal delegation here would be bad policy. Whether they have been justified by the event, so far as the internal affairs of the Church are concerned, it is not necessary here to inquire; but that the delegate has been and is a source of strength to the Apaists there can be no doubt." Such a voice from the inner counsels of American Romanism is at least suggestive.

The opening article in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by Z. Swift Holbrook, discusses "Christian Sociology." It puts the weightiest of responsibilities on Christianity, in the transition through which society is passing, and expects much of Christianity in the new century. Professor G. Frederick Wright follows with an inspiring article on "The Adaptations of Nature to the Intellectual Wants of Man." The article by Professor D. W. Simon, on "The Nature and Scope of Systematic Theology," is his inaugural address, delivered at the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford, England. "The Evolution of Anarchy," by Jean Frederick Loba, D.D., outlines the work of such social leaders as Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Robert Dale Owen, Lassalle, and Karl Marx. From his hurried review the author's conclusion is threefold: that the socialistic movement is human and humane, that it has been hindered, if not worse, "through the one-sided character of its leaders," and that anarchy in State and society has been "due to the violence of

individual characters" and does not "enter naturally into the principles of the reformers." Professor Warfield next discusses "The Inspiration of the Bible" in a wholesome spirit. Holding to the view of plenary inspiration, he aims to show that this theory has always been the Church doctrine, that it was the doctrine held by Christ and his apostles, and that it is the foundation of Christian thought and life. The sixth article, by Professor Roe, of Oberlin, is entitled "The Probability of Freedom: A Critique on Spinoza's Demonstration of Necessity." In the next article, on "The Outlook for Islam," the Rev. D. L. Leonard declares that Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, and Confucianism constitute "the mightiest antagonists of Christianity" among organized religious forces, and believes that the first of the trio is "full as likely as either of the other two to endure for centuries and maintain to the end a sturdy and desperate resistance to the Gospel." At the same time he finds in such facts as the recent conversion of one hundred and seventeen Mussulmans of distinction an encouraging omen. The concluding article, by Howard Osgood, is on keeping Christ's word. In the editorial departments "Sociological Notes" appears for the first time and promises a valuable treatment of current social questions from the standpoint of Christian scholarship.

The *London Quarterly* for October reviews various important publications of recent date, under the headings: 1. "Drummond's 'Ascent of Man;'" 2. "Francis Thompson, A Study in Temperament;" 3. "Two Noble Lives, and Another;" 4. "Morocco, Past and Present;" 5. "Paraguay;" 6. "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century;" 7. "The Egyptian Patriotic Movement of 1893;" 8. "Cock Lane and Common Sense;" 9. "Mr. Gladstone on Heresy and Schism." In the first article, the writer thinks it may be shown that Professor Drummond is "in far too great a hurry to consider evolution established, even so far as science is concerned." The second article finds in Francis Thompson "a rare, if not a great poet." The fourth article shows the stagnation of Morocco; the fifth traces the development of Paraguay, describes its flora and fauna, and cautiously considers its inducements to immigration. The sixth article notices two volumes by Mrs. J. R. Green, issued in fulfillment of her promise to her late husband, the historian. Attempting a difficult task in the portrayal of English town life in the fifteenth century, she has created, says the reviewer, a "bright oasis of knowledge" in the midst of "a vast region of unpenetrated, but . . . not impenetrable, mystery." An illustration of the straits sometimes prevailing for lack of ready money is given in the following reminiscence: "Sir John Paston, the owner of broad estates in Norfolk, . . . was forced more than once to pawn his gown of velvet and 'other gear' in London to get a few marks, and when it occurred to him to raise money on his father's funeral pall he found that his mother had been beforehand with him; she had pawned it herself." The glimpse which the author gives of the sports, games, and pageants, the holiday recreations, and the stage performances of that early

day is also highly entertaining. In 1411, we are told, the great play, "From the Beginning of the World," at the Skinner's Well in London, lasted continuously for seven days; at Canterbury, the chief play was "The Martyrdom of S. Thomas," the cost of the performance being "carefully entered in the municipal account books." The eighth article notices three important books by Andrew Lang, Dr. Buckley, and Dr. Weatherly, whose discussion of ghosts, spiritualism, witchcraft, and other strange happenings merits a fuller notice than is here possible.

THE *North American Review* for October opens with a discussion of the "Issues of the Coming Elections," by Representatives William L. Wilson and Thomas B. Reed. Each speaks for his party in trenchant utterance; and each will please those who talk his shibboleth. Sir Edwin Arnold writes in elevated strain on "Astronomy and Religion," awaking those feelings of sublimity which a citation of the bewildering facts of astronomy always produces. Declaring that "at the present moment the well-established credit of the government is the only security against its bankruptcy," the Hon. George S. Boutwell writes on "The Peril of the Treasury," and outlines a financial plan "by which a gold revenue shall be provided adequate to the probable claims upon the national treasury, and by which the product of American silver, in excess of the demand by the arts and industries of the country, may be used for currency, and all without regard to the policy of other nations." J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., follows with a discussion of "The Transatlantic Mails," in which he considers some of the inequalities in postal rates and calls for a readjustment of schedules. "The postage on a letter weighing one ounce," he says, "sent 3,500 miles from New York to Vancouver, a foreign town, is two cents; while the charge for sending a letter of half that weight 3,540 miles to another foreign town, Liverpool, is five cents." Senator James H. Kyle, of South Dakota, next considers the question, "How shall the Indians be Educated?" A single generation of "vigorous, humane policy on the part of the government," he says, "will bring the Indians not only to self-support but to citizenship. The factors in the solution are, first, a belief that the Indian can be civilized; second, a well-defined policy; and third, the divorcement of the entire Indian question from politics." Students of city government will be interested in "The Municipal Problems of London," by its lord mayor; and ardent advocates for the "greater New York" will do well to notice the concluding sentiment of the writer, that "decentralization is an indispensable condition of the good local government of heterogeneous populations." The next article, by the Hon. William McAdoo, considers the "Reorganization of the Personnel of the Navy." The opening assertion of Dr. Louis Robinson, in "The Primitive Child," that "the Darwinian doctrine of human descent has now been accepted for the best part of a generation," gives a key to his effort to trace various phases of man's physical and mental development to their origin. The Hon. Frederic C. Penfield writes of

"Sidelights on the Exploitation of Egypt;" Lady Henry Somerset, in "The Renaissance of Woman," ardently contends for female suffrage; and Archbishop Ireland, in the concluding article, shows that the Romish Church "stands on record as the determined foe of the American saloon."

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October has: 1. "The Seven Lord Roseberies," by St. Loe Strachey; 2. "Wagner at Bayreuth," by the Countess of Galloway; 3. "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India," by Professor Max Müller; 4. "English Art Connoisseurship and Collecting," by Sir Charles Robinson; 5. "Cholera and the Sultan," by Ernest Hart; 6. "Did Omar Destroy the Alexandrian Library?" by R. Vasudeva Rau; 7. "A Dialogue on Dress," by the Hon. Mrs. Chapman; 8. "A Scottish Vendetta," by Sir Herbert Maxwell; 9. "The Farce of University Extension—a Rejoinder," by Charles Whibley; 10. "A Suggestion to Sabbath Keepers," by Professor Alfred R. Wallace; 11. "The Chinaman Abroad," by Edmund Mitchell; 12. "A Trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina," by M. de Blowitz; 13. "The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure," by Sir Auckland Colvin. The first article dissects the present prime minister with a surgeon's skill. "He has won the Derby," it concludes, "or rather Ladas has; for some of the credit should surely belong to the horse. What else has he accomplished in his six months' premiership? He has not even got up a 'live' agitation against his fellow peers." The third article discounts the claim of M. Notovitch, that Christ was in India from his fifteenth to his twenty-ninth year, and that he studied Sanskrit and Pâli in that country, read the Vedas and the Buddhist canon, and thence "returned through Persia to Palestine to preach the Gospel." In the sixth article the writer reckons it "highly improbable" that Omar gave the order to burn the Alexandrian library. The tenth article advises such an interchange of service that men may obtain a respite from their ordinary work on the Sabbath day. Having had the good fortune to see "John Chinaman abroad in many climes and under many diverse conditions," Mr. Mitchell testifies in the eleventh article to his industry and frugality, and counsels the welcome of Chinese immigrants on Australian and American shores.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Dr. Driver on Isaiah xiii and xiv," by W. M. McPheeters, D.D., in which the writer vindicates the Isaianic authorship of these chapters; 2. "The Theology of Hosea and Amos," by Edward Mack; 3. "The New Testament Law for the Church's Effort at Propagandism," by T. C. Johnson, D.D., which law is contained in Acts i, 8; 4. "The Lambeth Ultimatum," by Dr. J. A. Waddell, calling for Christian unity, though not for union; 5. "Conditions of Success in the Gospel Ministry," by T. R. English, D.D.; 6. "The Determinant of Value in Morals," by W. J. Wright, D.D., whose object is "to point out some of the difficulties" of the utilitarian theory of morals and "to propose a possible basis of harmony" between it and the intuitional theory.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has: 1. "The Crimea in 1854 and 1894," by General Sir Evelyn Wood; 2. "Sidelights on the Second Empire, Part II," by William Graham; 3. "Our Workmen's Diet and Wages," by Thomas Oliver, M.D.; 4. "An Antiquarian Ramble in Paris," by Frederic Harrison; 5. "The Extermination of Great Game in South Africa," by H. A. Bryden; 6. "The Legislation of Fear," by Ouida; 7. "In Syria," by Frederic Carrel; 8. "Madagascar," by Vazaha; 9. "A Pretender and His Family," by Albert D. Vandam. In the first article, a veteran general recalls the memories of the Crimean struggle, in which he participated as a midshipman forty years ago. In the fourth article Frederic Harrison writes that "Paris may face the twentieth century with the proud consciousness, not only of being the most brilliant and pleasant of cities, but also that she bears on her the record of twenty memorable centuries of the past." The key to the sixth article is in the assertion that "legislation by fear is everywhere replacing legislation by justice, and is likely to continue to do so." The seventh article considers the religious and social aspects of Syria. "The finite ideas of the Eastern mind are being shaken in most of their Asiatic strongholds; but in none are they more open to disturbing influences than in Syria to-day."

THE *Gospel in All Lands* for October contains, among other important matter, admirable portraits and notices of the Secretaries and Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.——The *American Historical Register*, "a monthly gazette of patriotic-hereditary societies of the United States of America," is superior in the matter of its October number and handsome in its typographical preparation.——The *Columbus Theological Magazine* has among its papers, in the October number, the continuation of "A Study of Witchcraft," by Rev. R. C. H. Lenski.——In the September-October number of the *Canadian Methodist Review* are "Anthropology Underlying Redemption," by A. C. Courtice, "Kosmo-Sabbaton, or the Sabbath Before Moses and After Christ," by M. R. Knight, "Zephaniah, a Leader of an Ancient Forward Movement," by J. E. Ford, and "The Nature of Christ's Atonement," by W. Jackson. ——The *Missionary Review* for November has important things to say of Turkey, Korea, and China.——The *Catholic World* for October opens with a paper on the "Immoral Use and Sale of Intoxicants," by A. F. Hewit, D.D. It also has an illustrated article, by Rev. G. F. X. Griffith, on "Tübingen and its Catholic Scholars."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for October abounds with suggestions to makers of sermons. Dr. William E. Ketcham is now announced as the American editor of the periodical, and as the writer of the most excellent "Notes" and "Outline Addresses."——The October number of the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Review* has an article on "Africa and the Descendants of Africa," by Bishop Arnett, one on "Abuses of the Sacrament," by Rev. R. R. Downs, and one on "Lynch Law in the South," by Judge D. A. Straker. ——The *Methodist Magazine* for October abounds in wholesome reading, and is a credit alike to Canadian Methodism and to its editor, Dr. Withrow.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A Lawyer's Examination of the Bible. By HOWARD H. RUSSELL, LL.B. 12mo, pp. 262. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The book opens with this incident: "In 1830 a ship was wrecked on the Cape of Good Hope. The crew and passengers escaped to land, but ship and cargo were lost. One of the passengers was the renowned Alexander Duff, on his way to missionary service in India. Huddled in a poor hovel with the other passengers, Duff was lamenting the loss of his library of more than eight hundred volumes, when a sailor entered with a package he had found on the beach. It was covered with chamois skin, and when opened was found to contain Duff's Bagster Bible. This Bible and the Scotch hymn book wrapped with it were the only books recovered from the wreck. The incident profoundly impressed Dr. Duff, as if it were the voice of God declaring that, in comparison with all other books, the Bible is the supremely necessary book for India and for the world." On this incident the author comments: "Men have tried ten thousand times to wreck the Bible; but out of every storm of rationalism, skeptical philosophy, scientific denial, higher criticism, and lower criticism the great book has always come safely, through wreck and flood, outliving every tempest." Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus, of Chicago, who writes the Introduction, says, "This volume is another of the sincere efforts which earnest men are making to confront the reason of the time with the claim of Christianity." Nothing is better for the preacher than to view religion and theology from the outside, to move away from his habitual view-point, to go out of the gates of Zion and walk around beyond the walls, to mark her bulwarks and tell her towers from without. Whoever enables us to do that enlarges our horizon, increases our knowledge, confirms our convictions, multiplies our resources, and makes our thinking more conclusive and our preaching more cogent and irresistible. He must be a dull and stupid minister who is not interested in learning how the doctrines of religion look to a scientist when judged by scientific standards and habits of thought, as in Professor Cooke's *The Credentials of Science the Warrant of Faith;* and he must be blameworthy who does not care to hear how the evidences of Christianity look to a legal mind. It is no one line of proof alone that compels the acceptance of Christianity, but the convergence of evidence from all points of the mind's horizon. As all roads of the Roman empire led to the golden milestone at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, so from all regions of knowledge there are paths of thought which lead to Christ. The original title of Mr. Russell's book was, *Trial of the Gospel.* He opens a court and tries the case of Christianity, to see whether it can maintain its claims as the God-given religion before a jury under the rules of evidence and by the forms of procedure which

obtain in courts of law; whether its evidences are of the sort which courts admit and consider competent and satisfactory; and whether it has evidence enough of the right kind to prove its case and compel a favorable verdict from an impartial jury. We like to see Christianity under fire. We want it subjected to the strain of every test that is at all pertinent and properly applicable. The fiery furnace and the lions' den have been the scenes of its victories. Severe tests show the stuff it is made of. A significant fact it is that the Christian religion has justified itself to the greatest intellects, the greatest statesmen, the greatest philosophers, the greatest scientists, and also, as the book before us shows, to the greatest legal minds trained to sift and weigh evidence and decide whether the proof is positive or on which side the balance of probability inclines. Greenleaf, an authority on evidence, accepted not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, says, "All the Bible asks of men is that they treat its evidence as they treat the evidence of other things." A chief justice says, "Every fair-minded, unbiased person, who will carefully read the Bible with a desire to master its contents, will find abundant evidence that it is of divine origin and was designed to teach us our duty toward God and our fellow-men." Lawyers and judges of highest ability and distinction, like John Selden and John Jay—men of strictest, sturdiest, most sagacious, cautious, scrutinizing, and exacting minds—find Christianity credible, its evidences firm and decisive. The book we are noticing is a lawyer's plain, orderly arguing of Christianity's case in a civil court before a judge and jury. If anyone wishes to learn how the gospel narratives of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John look to the greatest modern authority on the nature and comparative value of the different kinds of legal evidence, let him read Greenleaf's *Testimony of the Evangelists*, and he will feel that it matters not what the ignorant attorney of the "Star Route" scoundrels may think, for a greater than Ingersoll is there.

The Life and Teachings of Jesus. A Critical Analysis of the Sources of the Gospels, together with a Study of the Sayings of Jesus. By ARTHUR KENYON ROGERS. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

A very dangerous book. It is dangerous to the ordinary reader because, with a great show of candor and reverence for the truth, apparent reverence for the Bible even, and in an excellent spirit, full of charity and religion, the author presents a subtly veiled rationalism and strikes from under our feet all the foundations of faith in the credibility of the gospels. He applies as free and reckless a criticism to the evangelists and the various documents which he supposes to underlie their complications as any writer has done to the documents which lie back of the Hexateuch. He leaves us as little of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as others have left us of Moses. John he wipes out of existence altogether, so far as any authorship of the fourth gospel is concerned, but admits that he may have been "the source of the author's knowledge." He thinks this author to have been "a presbyter in one of the cities of Asia Minor, a man who had reached a new conception of Christianity, a philosophy of religion which, as Jesus stood at the center of it, he wished to carry out in a rep-

resentation of Jesus's life; and in accordance with a very common literary custom he determined that it should be written in the person of one who actually had lived in Jesus's time and who should stand for the religious conception which he had to represent." "As history it has no value; the facts are not facts at all, but only an outward dress, a picture of the ideas which the author wishes us to see beneath them. The author does not mean them to be accepted as facts." Mr. Rogers rejects all miracles, to begin with, including the incarnation and resurrection, and finds no evidence that the first three gospels proceed from the men whose names they bear. "We shall regard a narrative when it tells of the miraculous as on the face of it in some sort of error." "The new matter which Matthew brings in is not only legendary, but flagrantly so." In short, none of the gospels has anything but the very slimmest kind of credibility, and "a very large part, indeed, of all we seemed to know about Jesus has crumbled away." "The evidence for the resurrection is weaker, upon the whole, than the evidence for most of the other miracles in the gospels." "The circumstantial stories about the appearances of the risen Jesus are an absolute impossibility." These extracts fairly and sufficiently show what sort of man Mr. Rogers is, or, at least, what sort of New Testament he would leave us did we put ourselves into his hands to be taught—simply a mass of wild legends and utterly improbable traditions, put together by uncertain nobodies in the second century, with the smallest possible substratum of truth and fact. And this is supposed to be a rational explanation of how the great temple of Christianity, in which the wisest and best men of nineteen centuries have delighted to worship, took its rise and came to be. This supposition is deliberately offered to us as more intelligible and reasonable than that which has been thus far believed by the greatest intellects of modern times. We must ask to be excused from falling in, yet a while, with this new theology. Its acceptance demands more credulity than we can muster. It is not a boon to the world, but quite the contrary. We have a very decided conviction that revivals of pure religion will not be promoted by it, that it will not comfort people in the depths of affliction nor steady them in the stress and storms of life. The heathen millions are not waiting to hear the announcement of this kind of Gospel. If we have nothing better than this to offer them they might as well retain their own beliefs, and the missionaries should be recalled. We have styled the book a dangerous one. We certainly cannot recommend its purchase or perusal. "In nonessentials liberty" is one thing. But when we are asked to give up Christianity as a divine revelation and consign it to the limbo of purely human speculations, that is quite another thing. It is absurd on the face of it. The Christian religion has done too much for the world, and the progress of humanity is too closely bound up with its integrity, to make such trifling with its very pillars a small offense. What can these people who are striving to overthrow it—all in the name of truth, reason, and religion—offer us in its place? Why should such books be read when there is so much else far more profitable in every way waiting to be considered?

Revelation by Character. Illustrated from Old Testament Lives. By ROBERT TUCK, B.A. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $2.

God has never at any one time given a final and complete revelation of himself and his glory. He has rather delighted to reveal himself part by part, lifting the veil fold by fold. He has spoken in many portions and in many manners—by promises, types, sacrifices, *urim*, dreams, voices, similitudes, and prophets specially commissioned. Especially has he conveyed to men that truth which they are by nature incapable of discovering. He has been pleased to emphasize those truths and principles which men had discovered, but were not appraising at their true value or using with practical efficiency. Our author has undertaken to make clear to us that there is a divine revelation, not only in the incidents and history of the Scripture record, but also in the characters of the Bible men themselves. He claims that a man's character is of more importance than anything he has done or any circumstances in which he is placed. His effort, therefore, is to discover the keynote of the life and, through this keynote, the precise moral mission of each man. Very wisely he assumes that his readers are familiar with the general outlines of the lives that are treated. He does not load down his book with rhetorical descriptions of well-known scenes and narratives from old Scripture biographies. Only once in human history have been witnessed all the qualities that belong to human nature blended in one perfect character—the man Christ Jesus. Other men exemplify but a few traits, and these imperfectly.

> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

By studying these individual traits in various men and women we find ourselves better able to comprehend the character of Him who is the "chiefest among ten thousand" and "altogether lovely." The work would prove interesting to most readers, and especially valuable to ministers of the Gospel. Even the titles of the chapters are themselves suggestive, as "Spiritual Abraham," "Energetic Caleb," "Playful Samson," "Self-satisfied Solomon," "Hopeful Isaiah." The author displays sound scholarship, considerable originality, and has withal an attractive style. He has not attempted a complete series; we notice such omissions as Samuel and Jeremiah, and that he has not given us a study of any Bible woman. He promises another volume on the character, the marked individuality of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Princeton Sermons. Chiefly by the Professors in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 352. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These sermons were not in the first instance written for publication. They were prepared for the weekly Sunday services held in the chapel of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. The series also includes two sermons each by President Patton and Dean Murray, of the college, who are officers of the seminary and frequently preach in its pulpit. The circumstances that led to the composition of these discourses have doubtless given to them a special character. They were addressed to young men

preparing for the ministry by those who occupied the position of their daily instructors; they are not sermons for the masses, but designed solely for believers. They are adapted to the needs of young men at the critical period of life, to young men who are destined to be leaders in the world of thought and action. The life of a great university is a world by itself. The door of matriculation opens before the youth a new world, rich in opportunities and advantages, yet presenting peculiar temptations and perils. At this transition stage in his career, when the student finds that the faiths of his childhood are attacked on every side and there is danger of schism between his reason and his heart, how opportune it is for him to be furnished with the light and guidance of such discourses as these! The professors take up those questions of the day that agitate theological circles in both hemispheres and deal with them in a masterly way. In the sermons on the "Promise of the Spirit" and "Incarnate Truth" we are presented with a clear statement of the Princeton position concerning the inerrancy of the Scriptures. Such statements as we find set forth in some other theological seminaries find no sympathy with the Princeton professors; not only so, but they are shown to be utterly without foundation. Such, for instance, are the following: "Christ in his manhood was not the equal of Newton in mathematical knowledge, nor of Wellhausen in literary criticism." "In the teaching of Christ we must discriminate what belongs merely to the prejudices of his day and generation and the message that he is commissioned of God to impart. In the one case he is not only limited in knowledge, but may be entirely mistaken; it is only in the other that he brings to us truth that is life. We are to distinguish by the light within what is really of Christ and what is not." For devotional reading we commend especially the sermons by Professor Murray—"Christ as a Man of Prayer," and "The Transfiguration of Life by Christ." We have not for many a day read their equal.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to the Study of Society. By ALBION W. SMALL, Ph.D., Head Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, and GEORGE E. VINCENT, Vice Chancellor of the Chautauqua System of Education. 12mo, pp. 384. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: American Book Company. Price, cloth, $1.80.

This book may be considered as a guide in the study of the human society of which its readers are a part. It is a text-book for students of some maturity of intelligence, possessed of some of the results of training and discipline. Specially designed for college students, it will be equally useful to any preacher or other public teacher who may be willing to sit down and learn the first principles of social structures and functions. Such a reader will enhance its value to himself by working out the problems set down at the ends of some of the chapters. Our society is put in grave peril by the sentimental and dialectic methods of discussion prevailing in our day, the essayists and orators being for the most part as

ignorant as they are glib and ornate. We wish every preacher in the land could be persuaded to study sociology by the aid of this book for at least one whole year. The fruit of such a study would be of incalculable value to our civilization; it would arrest the destructive movements which at many points are invading and raiding our social possessions. "Destructive dogmas will control the popular imagination," if such control is not prevented by a vast increase of wisdom among the teachers and leaders of the future; and these teachers and leaders are in college or in the beginnings of professional life. The three hundred and eighty-four pages of the book are distributed into five books. In the first there is an outline of "The Origin and Scope of Sociology;" the second is devoted to "The Natural History of a Society;" the third considers "Social Anatomy;" the fourth studies "Social Physiology and Pathology," and the fifth is a discussion upon "Social Psychology." The arrangement is an admirable one, and yet we advise the reader who knows himself to be inexperienced to begin with the second book and to pass from that to the fifth book, and then to study the whole in its own order. We suggest this, not because we consider the arrangement defective, for we do not, but because an inexpert reader, having no man to guide him, will first of all need an inspiring interest in the subject; and books two and five may interest and inspire even a dull reader, and lead him on to further study. Too much praise can hardly be given to the authors for the modesty of their claims to attention. It is a note of true science and sound learning. It is, also, a much-needed example for the students of their work. The people who are dinning half truths into our ears have no modesty and no reticence; that is their asinine distinction. In the present work two men, fortified by good training, large special study, and the habits of instructors, are careful to claim little while they are doing a great work. This, they tell us, is not the whole of the science of sociology, not the whole even of that small part we have undertaken to study. A guide for the study of contemporary society—on farms we have seen settled, in villages whose first houses are standing yet, in cities whose first generation has just passed away—such a guide for the study of the facts of living society did not exist, and our authors have created it. Such a book as this could not be offensively dogmatic; nevertheless, some admirable aphorisms are sprinkled over its pages. We quote a few: "The right of free thought does not involve the competence of every man to think every order of thought;" "Scientific students of society ought to oppose with all their power the many mischievous tendencies to construct mountainous social philosophies out of molehills of social knowledge;" "It is necessary to distinguish between provisional action prompted by sympathy and the discovery of social principles attested by science;" "He who by genuine social function seeks to acquire wealth is increasing social, no less than personal, efficiency;" "Genuine reforms, in the nature of things, work gradually, not rapidly." We ardently hope that every reader of the *Review* will study this volume. We do not hesitate to record our belief that it is one of the ten best books of the year; it is certainly one of the books most

needed. One of the most roundly cultured men in Methodism—an ex-president of one of our colleges—says that there is so much meat in Small and Vincent's book, and it is so closely packed, that an adequate review of it might be almost as long as the volume itself.

Science and a Future Life, with Other Essays. By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Our first acquaintance with this author was years ago, through his unique and remarkable poem, "St. Paul," a production marked by singular majesty of thought and expression, and in which the most subtle harmonies of idea and association blended with a stately melody of sonorous verse to make it as much a poem to the mind as to the ear. Self-observation reports that since that first taste of his quality we have always been ready for more, and have counted it worth while to read every line of prose or verse coming from his pen in the enlarging authorship of later years. Desiring to restrain ourselves from eulogy, we are yet constrained to say that few essayists of to-day are more entitled to a public audience, to the ear of thoughtful, earnest, cultivated persons of every class and creed. Mr. Myers commands intellectual respect by his clear and vigorous thinking, his broad and varied culture, and his extended knowledge; moral respect, by his sincerity and candor, his fearless inquiry for and supreme loyalty to whatever may prove itself to be truth and fact, his devotion to ideas and principles, his scorn of subterfuge, exaggeration, or pretense, and his fairness to every antagonist or contrary opinion; and compels admiration by his mastery of euphonious expression, his unerring choice of the best word, and the distinct and luminous way in which his language presents his thought, pure and precise as is the lunar disk when "Artemis rolls her lucid moon through heaven" upon a cloudless night. We are not ashamed to confess that we care more for Frederic W. H. Myers than for Henry James. He shows the earnestness which becomes man's nature and befits his life, grapples manfully with problems the most solemn and august, and yearns to realize the significance of existence. He is an intellectual athlete, not an intellectual "dude," man-milliner, or jeweler. Despising no art which can give force or charm to his writing, he yet spends no time in carving cherry pits or dressing dolls. Five significant essays of general interest make the volume before us, and to them there is added a fondly admiring memorial tribute to the English Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany. The first essay considers the all-inclusive and transcendent question of man's survival beyond death—the question whose magnitude of meaning belittles all others. For himself the author accepts the historic argument for immortality presented by Christianity in the resurrection of Christ. On this he says: "I still adhere to Paley's view; I cannot explain that testimony given by the 'twelve men of probity,' in face of bonds and stripes and death, except on the supposition that Christ did in fact, in some way, manifest himself to his disciples after bodily life was extinct." But he recognizes that faith in this isolated and astounding historic event depends on the acceptance of the

New Testament records as perfectly veracious and trustworthy, and, therefore, is not possible to those who find in the miraculous a reason for discrediting and rejecting those records. He believes it both desirable and possible to find arguments for immortality lying outside of religion, revelation, and history, which will appeal to the natural understanding and the common sense of most. He asserts that the time has come to approach the momentous problem of a future life from the scientific side and by scientific methods; and the attempt must be made through physiology and psychology. This lends peculiar interest to the new, tentative, and empirical science of physiological psychology. Up to date modern science has nothing positive to say for or against man's future existence. Here and there an individual scientific voice speaks on one side or the other. Professor Draper used to say that the mind's superiority to, and independence of, the body could be physiologically proved. Mr. Myers expects, by due process of investigation, to discover some scientific evidence which will in itself justify a belief in the efficacy of prayer and the operation of a divine Spirit upon human nature from its upper side, as well as in the *post-mortem* survival of the human personality. He challenges the evolution theory to present some coherent and plausible solution of the mysterious problems of life, consciousness, thought, and says that unless it can prove its capacity to do so it must retire discredited. Whether experimental psychology will ever project one penetrating ray into the intimate structure of the spiritual universe by the light of which alone man's survival will stand in visible demonstration we know not; but from every jutting point along the brink and border of this earthly life man will always lean out and peer off into the unseen universe in which he believes and of which he is a part. We reject Emerson's assertion, "Of immortality the soul, when well employed, is incurious." The second essay in this volume is "Charles Darwin and Agnosticism." In general, it leads into the same realm of thought as the first one. It inquires what Darwin's view was of the effect of his theories on the old problems of the soul and of Providence. Four points are considered: first, the weakening effect of Darwinism on the argument for Providence drawn from the consensus of mankind; secondly, its weakening effect on a similar argument drawn from a sense of sin and forgiveness; thirdly, its apparent incompatibility with the creationist theory of the genesis of the human soul; and, fourthly, the question whether, if agnosticism becomes the prevalent attitude of men's minds, we may suppose that posterity will acquiesce with Darwin's cheerfulness in the abandonment of the ancient hope. Believers in a soul hold various opinions as to its origin. Creationists maintain the creation of a new soul by a fresh act of God for each new body. Traducianists believe the soul to be engendered by the parents and transmitted, like the bodily characteristics. Infusionists hold that the soul preexisted elsewhere, but was infused into the body at some given moment. And transmigrationists develop the infusionist doctrine by adding that the soul, thus infused into man, had previously inhabited the bodies of other men or animals. The author quotes Dar-

win's words about the high "feelings of wonder, admiration, and devotion" which filled and elevated his mind amid the grandeurs of a Brazilian forest. He adds also these significant words of the great naturalist: "I cannot, anyhow, be contented to view this wonderful universe, and especially the nature of man, and to conclude that everything is the result of brute force. I am inclined to look at everything as resulting from designed laws." This implies a Designer. And again: "Believing, as I do, that man in the distant future will be a far more perfect creature than he now is, it is an intolerable thought that he and all other sentient beings are doomed to complete annihilation." And yet, after all, Darwin sank into agnosticism. His higher perceptions faded, his religious sensibilities became atrophied. This essay ends with a verdict upon the worthlessness of material science if it only proves that nothing man may ever discover can be to him of any true concern: "What profit, if we are to gaze upon the cosmos for an hour and pass and leave the giant forces playing with a purport forever hid from men? What gain, to watch for a moment the inscrutable pageant, to be summoned out of nothingness into illusion, and evolved but to aspire and to decay?" The remaining essays, on "The Disenchantment of France," "Tennyson as Prophet," and "Modern Poets and Cosmic Law," are equally enticing to the serious mind and the cultivated taste. The last begins with this somewhat surprising statement: "Wordsworth, Darwin, Tennyson—the three greatest Englishmen of our century."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The American Church History Series. Volume XI. 8vo, pp. 487. New York: The Christian Literature Company. Price, cloth, $3.

This volume contains a history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, by Gross Alexander, D.D., Professor of Greek in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; a history of the United Presbyterian Church, by James Brown Scouller, D.D.; a history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, by R. V. Foster, D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in Cumberland University; and a history of the Presbyterian Church, South, by Thomas C. Johnson, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary at Hampden Sidney, Va.

The chief interest of our readers will probably be in Professor Alexander's history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which occupies the first one hundred and forty-two pages of the volume. Of this it must be said that it is written in admirable style, and in a spirit which should satisfy the most exacting. It handles a sensitive history in the calm, fair-minded fashion which becomes the dignity of a true historian. It makes use of the past for purposes of instruction, and not in a way to revive and perpetuate its disagreements and misunderstandings. In this respect it is in marked and pleasing contrast with the history of the Southern Presbyterians, which closes the volume. It will not retard the progress toward unity and that

nobler future which, in ways planned or undreamed of, devised by men or precipitated by secret divine preparations, is sure to come. Reading over the record of the separation of Northern and Southern Methodism in 1844, we are impressed that never in ecclesiastical history was a great division, which contained intense and exciting elements, accomplished with a larger admixture of dignity, magnanimity, fraternal good will, acting more in sorrow than in anger and grieved at the irresistible necessity forced by issues which could not be avoided or postponed. We perceive and appreciate this the more when we read Dr. Johnson's history of the Presbyterian Church, South, which shows a different picture. On both sides of the Methodist crisis were men of conscience, sagacity, self-control, piety, and power. To us it is matter of gratitude and happy augury that the history of the past on both sides contains what seems, in view of the nature of human nature, a surprisingly small amount of material calculated to build a barrier of division far into the future. It is blessedly evident that, notwithstanding all human errors and infirmities, God has been with Methodism, both North and South, through all the years. What would become of individuals or Churches if God abandoned us because of our faults or left us to suffer the unmitigated consequences of our mistakes? Rather, he not only prearranges and provides before us, but also corrects and overrules after us. That the spirit of Christian love was alive and warm in both Methodisms, as if they heard an authoritative Voice falling from the heaven which knows no South, no North, "Little children, love one another," that this Voice was revered and listened to above the din and horror of two thousand battles, was indicated by the fact that when, in April, 1866, only a year after the close of the war, the New York East Conference sent from Brooklyn to the General Conference of our Southern Church, then in session in New Orleans, a cordial invitation to join in "a day of special prayer, both in private and in the public congregations, for the peace and unity of our common country and for the full restoration of Christian sympathy and love between the Churches, especially between the different branches of Methodism in this nation," the Southern General Conference, by a standing vote, directed its secretary to telegraph to the New York East Conference their cordial reciprocation of these Christian salutations and their cordial agreement to unite in the day of prayer as proposed. No one can think less highly of Southern Methodism after reading Dr. Alexander's concise and comprehensive story; for this historian makes his Church an object of respect and admiration to his readers. The reason why the General Conference of 1862, which had been appointed to meet in New Orleans, did not assemble, is given thus: "Contrary to the expectations of the General Conference of 1858, Admiral Farragut and General Butler had anticipated them in the occupancy of New Orleans, in April, 1862; and it was not entirely certain that General Butler would hospitably receive the General Conference or facilitate its proceedings. It therefore lapsed." We feel a sense of proprietorship in the great men of Southern Methodism, and we like the fond pride with which their memory is cherished. Of Bishop Pierce

Professor Alexander says: "He preached in a metropolitan church with all the ease with which he preached to a congregation of negro slaves, and he preached to the slaves with as much beauty and pathos and power as to the great men and women of the earth. I have heard Beecher and Talmage and Hall and Taylor and Simpson and Spurgeon and Liddon and Farrar and Punshon and Parker; but I never was so moved, or saw people so moved, by the preaching of any man as by that of George F. Pierce, of Georgia." The epitaph over Bishop McTyeire, buried with McKendree and Soule on the campus of Vanderbilt University, is, "He was a leader of men and a lover of children." This tribute to the Southern negroes is quoted from Dr. R. H. Rivers: "In the neighborhood where I lived during the war in Alabama the sound of a trumpet would have called up five thousand colored men and not over fifty white men. The white men had gone off to the war and left their wives, children, property in the care of the negroes. Not a crime was committed." The closing statement of the history is as follows: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, along with her sister evangelical Churches, stands for the faith once delivered to the saints, for the pure and simple Gospel of Jesus Christ, and for the conversion of the world; along with other Methodist bodies she stands for every doctrine of Arminian Wesleyan theology, 'from prevenient grace to perfect love;' *more than any other Church in the world she stands for constitutional Episcopal Methodism.*"

The last one hundred and seventy-five pages of Volume XI of *The American Church History Series* contain a history of Southern Presbyterianism. If the writer, Dr. T. C. Johnson, speaks for his Church there is not much sympathy in it with the Northern Presbyterians. The Southern writer distrusts the soundness of Northern Calvinism. He hears "the cry for revision of the Confession" rising in "such volume and with such strident and piercing tones" that even "the deaf must hear and comprehend that Pelagianism is abroad." "The Northern Church is seen to have many gangrened members. Her fifteen hundred ministers from extra-Presbyterian sources and her long comatose New Schoolism show themselves." Dr. Johnson represents that the relation between the Northern and Southern branches of the Presbyterian body is more cordial in form than in fact: "the relation is half-hearted on the part of both Churches." With a distrustful and reproachful eye directed northward, expressing candidly his conviction that there is good reason why his branch of the Church should preserve inviolate her own separate existence, he says: "God has put high honors on her in the past, making her a witness for the nonsecular character of the Church, and for a Bible Calvinism, and for a Bible that makes God teach and indorse good ethics, and for the government of the Church according to her divine constitution, and for the highest form of Church organization in the Presbyterian body, perhaps. She may never merge her witness for these truths by an adulterous connection with any Church that will not and cannot bear a true witness for them, except to her eternal shame. May the God who raised up a Thornwell to lead this Church in her infant days,

and a McPheeters to suffer for two of her synods and for Christians everywhere, who has given a Dabney and a Peck, an H. M. Smith and a B. M. Palmer, to minister to her people hitherto, raise up spiritual sons worthy of such fathers to lead the Church, until another body who has the same witness to make, or can teach us a truer one, shall admit us to union with them." The writer evidently does not feel that the Northern Presbyterians are worthy to associate with his Church.

The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome. By F. W. PULLER, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. With a Preface by EDWARD, Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxi, 428. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.25.

The growth of ritualism during the past few years has been most marked. Especially is this true of the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, as it is known in America. The tractarian movement of sixty years ago is bearing its legitimate fruit. In the great cities a "low" church is now the exception. In not a few churches seven "sacraments" are acknowledged, "mass" is said, the "host" is "elevated," the "censer" is swung, glittering mass garments are worn by the priests, who desire to be called "father," and the "confessional" has a place, with only now and then a word of protest from thoughtful churchmen who see the sure outcome of this extreme ritualistic movement. Already the frequent comment is heard from surprised and grieved worshipers in some "high" church, "I see no difference between this and the Roman Catholic Church." Practically, there is no difference. "Father" Ritchie, the rector of St. Ignatius Church, in this city, a representative of excessive ritualism, said not long since, "We are the Catholic Church, but acknowledging no allegiance to the pope." It is just this position that Father Puller, a member of the English monastic order of the Cowley Brethren, seeks to establish and defend. His controversy is against the papal assumptions of modern times, that the pope is infallible and that salvation is impossible to one outside the Roman communion. He states very clearly that the point of attack is the dogmatic declaration of Pope Boniface VIII, in his bull *Unam Sanctam:* "We therefore declare, assert, and define that for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation that he be subject to the Roman pontiff." The modern claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy were set forth by the Vatican Council of 1870, over which the pope himself presided, the decrees being registered by the votes of five hundred and thirty-five members, of which number two only dissented. These decrees declare unequivocally that the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff is supreme; that all pastors and all the people are bound to the authority of the pope "by the obligation of true obedience, not only in things which pertain to faith and morals, but also in things pertaining to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world;" that "this is the teaching of the Catholic truth; and that none can deviate from it without the loss of his faith and salvation." Against these mediæval and modern claims of Rome the author makes an emphatic protest. There are seven lectures in the book, five of which were delivered in London to an

audience of clergymen. "These five lectures deal with the claim to a supremacy or primacy of jurisdiction, as of divine right," and establish the fact that the popes have no divinely given primacy of jurisdiction. The rest of the book is mainly taken up with an appeal, in regard to the two fundamental papal claims, to the "acts and writings of the great saints of the primitive Church." The Lord Bishop of Lincoln has written an Introduction to the book, in which he says he takes heart when he recalls that two thirds of the world have yet to pass judgment upon the assumptions of Rome, and that India and China have yet to make up their mind on these questions, and adds, "It is of the utmost importance that we should present the truth to the independently educated heathen mind in the most exact and strongest form possible." How different the feeling of that great and loved missionary bishop, John Coleridge Patteson, who, soon after his arrival in New Zealand, wrote in a letter to his uncle, the master of Eton: "It isn't High or Low or Broad Church, or any other special name, but the longing desire to forget all distinctions and to return to a simpler state of things, that seems naturally to result from the very sight of heathen people. Who thinks of anything but this, 'They have not heard the name of the Saviour who died for them,' when he is standing with crowds of naked fellows round him?" If this be true this book will be of little use in the great work of winning the heathen to a life of faith in Jesus Christ, and will be of interest in England and America only to those who are bewitched by ritualism and welcome any book which, directly or indirectly, treats of the Catholic Church.

Heavenly Pearls Set in a Life. A Record of Experiences and Labors in America, India, and Australia. By LUCY D. OSBORN. 12mo, pp. 364. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

First of all in this book is the picture of the Christian woman who is the author and whose life is the subject of it—a large, round, sunny, sanguine, dauntless sort of face, such as laughs at impossibilities and many other things. Looking at it, one thinks of the saying, "The world belongs to the optimists," and infers that the owner of this face must be conscious possessor of a large part of the world; if in no other way, then on the principle that all things belong to those that belong to Christ, who is God's. We do not know that the lips are saying anything in the picture, but the whole face is singing, "I'm the child of a King." As to the book, we can write no notice so unique, sententious, and suggestive as Bishop William Taylor's introduction to it, which we therefore herewith transcribe: "This book has a large amount of undisguised human nature in it. It reflects also a great deal of the divine nature, ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary covers a wide range of Christian experience, common and uncommon. The extraordinary is on the line of divine healing of the body, without ignoring God's use of medicine and surgery or adding to the agony of a blind man by affirming that he was born blind because he was a great sinner. We have an experience extraordinary also, similar to that of Paul, William Tennant, J. B. Finley, and Dr. Kendricks, of Indianapolis, Ind. I don't challenge the testimony of

any of them; but God has so constituted me and so kept me in accord with his ordinary laws of health that my body has not required extra repairs, and my simple faith in God's book and personal presence and providence does not require a trip to heaven till I shall, by the will of God, go there to stay." We rather like Bishop Taylor's faith. It seems a fairly good sort of faith, worthy to be stamped "sterling;" likely to prove steady and serviceable, to wear well and keep its color in all kinds of changeful weather; sufficiently expectant and reliant, but not fidgety and exacting; content to pray, "Give us this day our daily bread," and not sitting up to cry for manna in the middle of the night. The spiritually normal is not outranked in working power or preciousness by the extraordinary and phenomenal. Something like this seems to be innocently hinted in the bishop's introduction. Anyway, his sort of faith is the kind most of us have to survive on; and, having observed and experienced its power of sustenance and propulsion, we are not prepared to admit that it is an inferior article.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Art of Illustration. By C. H. SPURGEON. 12mo, pp. 208. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $1.

Spurgeon was always interesting in his preaching. He had a genius for securing the attention of his hearers, and then held it without apparent difficulty. Perhaps it was art, rather than genius; if so, it was an art which amounted to genius. His preaching was intensely lifelike and vivid, pictorial in the extreme. His sermons abound in illustrations; almost every sentence uncovers a picture. He seems to think in metaphors; and for the clearer presentation of truth he draws illustrations from all sources—from life, from history, from science. This is true, as well, of his writings. How picturesque are his comments on the Psalms! This latest book of his is itself a splendid illustration of his knowledge of the art of illustration, of which he was a master. It contains five lectures, originally delivered to the students of the Pastor's College, bearing the following titles: "Illustrations in Preaching;" "Anecdotes from the Pulpit;" "The Use of Anecdotes and Illustrations;" "Where can we Find Anecdotes and Illustrations;" and "The Sciences as Sources of Illustration." Of his lectures to the students of the College of the Metropolitan Tabernacle Mr. Spurgeon once said: "I do not offer that which has cost me nothing, for I have done my best and taken abundant pains. Therefore, with clear conscience, I place my work at the service of my brethren, especially hoping to have a careful reading from young preachers, whose profiting has been my principal aim." Young ministers and, indeed, all preachers will find these lectures full of suggestions. On every page are words of good common sense, such as the following: "No reason exists why the preaching of the Gospel should be a miserable operation, either to the speaker or to the hearer."

"Sermons must not be nosegays of flowers, but sheaves of wheat. Very beautiful sermons are generally very useless ones." "Our Lord's parables were as simple as tales for children, and as naturally beautiful as the lilies which sprang up in the valleys where he taught the people." There is scarcely a statement Mr. Spurgeon makes which he does not fully illustrate; as when, for example, having said that illustrations and anecdotes will greatly help to make a way for the truth to enter, and that they will do this by catching the ear of the careless and inattentive, he adds: "We must try to be like Mr. Whitefield, of whom a shipbuilder said, 'When I have heard anybody else preach I have always been able to lay down a ship from stem to stern; but when I listen to Mr. Whitefield I cannot even lay the keel.'" The last lecture, "The Sciences as Sources of Illustration," is the least satisfactory, probably because it is "printed substantially as it was taken by the reporter," and without any revision, therefore, by Mr. Spurgeon.

The Young Man Foursquare. By REV. JAMES I. VANCE, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Va. 12mo, pp. 104. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

These are good sermons, "dedicated to every young man who has an ambition to make the most of himself and his opportunities," and calculated to help him in that high endeavor—only four sermons, on the young man in business, in society, in politics, and in religion, but enough to make boyhood into the manliest manhood. They are not juvenile, but worthy the attention of any who are not yet fully formed in character and fixed in habit. The text, "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings," is illustrated thus: "At ten years of age Benjamin Franklin was cutting wicks for tallow candles in a Boston chandler's shop. At seventeen, on a Sabbath morning, we find him trudging through the streets of Philadelphia, with all his earthly possessions on his back and in his pockets. The sum total of his assets consisted of some old clothes, a dollar in silver, a shilling in copper coin, and—himself. As he tramped by, a girl, who afterward became his wife, looked out of the window and laughed at the grotesque figure of young Franklin. But the lad was diligent. He applied himself assiduously. He had a genius for work. His abilities were soon recognized. He rose. By and by he became the founder of the University of Pennsylvania and of the American Philosophical Society. And little more than half a century after that Sabbath morning when we saw him walking along the streets of Philadelphia, the butt of a girl's ridicule, we find him standing before the King of France the accredited ambassador plenipotentiary of the United States of America." The profitableness of righteousness has this illustration: "When Nicholas Biddle was President of the Bank of the United States he wished a clerk in his employ to do some writing on the Sabbath. The young man refused and was dismissed. For what might be termed an overnice scruple of conscience this young man, with a mother dependent upon him, was thrown out of work. A few days later Mr. Biddle was asked to nominate some one for cashier of

another bank, and he named this young man, and as proof of his trustworthiness said, 'You can trust him, for he would not work for me on Sunday.'" Here is a quoted definition: "A gentleman is a man who has pride without vanity, courage without bravado, and who is innately considerate of the feelings of others." This sentence from Gladstone: "During the many years I was in the cabinet I was brought into association with sixty master minds, and all but five of them were Christians." Here is good counsel for us all: "Vote. Exercise the right of franchise. Cast your ballot when election day comes round. If the privileges of American citizenship were worth purchasing with blood they are surely worth preserving with a ballot. Evil wins on election day because, too often, the good men of a community do not take the trouble to vote. . . . We Americans are a queer people. We are the greatest sticklers in the world for our rights when anyone attempts to interfere with them. But given peaceable possession thereof, and we treat them with woful neglect ourselves. If it were seriously threatened that the British Parliament should select the next President of the United States there would be an uprising of indignant American citizens. And yet thousands of these same citizens will stay comfortably at home or contentedly at business and allow a foreign-born and an illiterate population to determine who shall be the next President. Vote. God will hold you responsible for it. The man or the machine who cheats you out of it is a worse thief than he who robs your safe." This small book is full of life and freshness, and is direct, pithy, practical.

A Summer Revival, and What it Brought About. By STANTON P. ALLEN, Author of *Down in Dixie.* 12mo, pp. 200. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

This is a touching story of the triumphs of grace in a human soul. The writer was successively a soldier in the United States army and a newspaper reporter, who was gloriously saved and, through the intermediate stage of the local preacher's service, has now come to most successful pastoral work in the Troy Conference. The simplicity and heart qualities of the story are its great charms. It should have a wide influence for good.

The Wee Ones of Japan. By MAE ST. JOHN BRAMHALL. Illustrations by C. D. WELDON. 16mo, pp. 137. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

There are babies, and there are other babies. The youngsters of Japan rank high in the list, unless the judgment of the present author be greatly at fault. Her estimate of the babies at Nippon is that they are "the most amusingly uncommon children in the world" and "the very best disciplined darlings to be found upon the ample bosom of mother earth." With these pleasant sentiments as a starting point, her book consists of an attractive description of the food, clothing, sports, education, and general care of Japanese children. There is so much of nature in her story that she should find an eager reader in the person of every American mother.

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